



Gc
977.6
W26h
1464473

M.L.

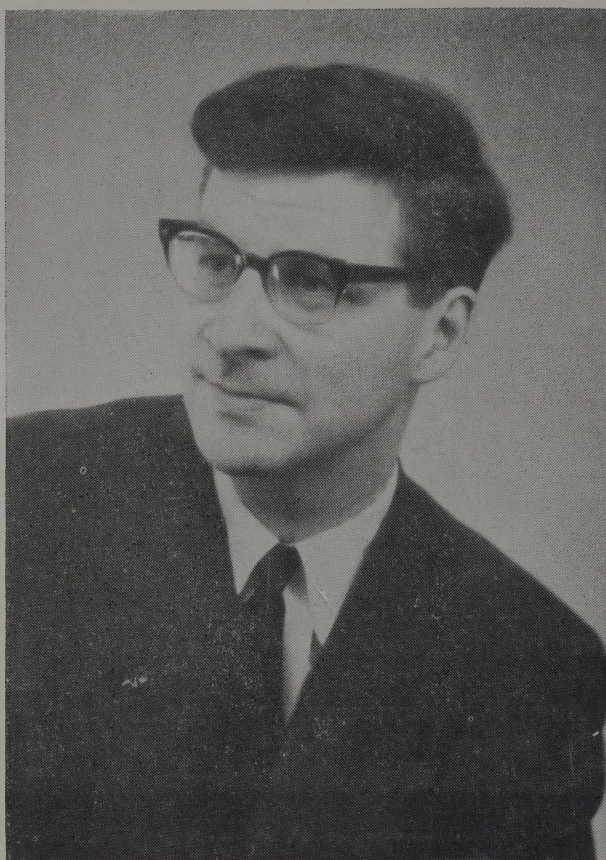
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01715 9234

HISTORY
OF THE FINNS
IN MINNESOTA



Hans R. Wasastjerna

HISTORY OF THE FINNS^c IN MINNESOTA

HANS R. WASASTJERNA
EDITOR

TRANSLATION BY
TOIVO ROSVALL

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF
FORN WAYNE & ALLEN CO., INC.

Published By
MINNESOTA FINNISH - AMERICAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Duluth, Minn.

Copyright 1957

By Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society

Printed in U.S.A.

NORTHWESTERN PUBLISHING COMPANY

New York Mills, Minnesota

Introduction by the President of the Finnish-American Historical Society

Three hundred years have passed since the first Finnish immigrants came to America and nearly a hundred years since the first Finnish settlers came to Midwestern United States. Attempts have been made in Finland to follow the life of the emigrants in their new surroundings in America. The building of this kindred bridge across the Atlantic progressed quite slowly at first. Suomi was not greatly concerned about the prodigals who had left nor did these emigrants desire to return to the homeland once they had left. But a time came when Finland was harrassed and attacked by strangers. The desire of the new Finnish-Americans to help Finland at that time resulted in the renewing of family ties and the creation of many new friendships. Greater value was placed upon the relatives on this side of the sea and as they began to more closely follow their lives and activities it was recognized that here is another phase of the history of the people of Finland.

1464473

During this period Finnish-Americans were bringing to a close a phase in the development of their lives in the new land. They were also developing a greater appreciation of the legacy of their forefathers and their Finnish heritage. The younger American generation was now studying at colleges and universities without prejudices toward the past. The time had come when the fading historical material had to be saved and this had become a matter of cultural pride. The Finnish-American Historical Society started to carry on this work.

From the very beginning the founders of the society had decided to compile a history of the Finnish people in their own state. They understood, however, that to gain their objective they would have to overcome many problems which are not necessary for me to enumerate here. Our Finnish friend, Mr. Wasastjerna, has impartially considered these and believes that they have all been necessary and helpful in the development of the society and the fostering of interest in its work. Our thoughts of thankfulness can no longer reach artist Juho Rissanen whose final large work of art provided the spark of inspiration for our society. After that the many organizers of our centennial celebration have also supported our work very enthusiastically.

Minnesota-Finnish Hist. Soc., #5,008-30-68 P.O. 5766

So many people have worked so diligently and successfully in the efforts of our society that it is impossible to enumerate them all. I do, however, wish to express our thanks to our field secretaries, A. A. Parviainen, and Eero Pulli and also to Matti Erkkila who later worked for us. Through their efforts the many local societies were formed. Without the work that our editorial secretary, Eero Pulli, did in gathering the material and outlining the history, we would still be far from our objective. Of great importance at all times has been the work of our committee composed of the following: Arne Halonen, and also in the beginning his deceased brother Yrjö Halonen, A. A. Parviainen, Gust Aakula, Edith Koivisto, Toivo Merisalo and Lauri Lemberg. Mr. Lemberg, with his great experience and skill, has also been of great help to our editor, Hans R. Wasastjerna, a young scientist who spent three years of his life honoring the Finnish-Americans by studying their history. We cannot sufficiently thank those officials in the United States and Finland who arranged a scholarship for him to come to the United States. We are also indebted to Antti Lemberg for the attractive art work on the jackets of the book.

The compiling and publishing of this history has been done by great economic sacrifice to the society. Having successfully completed the Finnish edition of the History of the Finns in Minnesota, we are now happy to be able to present this new English language version of the same book. We consider this to be a great achievement for our society and we also wish to thank Mr. Toivo Rosvall for the fine work that he has done in the translation of the original work into this edition.

It is our hope that the Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society will continue to find ways and means of preserving and bringing to the public the history of the Finnish heritage as it has been brought to the United States, and particularly to Minnesota, by the immigrants from Finland.

Alex Kyyhkynen

MFAHS President.

FOREWORD

One major aspect of the history of the United States has been the chronicle of immigration to these shores, the record of the subsequent assimilation of the varied nationality groups and the assessment of their contributions to the country's growth and culture. The record of one important segment of that immigration is herewith offered as a contribution to a rich and complex story.

The history of the Finns in America began in 1638, in the earliest period of settlement of the thirteen original colonies, but the major wave of Finnish immigration came considerably later, in that classic period of immigration which followed the Civil War and extended up to the period of World War I. It is significant that the forces which compelled thousands upon thousands of Finns to leave their own country occurred in the period when immigration to the United States knew no barriers; it is typical that once the Finns arrived here they tended to settle in regions that had a familiar look, making their major concentrations appear in New England and in the north central states, particularly in Minnesota. It is in Minnesota that their pioneering role has been perhaps their most significant one, and this history of the Finns there is an attempt to preserve the record of their contributions within its boundaries.

In general, the Finns in the United States have long realized the desirability of a record of their trials and tribulations in this country, but it was actually the Delaware Tercentenary in 1938 that made them more acutely aware of their history on this continent. The outbreak of World War II the following year, and Finland's immediate involvement in it on the heels of Russia's attack in November 1939, united the Finns in America as nothing before ever united them, awakened a new sense of pride and responsibility, and emphasized the ever greater urgency of the recording of their history here. Organizations came into being with the express purpose of supporting and sponsoring this task.

The Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society is one of these organizations. Its birth, growth, contributions are history, too, and are discussed in these pages. Many names should be

cited for their work in connection with the society and its achievements, of course, but the name of Alex Kyyhkynen cannot be left unmentioned here. It is to him that the society owes its birth and subsequently much of its effectiveness as an organization. For the society's major undertaking to date, the executive committee appointed to carry out the project for a written history of the Finns in Minnesota has consisted of Alex Kyyhkynen, chairman, and Lauri Lemberg, Arne Halonen, A. A. Parviainen, Toivo Merisalo, Gust Aakula and Edith Koivisto. Through its efforts, all possible pertinent material was collected, a great deal of it through the close cooperation and tireless efforts of local chapters of the society, and coordinated by Eero A. Pulli, but it was not until the fortuitous arrival in Minnesota of a young Finnish scholar, Hans R. Wasastjerna, that the collation of these materials, and the preparation of this history, became possible. A graduate of the University of Helsinki, and already a historian, Mr. Wasastjerna was recipient in 1954 of an Asla-Fulbright Fellowship which brought him to America. While he continued his own studies for his doctorate at the University of Minnesota, where he was an Honorary Fellow, he also undertook the preparation of the present text, which was published in its Finnish language version by the Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society in time for the Minnesota Centenary Year, as one of the major contributions of the Finnish Americans to that commemoration. That text now appears in English in the present volume; it is basically a translation of the original version, with a few corrections, minor revisions and some additions. Obviously, a few gaps still remain in this record of the Finns during Minnesota's first century, but by and large the story is complete, ready to take its place as the documentation for one vital chapter in the history of the Finns in the United States.

Toivo Rosvall

Worcester, Mass.

INDEX

CHAPTER I—Who Are They, Whence Did They Come -	1
The Finno-Ugric Language Family 1; The Original Home of the Finns 2; The Period of Swedish Domination 2; The Period of Russian Domination 10; The Period of Independence 34.	
CHAPTER II—The Finns In Immigration - - - - -	43
Early Finnish Immigration to the United States 45; Causes of the Large-Scale Immigration 46; The Extent of Finnish Immigration 54; The Composition of the Finnish Immigrant Group 59; The Trip 64; The Finns in America 67.	
CHAPTER III—Minnesota and Its Growth - - - - -	71
The Land of the Sky Blue Water 71; A State Is Born 73; On the Eve of the Finnish Flood to Minnesota 78; Why Did They Choose Minnesota? 82.	
CHAPTER IV—Southern Minnesota and Its Sprinkling Of Finns - - - - -	84
Red Wing 84; The Southern Counties 86.	
CHAPTER V—The Finnish Contribution In Central Minnesota - - - - -	91
Nicollet and the First Minnesota-Born Finnish Child 91; Renville and the First Finnish Pioneer; 93; Wright County, Center of Finnish Farming 98; Meeker County and Its Finns 112; Douglas County 115; Todd County 117; Stearns County 117; Hennepin County and Minneapolis 117; Ramsey County and St. Paul 129.	
CHAPTER VI—The Pioneers of Northwest Minnesota -	135
Crow Wing County 136; Cuyuna Iron Range 138; Crosby 140; Otter Tail County 143; Newton Township and New York Mills 144; Heinola 164; Leaf Lake Township 167; Otto Township 169; Homestead Township 170; Butler Township 171; Heinäjoki 171; Paddock Township 173; Wadena County 179; Sebeka 180; Menahga 187; Becker County 192; Snellman-Osage-Runeberg-Detroit Lakes 196; Other Northwest Counties 197-205.	

CHAPTER VII—St. Louis County: Duluth - - - -	206
Duluth 206; Superior 335.	

CHAPTER VIII—St. Louis County: North From Duluth -	345
The Southeastern Sections of St. Louis County 345; The Finns in Brimson 350; Lake Vermilion and Its Iron Mines 355; The Temperance Movement Among the Finnish-Americans 359; Soudan and Ely 366; Finnish-American Religious Activity 372; The Finns in Ely 385; Sports in Finnish-American Life 391; Winton and Its Sawmills 403	

CHAPTER IX—St. Louis County: The Iron Hills - - -	406
Mountain Iron 408; Virginia 412; Sparta 449; Gilbert 453; Eveleth 456; Fayal Township 479; Biwabik Township 480; Aurora 482; Hoyt Lake 487; Mesaba 487; Great Scott Township 488; Buhl 488; Kinney 489; Chisholm 491; Hibbing 505; Stevenson 536.	

CHAPTER X—St. Louis County: Farm Country Fringes -	538
Embarrass 539; Waasa and Allen 545; Vermilion Lake and Payla 545; Pike 548; Sandy and Florenton 554; Angora 556; Alango 558; Cook 565; Beatty 566; Portage 567; Leiding-Orr-Pelican-Gheen 567; Willow Valley - Linden Grove 569; Bear River Sturgeon Lake-French 570; Zim 571; Cherry (Alavus) 574; Palo 577; Markham 582; Floodwood 583; Cedar Valley (Salo) 587; Toivola 588; Little Swan 592; Kelsey-Cotton-Elmer-Payne-Meadowlands 594; Brookston-Perch Lake 595; Conclusion 596.	

CHAPTER XI—The Finns of Northeast Minnesota - -	598
Lake and Cook Counties 598; Two Harbors 598; Clark 600; Larsmont-Knife River-Little Marais 600; Finland 601; Isabella 601; Toimi 603; Silver Bay and Taconite Harbor 603; Itasca County 604; Nashwauk 604; Cloverdale 616; Crooked Lake 616; Keewatin 617; Bovey-Trout Lake-Calumet-Coleraine-Marble-Taconite 618; Wawina 620; Grand Rapids 620; Suomi 621; Balsam 622; Squaw Lake 623; Aitkin County 623; Jacobson-Rabey 623; East Lake-Balsam-Beaver-Rice Lake-Salo-Tamarack-Lawler-Arthyde-Palisade 624; Pine County 627; Finlayson 628; Sandstone 629; Carlton County 630; Thomson 630; Esko 634; Cloquet 635; Moose Lake - Kettle River-Kalevala-Eagle Town - Cromwell 644.	

CHAPTER XII—Finland's President Visits the United States - - - - -	653
Alex Kyyhkynen Awarded White Rose of Finland Degree 657; Governor Youngdahl Proclaims Finnish Pioneer Day 658.	
Bibliography - - - - -	659
Index of Photographs - - - - -	665
MFAHS Life Members and Donors - - - - -	669
Topical Index - - - - -	673

Chapter I

Who Are They, Whence Did They Come?

*An outline of Finnish history,
based on most recent research*

The Finno-Ugric Language Family

The overwhelming majority of American colonists, the pioneers and the immigrants, have come from Europe. All nationalities, from the Anglo-Saxons to the Slavs, from the Swedes to the Italians, have taken part in settling the new continent. It was a few thousand years ago that the Indo-Europeans first made their appearance on the old continent, and world history from that point on has essentially been the history of the Indo-Europeans. From a basic language common to them all there developed in time the present-day Babel of languages; today the differences are so great that only scholars can prove, for example, that English and Russian, or Swedish and Persian, are related tongues.

Within this vast Indo-European area, there has managed to survive a small Finno-Ugric language group, to which some 18,000,000 people belong. The main clusters within it are the Hungarians, the Finns, the Estonians, and the Mordvinians. The so-called Baltic Finns, to which belong the Finns, the Estonians, the Carelians, the Vepsians, the Votians and the Livonians, form such a closely related group that their languages are as closely related to each other as are, for example, the Scandinavian languages. On the other hand, the Finnish and Hungarian languages differ from each other at least as much as does English from Russian. With such a degree of variance, all claims of blood relationships remain without concrete evidence. A Finno-Ugric parent people once did exist, but that was thousands

of years ago. The parent group spoke the same language but was not racially unified. All peoples are formed of varied backgrounds, and so are the Finno-Ugric group. The distinction between language relationship and racial background has not always been sufficiently clearly made. The Finnish scholar, M. A. Castren, indicated the relationship between the Finno-Ugric languages and the Samoyedic; both belong to the language family of the Urals, as later research has confirmed, but Castren's claim of a relationship between the Ural and the Altai families is considered an assumption for which most recent research has found no evidence. Since the Altai family includes the Turco Tartar, the Mongolian and Tungus languages, and even Korean, the Finns have been mentioned as being related to the Mongolians. What has just been stated indicates that the language relationship does not exist, and since there are no racial characteristics in common, either, any assumed "relationship" is simply a deep-rooted fallacy.

The Original Home of the Finns

Formerly, Finns were said to be Asiatics, since they had come to their present home from far in the east, just as some scholars have considered Asia to be the original home of the Indo-Europeans as well. But most recent research has shown that the cradle of the parent Finno-Ugric group was not in Asia: scholars today are practically unanimous on the point that it lay in European Russia. There, in an area where the primeval forests and the immense steppes came together, there seems to have been a focal point from which the Finno-Ugric group subsequently began to spread out in all directions. The search for new hunting grounds gradually drew the Ostyaks and the Voguls east of the Urals, while their close relatives the Hungarians moved out in the opposite directions, across the steppes. The Baltic Finns retained contact with their sparsely populated central area between the Oka and Vaina rivers for some centuries longer, but finally they, too, scattered: the Finns are said to have arrived in Finland in a wave of migration and to have established fixed settlements there about the year 800 A.D.¹

The Period of Swedish Domination

The northern land now known as Finland had been populated for thousands of years before the arrival of the Finns on the scene, but the old had to make way for the new. Trade, and the contact

1. Arvi Korhonen, Editor: *Suomen Historian Käsikirja*. Helsinki, 1949. Paavi Ravila, "Suomen Suku ja Suomen Kanssa," I, pp. 1-22.

it provided with other nations, brought western cultural patterns to the Finns. Christianity began to be stabilized around the year 1150, as Sweden's crusading spirit and aggressive eastern policies conquered Finland. The new area soon began to take shape as a geographical entity as well, and although the homogeneity was most apparent in its religion, even as a state Finland began to appear as an entity. The population began to spread out along the southern coast, from the western shores toward the Carelian Isthmus, and in the interior Häme (Tavastland) was also relatively densely populated, but the rest of the land was still quite deserted. Western Finland already practised agriculture, while elsewhere the woodlands were being cleared. In the most densely populated areas there developed communities, from whose local self-governments developed the concepts of Finnish democracy.²

During the reign of the first king of Sweden-Finland of the modern era, Gustavus Vasa (1523-1560), many reforms were put into effect. This same period saw Mikael Agricola guide the Reformation in Finland. It was a gradual turning from Catholicism to Lutheranism, and a literature was necessary for carrying out the process. Turning to the creation of a written Finnish language, Agricola proceeded systematically: first of all he published a Finnish primer, in 1542, then a Catechism in 1543, a prayer book the following year, and finally a translation of the New Testament in 1548. Thus he succeeded in creating a unified Finnish language, understood in all the various dialect areas. Agricola's motives were primarily religious, but possibly colored in part with an awareness of a unified Finnish nation. Among the people themselves, any national spirit there may have been was still dormant.³

In the beginning of the 17th century, guided by Gustavus II Adolphus (1611-1632), Sweden-Finland rose to the position of a major power as a result of its active military campaigns and expansionist policies. The primary reason for success lay not so much in the power resources of Sweden-Finland as it did in the relative weakness of the surrounding countries. Finland was assigned the mission of the stabilization of its own eastern frontiers, but at the same time made its contribution to the kingdom as well: eight infantry regiments under the command of Gustav Horn and three cavalry regiments under Ake Tott added fifteen to sixteen thousand Finnish men to the Swedish armies, and the

2. op. cit. R. Rosen, "Varhaiskeskiäika", I, pp. 105-214.

3. op. cit. Pentti Renvall, "Uuden ajan murros", I, pp. 278-313.

outcome of many battles was determined by the refusal of these men to yield an inch.

During this great power period, much attention was given to strengthening the economy. The most lasting benefit of this policy in Finland was the establishment of new cities. Of course, the centers of population still presented very modest statistics: old Turku had a population of six to seven thousand, Viipuri some three to four thousand, and the new Helsinki about one thousand, while all the other centers had only a few hundred each. The spread of learning was also a feature of this period, and the founding of the university in Turku in 1640 meant a great step forward for Finland. Since the first printing press in Finland was set up at the same time, a purely Finnish learning began to develop. However, the Finnish language itself still remained as something kept alive only by the masses of people, in spite of the fact that a Swede, Eskil Petraeus, had written the first Finnish grammar in 1649.

Society was divided into classes. The nobility kept the highest positions in its own hands, while the clergy formed another class, to which youths from the lower classes were able to aspire if they received a university education. The burgesses were beginning to increase in importance as the cities expanded. The Finnish farmers remained at the bottom, under pressure both from the national economy, with heavy taxes causing many farms to be abandoned, and from the power of the nobility which, as a privileged class, had received extensive domains as land grants. The formation of large estates, which had begun in the 1580s, continued on well into the 1630s, while poor farmers continued to be forced to sell their lands to freeholders, the clergy, the burgesses, governors and other officials, or retired soldiers, from which gradually developed an aristocratic landowning class. After the long years of wars, however, the shaky national economy forced reform in this sensitive land problem: after much discussion, lands granted as gifts were withdrawn by instituting a 'reduction.' Directly only the state profited by it, but for the Finnish farmers it meant their being rescued from sinking to the status of tenants to the nobility.⁴

Sweden-Finland's role as a great power came to an end early in the 18th century. The end was preceded by the famine years, 1694-97, when privation and distress forced their way into every Finnish home, and then the Great Northern War (called the "Great Wrath" by the Finns) during which all Finland was

4. op. cit. Almo Halila, "Suurvalta-aika", I, pp. 398-470.

occupied by the Russians. The cities of Helsinki, Lappeenranta, Pietarsaari and Porvoo were burned to the ground. The armies of Charles XII were scattered, and the nation was compelled to begin peace negotiations. Provinces conquered in Germany were ceded to England and Prussia, reparations were paid to Denmark, and in the Peace of Uusikaupunki (Nystadt) of 1721, Russia received Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia, and southeastern Finland as far inland as Viipuri and Käkisalme. As a result of this peace, a new power factor entered the Baltic: imperial Russia. Of course, the danger from the east had been already apparent earlier as well, and, like the buffer it was, Finland had been forced to repel the pressure from the kingdom's eastern enemy, a pressure which had been very great indeed at times. During the decades which now followed, the danger grew even greater as a result of Russia's increased strength. In the year 1703 was begun construction of the city of St. Petersburg at the head of the Gulf of Finland; the passage through that gulf to the Baltic was narrow, and to enlarge that passage and to assure the safety of the future capital became significant concerns in Russian foreign policy from that time on: the Finnish frontier lay much too close to St. Petersburg, and this factor has fundamentally affected Finland's fate for two and a half centuries.⁵

Any rise in either economic well-being or morale after the war between Charles XII and Peter the Great was very slow. Finland's entire population amounted to about 335,000 and the army, for example, had but approximately 1,500 men. Life had hardly begun to approach what it had been before the catastrophe when war broke out again (1742-43) and once more devastated the land. The Swedes had intended to take advantage of a state of internal unrest in Russia to win back territories previously lost, but the war ended in defeat and in yet another portion of eastern Finland being lost to Russia in the peace treaty of Turku. Among the complications of the conflict there had been a remarkable document, the so-called Manifesto of 1742, in which Empress Elizabeth of Russia had tried to appeal to the Finns to break away from the "Swedish aggressors." Even if the declaration had to be considered merely as war propaganda, the idea of Finnish independence was nevertheless given expression for the first time, and it was subsequently never forgotten.⁶

After the war of 1742-43, one of the most important problems became the fortification of Finland. The Russians possessed a

5. op. cit. Eino S. Suolahti, "Isoviha", I, pp. 471-498.

6. op. cit. Eino Jutikkala, "Vapaudenaika", I, pp. 499-589.

naval base at Kronstadt, at the head of the Gulf of Finland, and Peter the Great had already intended to construct another on the Esthonian coast, opposite Helsinki. To prevent the Russians from gaining complete superiority in the Gulf of Finland, Sweden-Finland began the construction of the Viapori fort, in the outer harbor of Helsinki, thereby pointing up more sharply than ever Finland's position as a shield for Sweden: "although all the blows Sweden has received from its worst enemy have been struck at the heart of Finland, this land remains a loyal part of the kingdom," declared a memorandum of 29 January 1747 of the Swedish Diet.

In the 1780s, certain Finns began to question why their land should be nothing more than Sweden's shield and taxpayer. They saw in the American Revolution an example of a people which had succeeded in breaking away by force from a mother country. They saw also that since Russia would certainly seize Finland from Sweden sooner or later, Finland could save itself only if it worked actively in a direction Russia approved: "Our fate is in any case to fall under their supremacy some time or other, but it will be much harder for us if we do not voluntarily submit to their will," was a statement of the feeling current at the time.

Among the leaders of an incipient independence movement at that moment were Georg Maunu Sprengtporten and Johan Anders Jägerhorn. The latter formulated a plan whereby Finland was to become an independent republic with the aid of Russia, while Sprengtporten, during a trip to Holland, presented the Russian ambassador there with a plan for the separation of Finland from Sweden, and then, returning to Sweden, continued his negotiations with the Russian minister in Stockholm. "Since Sprengtporten takes General Washington as his model, perhaps we can follow the example of France in its relations with a former English colony," the Russian minister wrote to his government, pointing out the possibility of Russia's giving armed assistance to Finland's separation from Sweden. Relations between Sweden and Russia, Sprengtporten had pointed out to the Russian diplomats, could never be free of mistrust as long as Finland was a part of the Swedish kingdom; Finland lay so close to the capital of Russia that as a part of Sweden it would always awaken fear, and Finland lay so far from Sweden that the latter would not be able to defend it. Finnish independence would wipe out both these problems.

In the autumn of 1786 the Swedish government gave the military command in Finland plans for the eventuality of a revolt in Finland supported by Russia. Awareness of the independence movement spurred Gustav III's ambitions to settle affairs by

victorious war with that country which threatened to aid the separatists. The war broke out in 1788. The threat of occupation hung over Finland again, and the alarmed Finnish army officers sought a way to negotiate, utilizing the contact the independence-minded group had establish with Russia. Jägerhorn pursued his plan for independence meanwhile; he wrote a letter to the Empress Catherine and succeeded in getting several high officers to sign his letter.

In this so-called Liikala Note was explained the kingdom's, and especially the Finnish peoples', desire to see peace between Russia and Sweden. Jägerhorn was chosen carry the letter in person to St. Petersburg, and when he arrived there he requested Catherine both to call a Finnish Diet into session and to proclaim Finland an independent country, and he promised the Empress Finnish cooperation in carrying out the intent of such a proclamation. However, the Russians reacted to Jägerhorn's proposals with mistrust, and the reply the Empress gave him to take back did not bear her signature, doubtless with the sound reason that it was improper to give the King of Sweden cause to argue that Russia had instigated revolt within the Finnish army. In her reply, Catherine appealed to the Finns to elect representatives to a Diet of their own; she further insisted that Finnish forces were to withdraw from Russian soil.

When Gustav III heard of this contact of his officers with the enemy, he ordered them all to sign a statement, vowing to fight the kingdom's enemies to the last man. Instead of giving such assurances, 113 officers commanding Finnish troops signed another and altogether different statement in Anjala: according to them, Sweden was the aggressor, and the military situation was depicted as being so hopeless that it was due not to Swedish arms but Russian magnanimity that death and destruction had not swept over all Finland, and consequently all who were signing this declaration assumed responsibility for the Liikala note and were turning to the Empress Catherine for help.

The King thereupon made a proclamation: he listed his own and the Swedish kingdom's activities on Finland's behalf and pointed out as a warning to those who relied on the prospects of independence gained with the help of Russia the fate of Poland and the Crimea. The scales began to turn in favor of the King. The last sign of life of the Finnish independence movement was a "Diet" held at the end of the year on an isolated estate, attended by landowners from along the eastern border. Under Jägerhorn's leadership, they formed a body which declared the Grand Duchy

of Finland independent, and they requested the Empress Catherine's military and material assistance. Russia, however, was having difficulties, too, in its foreign policies: since it feared the prospect of gaining Prussia as an additional enemy, it gradually veered toward a settlement with Sweden. To the Finns who appealed to her, Catherine appeared reserved, but to her secretary she confided: "Let them ask to be forgiven; why feed them with empty promises? I cannot help them."

In the armistice signed at Värälä the boundaries remained unchanged, but as an epilogue to the war there remained the handing out of sentences to the Anjala officers. Since Sprengtporten was not on hand to be arrested, he was sentenced to loss of his positions and his property, as well as to be hanged should he return to the country. Other officers who had fled to Russia were ordered to be shot on sight. Although the King had won, uncertainty continued, and the unrest did not end until a pistol shot aimed by a member of a secret league plotting revolution hit Gustav III at the Opera House in Stockholm in March 1792. The King died within a fortnight.

Just as Gustav III had idealized Gustavus II Adolphus, the great warrior king before whom Europe had trembled, so his son idolized the soldier hero Charles XII. The new king, Gustavus IV Adolphus, became quite popular in Finland, which he visited twice, and of which he saw much on his second, extensive trip in 1802. Finland's progress during this period was rapid, and the population increased rapidly, too, reaching the 900,000 mark before war broke out again.

Following the Peace of Nystadt, Finland had become increasingly more pro-Swedish. Everyone educated to be an official or administrator, or who had more than an elementary school education, learned to speak Swedish. It is difficult, therefore, to understand the awakening of a national Finnish spirit at the beginning of the 19th century without noting the groundwork which had been started at approximately that same period at the University of Turku. The emergence of several distinguished scholars all at more or less the same time, at the end of the 18th century, presents a splendid picture. Among them, even for his contemporaries, the many-sided scholar Henrik Gabriel Porthan was outstanding in this group. He was aware that the Finns had linguistic kin, and making a clear distinction between purely Finnish words and borrowed words, he formulated a picture of Finnish culture and the Finnish community. He prepared an outline of Finnish history, and in a memorial address at the university

in 1804 he received the title that has remained his: Father of Finnish History.⁷

Outside Finland, meanwhile, frontiers had begun to crumble and nations to be wiped off the map as Napoleon conquered more and more of the continent. And so war threatened Sweden-Finland too, now from the south, now from the east, and there was reason to fear some sudden alignment which would bring Sweden and Russia face to face once more, with Finland again the pawn.

The fate of small nations is often to be a pawn in the struggles between larger nations, with the larger and the stronger deciding on their own advantages without consulting the desires of the weaker. Thus two of the world's great men, Russia's Czar Alexander I and French Emperor Napoleon I met at Tilsit in 1807, uniting in league against England. Since Sweden-Finland refused to comply with the demands made on it by this league, Russia was to demand compliance by force. The attack against Finland in 1808 was, in the beginning, a matter of military necessity: after the war, the occupied territories were supposed to be relinquished.⁸

The Russian forces crossed the frontier on February 21, without a declaration of war. The Finnish outposts, making no resistance, began to retreat. Buxhoevden, the Russian commander-in-chief, who assumed the Finns would retreat toward Helsinki, marched in that direction, with the Finns continuing to retreat rapidly before the superior forces. The Swedish general, af Klercker, had decided to join battle farther north, in the vicinity of Hämeenlinna, but before he could do so the commander-in-chief, General Klingspor, accompanied by his chief of staff, Colonel Löwenhjelm, having driven in a sleigh around the Gulf of Bothnia, arrived at headquarters. At the staff meeting which followed, everyone was in favor of battle — except Klingspor, who was in favor of retreat, fearing that an enemy pushing across Finland to the Gulf of Bothnia could cut off his retreat. The order to withdraw was given without delay, and as if to confirm his judgment, moments later word was received from the commander of the Savo brigade that the limited Finnish forces there, too, were retreating from the Russians who had crossed the border opposite them.

Having taken Hämeenlinna, Buxhoevden decided to pursue Klingspor but at the same time to take areas along the coast in southern Finland, in order to have them firmly under control before the ice melted to permit the Swedes, with the help of the English, to attempt landing parties. The Russian force advancing

7. op. cit. Eino Jutikkala, "Kustavialainen aika", I, pp. 590-688.

8. op. cit. Erkki K. Osmonsalo, "Tilsitin politiikka," I, pp. 689-699.

to the north, meanwhile, overtook the Finns in Ostrobothnia, along the Pyhäjoki (river). On April 16 a battle broke out in the vicinity of Yppäri: Colonel Löwenhjelm had received permission to engage in battle with all three available brigades, and although Klingspor had once more changed his mind and given the order to retreat, Löwenhjelm had gone on with the battle on his own authority and had been wounded and taken prisoner. Two days later an almost similar situation developed and the Siikajoki battle commenced. Finnish victory in that battle, however, did not alter the general situation, for after the battle was ordered another retreat, a day's march toward Oulu. However, the contact between the forces indicated it was not impossible to win over the Russians. When Klingspor learned, then, that a detachment of the enemy had reached Revonlahti, he was afraid of being encircled and gave the order for battle. The Finns won, and with that victory there began a brief period of counter-attack. But the series of victories was followed by another period of withdrawals, all the way to the Swedish border. All that remained for the Russians now was the capture of the Viapori fortress in the outer harbor of Helsinki. In their advance, the Russians had left Viapori behind their backs, for taking that bastion swiftly would have been impossible. It was considered wiser to trust to encirclement, to sporadic bombing to weaken its defenders, and to bribery. With this combination results were achieved, and the fortress surrendered on the first of May.⁹

In spite of their successes, the Russian campaign in Finland did not come up to their expectations, for the war had dragged out too long. The world situation changed so radically that Russia seemed about to remain without those advantages in the Balkans, for the sake of which she had made her league with France. Therefore, in order to gain at least some profit, Alexander, at his meeting in Erfurt with Napoleon, wrung from him permission to keep Finland. And to this Sweden had to acquiesce at the Peace of Hamina in 1809.¹⁰

The Period of Russian Domination

Russian plans originally called for the four Estates of the Finnish Diet to meet together in February 1808, in order to have their help in organizing the country's affairs within a new framework, but since this had to be delayed, Alexander requested that representatives of all four Estates from areas already occupied

9. op. cit. T. V. Viljanen, "Suomen sota vv. 1808-1809", I, pp. 699-742.

10. op. cit. Erkki K. Osmonsalo, "Suomen valtion perustaminen," II, pp. 1-52.

by Russian armies be sent to St. Petersburg. Delegates were accordingly elected, and they started out for Russia under C. E. Mannerheim's leadership, but when they reached their destination they pointed out that they were not empowered to represent the entire Finnish people and requested that a Diet be called. To this the Czar agreed.

The Finnish Diet met in March 1809, in the town of Porvoo. All four Estates gave their oath of allegiance to the Czar-Grand Duke, and he for his part gave his solemn pledge that the Finnish constitutional laws would be upheld. Thus Finland was raised to the position of a nation among nations, and a new life began for Finland as an autonomous, self-governing Grand Duchy attached to Russia.

When the Czar pledged that Finnish constitutional laws would remain in force, the reference was to the form of government which had been set up in 1772, to the confirmation of its status in 1789, as well as to the inherited parliamentary form of Diet plus House of Nobles, which extended back to the days of Gustavus II Adolphus. From Finland's point of view the unfortunate flaw in these arrangements was that there was no law requiring that the Diet be summoned at any specific intervals. The calling together of the Diet depended, then, on the will of the ruler. While meeting in Porvoo, the Diet had received the impression that a new Diet would be called reasonably soon; there were many problems caused by Finland's new status which, it was assumed, would make a Diet imperative. Nevertheless, no order for such a meeting was given.

Broader political considerations frequently interfered with Finland's internal governmental development. For example, in 1818 Alexander opened the first Polish Diet, being anxious to show that in that country which was attached to Russia, too, he was eager to proceed on a basis of constitutional government, but the results in Poland were not encouraging, and so he did not try to pursue this course in Finland, either. During the reign of his successor, Nicholas I, Finland now and then pointed out the necessity of calling the Diet, and the Czar himself is known to have made certain decisions with the remark that, according to the constitution, those decisions should have been made with the approval of the Finnish Diet, but also with the added remark that the times were not suitable for calling a Diet together. Consequently, if Nicholas, who also believed in absolute sovereignty, frequently did stress that he understood decisions on certain matters required approval of the Diet, during his reign it was never once

called into session. In this he did not break the letter of the law, since calling the Estates together depended exclusively on the ruler's decision to do so, but without a doubt a government without the Estates participating at regular intervals was against the spirit of Finnish law. Since general interest in government was weak in Finland during the first half of the 19th century, however, the lack of a Diet did not seem oppressive, but as soon as a more liberal spirit began to blow through Europe, especially after the revolutionary movements of 1848, in Finland too the demand that the Diet be summoned grew more insistent.

The Czar of Russia held the title in Finland of Grand Duke, and although he was an absolute sovereign in his own land, in Finland he was a constitutional monarch, under whom the Finnish Estates had the privilege of making laws. The Grand Duke had to rule Finland in accordance with its special position, and as his administrative arm he was required to use officials who had to prove Finnish citizenship and had to belong to the Lutheran church. The Czar alone was responsible for foreign affairs, however, and one of the rights he enjoyed was to give statutes, and he was not personally responsible for his actions to anyone. It was his responsibility, on the other hand, to maintain justice, prepare proposals for the Diet, approve or veto laws passed by the Diet, prepare the budget, and act as commander-in-chief of the country's armed forces.

The Finnish citizen, in turn, was entitled to definite privileges: personal freedom, the right to live within the country at a place of his own choice, enjoyment of the protection of the law, with the right to appeal, recourse against the arbitrariness of officialdom, and equal rights before the law. In addition, within the limits of the law the citizen had the right of free speech, assembly, and freedom of the press, although the government was entitled to determine the extent of these privileges.

A far-reaching consequence of Finland's new position was that from the beginning of its autonomous status it had its own, independent economy and that, in accordance with arrangements made by Alexander I, money received in Finland was to be used entirely for the benefit of Finland. Its treasury was entrusted to the Czar, who had the right to independently and without the Diet's approval dispense the so-called fixed income, which meant the income from crown property and monopolies plus those taxes which the Diet at various times had granted to meet the fixed requirements of the country. The ruler had to meet all fixed expenses out of these receipts, but a Diet committee was to be furnished an

accounting, in order that the Diet could determine if the income had been used in the best interests of the country. The ruler was not entitled to levy a new tax without the approval of the Diet, but if new outlays were required the Estates had the right to freely debate the issue and, if it then approved, to procure the funds required. To this ages-old Finnish right of self-taxation there was one important exception: the ruler's right to control customs, and experience proved that by utilizing this right it was possible to manage the Finnish economy without calling the Finnish Diet together for half a century.

Originally Turku had been the seat of the Finnish government, but for administrative reasons it was now desirable to have it located nearer to St. Petersburg. Helsinki, which was selected as the new capital, had led a quiet and insignificant existence up to this moment, and a destructive fire during the war had even burned most of it to the ground; nevertheless, on 4 April 1812 it was proclaimed the capital of Finland. In 1810, Helsinki's population had been 4,000, but now it began to grow rapidly, and in 1830 the population was already 11,110. One factor adding to this growth was that after the Turku fire in 1827, even the university was moved to Helsinki.

During the period of Swedish domination Finland had lagged behind Sweden, although in matters of taxation and defense it had borne a disproportionately heavy burden. Since no former Swedish ruler had shown the interest in the future of the Finnish people that Alexander I did, many prominent men in Finland argued that the country should free itself from its former pro-Swedish orientation and learn to understand that Finland was a separate nation whose responsibility was to take care of its own destiny only and faithfully to serve its sovereign. A liking for the Czar had made it easier for the leading circles to accommodate themselves to the new national situation: the status of the country was to be firmly fixed, by every available means, for the eventuality of more troubled times ahead.

Alexander was succeeded by Nicholas I, who, as the Czar's younger brother, had received the standard upbringing of princes. Having served in all the ranks of the army, he was deeply interested in his army. As a sovereign, the feeling of responsibility was developed in him to the extreme, and he was imbued with a deep understanding of the significance of the royal word. Ascending the throne, he gave as his predecessor had given his guarantees as a ruler to Finland, and attempts made to have him go back on his word were all in vain.

In Sweden, meanwhile, liberal beliefs were gaining ground. A consequence of this sliding toward the 'left' in the neighboring country was a growth in Finland's importance, for in the series of buffer states created around Russia, Finland was once more the extreme outpost, but this time against revolutionary movements from the west. It was important to retain Finland as a contented part of the empire. Should it be asked how Nicholas and the Duke Menshikov, the Governor-General of Finland whom he appointed, succeeded in their plans, the fact can be pointed out that Finland remained faithful to its sovereign, even though there was no inclination toward the Russians and even though among the university youth at that time many opposed absolutism and glorified freedom.

This generation of students in the Helsinki lecture halls was in a different situation from its predecessors in Turku. An age group was now coming forward which had received all its education in the era of Finland under Russian domination. They had a different point of departure: with the ever increasing foreign influence of the new philosophies and literatures, the national awakening previously sparked in Turku gained added awareness in the new surrounding and circumstances. Men who were later to be included among the great men of Finland — Lönnrot, Runeberg and Snellman — having begun their education in Turku, had already managed to arrive at the point where they could exert their influence. Within the framework of Helsinki University an informal 'Saturday Circle' was started in 1830, to which belonged not only the three men just cited but also the cream of the academic youth. By the following year this group had established the Society for Finnish Literature, as the torchbearer for national, patriotic aspirations. Assuming the responsibility to develop an independent, national culture, the work ahead branched out in different directions. New educational theories led to the establishment of a new preparatory school, the Helsinki Lycee. Runeberg, working as a newspaperman in the capital, continued to work as a poet also, pointing up the uniqueness of the Finnish people. Lönnrot's influence began with his writings in the Finnish-language periodical, *The Honeybee*, and when the Society for Finnish Literature arranged for the collecting of folk poetry, Lönnrot was to contribute greatly. Snellman, as philosopher, was pre-occupied with the awakening of a feeling of Finnish nationalism: his thesis was the conviction that Finland's new status as an autonomy within the framework of a big empire was dangerous and required the fostering of patriotic feeling, and so it was through

him that the idea of an awareness of Finnish nationality was to advance. Snellman, and the pro-Finnish youth of the time in general, gained confidence that the Finnish movement had a future from proof that, among other things, the Finnish people had demonstrated intellectual abilities — for example, in their folk poetry. A little something had already been done to foster the Finnish language itself: in 1828 an instructorship for the study of Finnish had been established at the university; since the supporters of the Finnish nationalistic movement had turned their attention in the 1830s to the collection and study of folk poetry and folklore, the authorities did not find it necessary to obstruct this work being carried out on behalf of the Finnish language. Continuing directly related to Snellman's own activities, the Finnish nationalistic movement did not begin to show its true colors until the following decade, when Snellman became embroiled with the authorities.

At the same time, the country's Swedish language literature was broadly nationalistic in spirit and was living its golden age. Such poets as Runeberg and Topelius, as well as Nervander, Fredrik Cygnaeus, and later Lauri Stenbäck and Emil von Qvanten, gave it its distinguishing features. This literature was characterized by a breadth of vision, an affirmation of the culture and idolization of everything national. The special zeal of the age also embraced the drama, which became more readily available with the founding of the Swedish Theater in Helsinki in 1827. Novels became fashionable in the 1840s, particularly in translation, with the result that there was a gradual retreat from a high-flown idealism and an approach to more concrete problems of life.

The common endeavors of the university group suffered a significant setback when material considerations forced Runeberg to move to Porvoo. At about the same time, Snellman's activity at the university was hampered when he came into conflict with the authorities. From the point of view of Snellman's personal development this was a decisive factor, for he went abroad in 1839 and, immersing himself in Sweden and in Germany in the wider social and cultural currents, he became in the following decade the champion of the Finnish movement through his newspaper activity.

Lönnrot, too, had left the capital. In 1832 he had gone as a doctor to Oulu, and later to Kajaani, which brought him into the immediate vicinity of the singers of the old folk poetry and gave him the opportunity to continue the collection of folk poetry he had begun much earlier. The result of his work was the

compilation of the epic *Kalevala* (the so-called *Old Kalevala* in 1835-36, the *New Kalevala* in 1849) and the *Kanteletar*, a collection of lyric poetry (first edition in 1840, the second in 1864, and a third in 1887.)

The interest in folk poetry which had already existed paved the way for a grateful reception for the *Kalevala*. Illustrative of the rise of a national awareness, which the publication of the epic caused, was J. G. Linsen's statement of 1836 that this treasure trove of ancient Finnish poetry was so significant that not only was Finnish literature immeasurably enriched with its publication but it had thereby gained world recognition: Finland, the possessor of this folk poetry, should with increased awareness learn to understand its past and thus also its future; Finland could assure itself that it, too, now had its history.

More intensive subsequent study of the folk poetry and its roots have altered the views expressed about the *Kalevala* when it first appeared, but they have not lessened its cultural and historical value. In its time the work has been a strong source of power in elevating the national feeling and keeping bright a faith in the future and thus maintaining among the Finns a confidence in their intellectual abilities, in tying the past to the present, in strengthening national cultural traditions and above all in inspiring scholars and poets to new and further investigations.¹¹

On the death of Nicholas I in 1855, Alexander II ascended the throne. By nature and upbringing he was more liberal than his predecessor, and he, too, gave the oath of ruler in Finland, promising to maintain Finland's special privileges. Furthermore, the necessity for improvements and increased pressure of public opinion also led to the Finnish Diet finally being called into session: in the year 1862, a committee of 48 were empowered to prepare the agenda, and on 15 September 1863 the Finnish Diet met for the first time since 1809.

In the history of the Finnish Diet the sessions in the 1860s form their own chapter. It was a period of liberalism, and many believed that the possibilities for social and governmental developments were almost limitless. The opening of the Diet was given a festive note by the arrival of the Czar for the occasion. The Czar-Grand Duke greeted the Estates, announcing that he would give them an accounting of the national economy and hand them a sheaf of proposals. The ruler stated his general political program to be the realization of constitutional-monarchic principles, and

11. op. cit. Erkki K. Osmonsalo, "Itsevaltiuden kausi," II, pp. 53-163.

his speech was interpreted as a promise that the Diet would participate regularly in the development of national and social conditions.

The most important matters subsequently considered were constitutional questions concerning Diet reforms, and calling for sessions to be held at stated intervals. Soon after the Diet ended its session a committee was appointed by the Czar to prepare proposals on these matters, and so rapidly did the committee work that in 1865 the recommendations were already sent to the Czar. But the proposals were not acted upon, because in Russia itself the trend toward uniformity in government was gaining ground: the period of optimism, when the Diet had actually been in session, already seemed to belong irretrievably to the past.

Three years later, however, the Estates were invited to assemble again. The most important matters which the Finns agreed upon were Diet reforms, on the basis of new laws prepared in cautious form and conservative fashion: the division into Estates was retained, but the Diet was to meet every fifth year. The further right to initiate legislation was not to come until 1886, while another weak point in the law was the lack of steps to broaden the franchise. In discussing the proposals, some had favored general elections and even the equal right to vote; however, it was realized that Finland's position would have been a stumbling block to carrying through such far-reaching reforms. Not until forty years later was the Diet to be replaced by a truly democratic parliament.

The halt in further governmental reforms in Finland was due to storm clouds rising in the eastern sky. The study of Hegelian philosophy in Russia had led to a national awakening there, as it had in Finland, and the Slavophile movement had been born: it stressed innate Russian superiority over anything and everything foreign. In particular, the importance of the Orthodox Church was increased. In glorifying everything native, everything foreign appeared hostile, and for the security of the empire anything western was considered dangerous. During the reign of Alexander II certain ideas had become prevalent in the west, and had slowly begun to win ground in Russian society, which Russia in general considered revolutionary. But alongside these, an extremist wing advocating the overthrow of the existing social structure also gained support. Michael Bakunin, who originally had been a Slavophile, had become the leader of this faction after he left the country; after the Russian government discovered the inflammatory role Bakunin was playing, it ordered all students studying

abroad to return home. Nevertheless, agents of revolution continued to work in secret, inciting and spreading discontent, but since incitement alone was not enough to achieve results the revolutionaries began to make use of an extreme weapon, assassination: in March 1881, Alexander II himself met his death at the hands of revolutionary assassins.

In Finland the news of Alexander's death was received with a feeling of deep shock. The dead monarch was remembered chiefly as a man who had respected and revitalized the constitutional basis of Finland, and furthermore as a man who, from the Finnish nationalistic point of view, had taken a favorable attitude toward attempts to foster the use of the Finnish language. He was said to have favored conditions leading to a more free economic life, and during his reign the Finnish monetary unit, the *markka*, had been given a firm basis by a liberating of the economy. All in all, then, the reign of Alexander II had meant a time of intellectual and material advances for Finland, and so the Finns have given his reign a different interpretation from what the Russians have, and he has remained closer to the Finns than has any other Grand Duke of Finland. When his reign was followed by a period of gloom, his memory only seemed to grow brighter, and its visible sign was the monument the Finns erected to him in 1894 in Helsinki.

A characteristic of Finnish history during the period of autonomy has been that changes in reigns generally did not bring rapid, sharp changes in political conditions. The new monarchs regularly followed the main lines of policy laid down by their predecessors. Thus the first period of Alexander III's reign (beginning with the customary guarantees, which for the time being assured the legal status of Finland) forms an organic continuation of his father's policies, but in the government of Russia itself, bureaucracy began to compete with this policy of self-determination. There began a relentless campaign against those revolutionary movements and reforms considered dangerous which had been instituted by the previous Czar. Finnish self-government seemed to be one of these dangerous reforms, since the country rapidly seemed to assume national, unique characteristics. This resulted in bitter attacks, first in the press, then in 'scientific' literature, against the foundations of the Finnish state, and these attacks assumed serious proportions in the latter half of Alexander III's reign. Factors in the russification policy were the needs of absolutism, bureaucracy with its own goals, and a national mania which in foreign policy led to Panslavism, in the attempt to unite

all Slav people into one, and which in internal policy led to the oppression of all minority nationalities. The attacks directed against Finland during the reign of Alexander III were not, then, isolated phenomena but a link in a major, general persecution directed against the empire's foreign members. In Finland, the postal system became the first victim: all Finnish aspects of it had to be erased, especially Finnish postage stamps. During the entire latter half of the reign, the attacks against Finland's special position continued. When Alexander III died in 1894, the atmosphere was tense.¹²

Very little was known about the new sovereign, Nicholas II. In Finland, however, restlessness prevailed when he ascended the throne, because the customary oath to Finland took a week in coming, but as earlier rulers had done, so Nicholas II also guaranteed to uphold the country's religion and constitution, as well as the rights which the country's inhabitants had enjoyed up to this time. At the same time, however, forces inimical to Finland continued their attacks unremittingly, particularly in the press, and no attempts to prevent their attacks were made. During Nicholas II's reign, the tempest approached from two directions: the military conscription question as well as the issue of enactment of laws both seemed inflammable matters.

The storm broke in 1898 with the appointment of N. I. Bobrikov as Governor-General of Finland. It was an appointment which indicated the victory of those circles which wanted the complete elimination of Finnish rights, for Bobrikov was known to be an ardent Panslavist. The first blow was an act which eliminated Finland's special status with one stroke. This so-called February Manifesto of 1899 was a coup-d'etat and signified a turning point in Finnish history: it destroyed what Alexander I and his successors had done to regulate relations between Finland and the Empire. The measures which now followed forced the Finns at last to seek their own road, by-passing the seat of power and the institutions representing this imperial power. The way was cleared for the eventual complete separation from Russia as the country started down the final stretch toward independence.

Just as a flash of lightning in the dark of night can suddenly show the wayfarer an abyss before him, so the February Manifesto brought into relief many social injustices in Finland. Opinion had been quite general in Finland that by virtue of the ancient heritage of the freedom of the peasants, social conditions were better there

12. op. cit. Erkki K. Osmonsalo, "Perustuslaillisen kehityksen kausi", II, pp. 164-288.

than in many other countries. Snellman, who had been able to study the progress in other countries, had found cause for some admonition, and the later leader of the Finnish movement, Yrjö-Koskinen, had pleaded, from the viewpoint of his own times, pointing out inequalities in land ownership provisions, for equality for land laborers. But neither Snellman nor Yrjö-Koskinen had been able to fully comprehend the instability that tenants faced. Not until Bobrikov's stooges went about the countryside and promised land to the dispossessed, if only the "Emperor's Law" were made the law in Finland, were the dangers clearly seen. The socially-minded politicians were spurred on to prepare land reform proposals, which were later realized, in almost every particular. It was against this same patriotic background that the cooperative movement was born, in the belief that cooperation would teach the people to act thriftily, even ethically. Finally, the February Manifesto even brought an interim solution to the language question. The quarrels of Finnish versus Swedish had hindered development for decades, and although even in educated families there were some who considered themselves Finns, others Swedes, the February Manifesto made pro-Swedes feel closer to the Young Finland movement, which in turn was prepared to delay solution of the language problem as long as the very existence of the country was at stake.

The anxious state of mind in 1899 demanded exceptional initiative from the entire population. It was decided to prepare a huge petition for which, in fact, 522,931 signatures were collected within just ten days. A group of some five hundred citizens elected in the various communities were to deliver the petition to St. Petersburg, but the Czar refused to receive them. To bolster the attempt of the Finns, leading citizens in western European countries signed another petition, and a group of internationally famous intellectuals set out to deliver it, but the Czar also refused to receive this committee. After this, the russification activities continued in even swifter tempo.

The reaction to these attempts split the Finnish people in two, and two opposing political parties were born: the Constitutionalists and the Pro-Finns. The former took the stand of passive resistance, refusing frequently, even at the cost of losing their own official positions, to cooperate in carrying out illegal demands, while the latter considered such resistance unwise: since little Finland did not possess the capabilities of successfully carrying out a policy of civil disobedience against its big neighbor, it ought to try to salvage something of Finland's special status by a resilient attitude.

When the Russians promulgated a new military service act passive resistance became the more serious. It was organized and directed by a secret group calling itself the *Kagal*, and which soon gained an important role in the direction of all passive resistance. The resistance-minded wanted to make it impossible to materialize conscription from the very beginning: the clergy were not to read the conscription notices to their parishes; the parish clerks were not to prepare lists of draftees or the communes to appoint draft boards; doctors were to refuse to examine the draftees, and the draftees themselves were not to report for service. The major result of this battle against illegal conscription was an increase in emigration.

At the same time, the Finnish labor movement began to take shape as a political factor. Its antecedents had been labor societies, predominantly under the control of an intelligentsia which had tried to guide the rising labor movement into channels offering no threats to existing society. However, the movement quickly became more radical, and in a meeting in Turku in the summer of 1899, a program for the new party was approved, and so the Finnish Labor Party, accepting the principles adopted by the international labor movement as regarded social progress strove in every way to achieve the economic and social liberation of Finnish workers. Beginning with a declaration promising to maintain and guard Finland's legal position, its immediate goal became the granting of a general, equal, direct and secret franchise for all Finnish citizens, regardless of sex, on reaching the age of 21. In addition, the right to initiate legislation and to levy taxes for Finland through parliament was demanded, as well as unlimited freedom of assembly, speech and press, an 8-hour work day and the setting of minimum wages, compulsory free education, the complete equality of men and women, prohibition, the development of protective laws for labor, a graduated income and inheritance tax and the removal of all indirect taxes, and the free use of the courts and free medical care. This program was prepared in accordance with German prototypes, although the later Finnish Social Democrats were also influenced by the revolutionary movements in Russia. In a party meeting in Viipuri in 1901, the question of joining the international socialistic movement was discussed, but the decision to join was not made until the Forssa meeting in 1903. This decision to support the international class struggle was a blow to the nation's home front, but at the same time the politically organized workers were resolute against repressive Russian tactics and autocracy, and

they were not beguiled by Bobrikov's deceitful promises of reforms.

When passive resistance proved insufficient, the more convinced Constitutionalists discussed joint action with Russian revolutionaries. In a meeting in Stockholm early in 1903, it was decided to send Finnish delegates to a meeting of Russian revolutionaries scheduled to be held in Paris in October of that same year, and in Paris the decision was reached to take steps to end autocracy in Russia and, when that was accomplished, to restore to Finland the rights of which it had been illegally deprived. The following year there was secretly organized in Helsinki a new 'Finnish Active Resistance Party' to work along those lines.

Naturally the Finns tried every possible way to rid themselves of Bobrikov, who had received additional authority and had become a dictator in fact. When attempts to influence the Czar to correct Finnish conditions came to nothing, an official of the school administration, Eugen Schauman, assassinated the hated Governor-General and then killed himself in the Senate building on 16 April 1904. In Schauman's pocket was found a letter in which he addressed the Czar in stirring fashion, explaining the purely patriotic motives of his deed. After the assassination of Bobrikov, and following the subsequent assassination in St. Petersburg of Plehve, Russia's feared Minister of the Interior, who was also Minister Secretary of State for Finland, imperial advisers began to believe that only a man of high aristocratic rank could restore in Finland the faltering respect for the Czar: Duke Ivan Obolensky was considered capable of accomplishing this, and so he was appointed Governor-General of Finland at the end of June, 1904. Obolensky arrived in Finland obviously prepared to be conciliatory. The Diet received an invitation to meet, and other signs of improvement began to be apparent: a Finn, Konstantin Linder, was appointed Minister Secretary of State, and before long even the illegal conscription program was halted.

In Russia, meanwhile, revolutionary activity continued. Seemingly brought under control and even halted at times during the reign of Alexander III, the foment broke out again with the Russo-Japanese war, which Czar Nicholas' desire to annex Manchuria and Korea had brought about. Russian unawareness of Japan's strength brought serious consequences: Japanese torpedo boats penetrated the inner harbor of Port Arthur on 8 February 1904 under the cover of darkness and crippled Russia's best Far East navy units there for a long time, so that the Japanese were able to land troops on the mainland without interference. The sequel was just as unfortunate for the Russians: its land forces were

defeated, too, and there was nothing left but to sue for peace. Realizing the gravity of the internal situation, the Russian government tried to ease the pressure by conciliatory counter-measures: to succeed the ruthless Plehve, the good-natured Duke Swiatopolk-Mirsky was named Minister of the Interior, and most important of all, the Russian Duma, the parliamentary body of Russia, was established. But of course this was not enough to satisfy Russia's restless masses, which had become aware of the glaring abuses and had come to realize the government's weakness. Revolutionary waves swept over Russia, and in October a general strike began. Factories were shut down, the railroads stopped running, the telegraph and telephone networks were out of operation, power was cut off — and huge mobs moved about everywhere, unrest prevailed, and there seemed to be in the air a premonition of some disastrous explosion such as Russia had never before experienced. Under the circumstances the Czar agreed to a proclamation containing not only guarantees of individual security but also freedom of conscience, assembly and speech, and promising that no laws would be enacted in the future without the approval of the Duma.

It is obvious that the Russian defeat pleased the Finns and that far-reaching governmental changes were fervently hoped for also in Finland. To speed the materialization of something better in place of the old and the bad the Finns availed themselves of a general strike, too. The first step was taken in Viipuri, where the workers in two large factories decided to stay away from their jobs for two days. Then similar action followed in Helsinki, where a mass meeting decided to continue the strike until there were reassurances of the country's future. Governor-General Obolensky promptly summoned representatives of the Constitutional and Old Finn parties to discuss the situation, and the result of this was the draft of a proclamation prepared chiefly by Leo Mechelin, approved by Obolensky and submitted to St. Petersburg, from where it was returned, approved by the Czar. On Sunday, 5 November 1905, the proclamation was read aloud in all the churches of Finland for the whole nation to hear: the implementation of the illegal edicts under the February 1899 proclamation was declared suspended. The Czar further requested the Senate to prepare, *inter alia*, a proposal for a new parliamentary system, with members to the new body to be elected on the basis of a free and equal franchise. Thus ended the first phase of russification, with the Czarist government suffering a definite defeat.

That first phase of russification, meanwhile, had not stifled economic development in Finland. On the contrary, political oppression had forced the Finns to greater efforts. The land reform question had already come under discussion, and by the spring of 1904 the sub-committee for the landless population had prepared a plan for making homesteads of the crown lands, which had restored hope among the dispossessed of getting land of their own. In addition, the state had purchased several large estates and had subdivided them among the landless. During the latter phases of this action the harvests had been excellent also, and that had improved the country's economic position. Special mention must also be made of the birth and rapid growth of the cooperative movement: the law permitting cooperatives had become effective in September 1901, and by the end of 1902 there were 51 registered cooperative associations, while three years later their number had grown to 559.

Intellectual life, too, had experienced an upswing. The illustrious name of Alexis Kivi already belonged to the past, to be sure, but now Juhani Aho was writing the best of his sketches, and Teuvo Pakkala his play, *Tukkijoella* (The Logging Stream), which had an unprecedented success, and no wonder, for in Finland almost every community had its own amateur theater. Johannes Linnankoski brought out his large-scale drama of ideas, *The Eternal Struggle* (Ikuinen taistelu) and his novel, *The Song of the Blood-Red Flower*. Maila Talvio wrote her first significant work, *Pimeän Pirtin Hävitys* (The Destruction of the Dark Cabin), and the poet Eino Leino was beginning his brilliant ascent. Larin-Kyösti was already productive, and Otto Manninen became one of the great names of Finnish poetry. Joel Lehtonen broke into print, and the moral proclaimer of 'love thy neighbor', author Arvid Järnefelt, stepped into the limelight. Another event signalling the advance of Finnish language culture was the new home for the National Theater, opened in 1902; and one of its actresses to enjoy Europe-wide fame at that time was Ida Aalberg. The name of Jean Sibelius was also already known far beyond Finland's borders. Of Finnish singers, Aino Ackte rose to the heights of fame, and Maikki Järnefelt and Ida Ekman enjoyed their share of renown. Finnish art had also proved its merit: sculptor Ville Vallgren achieved a name and a position in the art life of Paris, and in their native country the sculptures of R. K. Stigell and E. Vikström were enthusiastically received. Finnish painting reached even greater heights with a quartet of painters, Albert

Edelfelt, Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Pekka Halonen and Eero Järnefelt, whose likes had never appeared before.¹³

The general strike had crushed Bobrikov's program of repression with a single blow; within a week the political situation had changed completely. With the outbreak of unrest, the Czar had entrusted Count Witte with the reins of government; he became the chairman of the Council of Ministers, actually the Prime Minister, which Russia had not previously had. Juridically, there was no change in Finland's position; the Czar remained its Grand Duke, and no other Russian bodies had anything to say about affairs in Finland. But in actuality the situation gradually became unfavorable for Finland. Previously, not even Finland's enemies had been able to do anything if the ruler was on its side: in his time, Snellman had proved this with his statement that in the final analysis the Emperor's word was Finland's only safeguard, and what the breaking of this word meant the Finns had been able to experience acutely enough, especially in the years after 1899. It was the hope that a lessened autocracy would ease Finland's situation, and it was believed that western concepts of justice and freedom would prevail in the new Russian Duma. And with skillful measures Witte indeed succeeded in checking the revolutionary forces, which lacked purposeful leadership, since the army was still loyal to the Czar.

Even before the November proclamation, there had been discussion in Finland of forming a new Senate, and a coalition government was attempted, but after heated debate it was decided that a constitutionally based cabinet list would be presented to the Governor-General. The list was approved almost as it stood: Leo Mechelin became chairman of the economics committee and vice-chairman of the Senate, and of the rest, it should be mentioned that K. J. Stohlberg became chairman of the industry committee and that as a sign of the changed times, a Social Democrat, J. K. Kari, was also appointed a Senator. Of the members of this new government, approximately half were pro-Swedes, while the rest were Young Finns. Kari at first represented the Social Democrats but was soon expelled from his party, "having joined a bourgeois government without permission." For the first time during the entire period of autonomy, the Senate was made up entirely of new men; for the first time since the Porvoo Diet of almost a century earlier, the Czar had been forced

13. op. cit. K. N. Rantakari, "Routavuodet", II, pp. 289-371.

by prevailing circumstances to accept a list of appointments proposed by the Finns themselves.

The formation of a constitutional government was followed by elections for a new Diet. A brief but heated election campaign was followed by a complete victory for the Constitutionalists. They received the majority in all three of the unprivileged Estates, and since the Nobles had already previously been securely in their hands, the constitutionalist pattern of thought was predominant in this Diet. The pressure of revolutionary forces had caused what seemed to be a tremendous leap from the old-fashioned four Estate form straight to the more democratic unicameral parliament. According to the reform, the new parliament was to have 200 members, to be elected by universal and equal franchise (with Finland thus becoming one of the first countries to give women the right to vote), on the basis of proportional representation and a secret ballot. The age limit for voters was set at 24 years. Elections were to be held every third year, unless the sovereign dissolved parliament before that time. From that point on, the whole nation was to support the parliament, in which every party received the proportionate number of seats that the number of votes called for. The provisions made in 1906 were so carefully formulated that up to the present time nothing but minor changes have been made; for example, the age for voting eligibility has been lowered to 21, and the interval for elections has been lengthened to four years.

Mechelin's Senate was the result of joint action between the Young Finns and the Pro-Swedes, which had started during Bobrikov's governorship. In principle, all the factions in Finland had the same aim: the return of a legal status for the country. The only question left to argue was that of the proper procedure. The Constitutionalists clung to their conviction that passive resistance was the proper weapon and the only course which would not break the nation's backbone. The Old Finns, on the other hand, considered the main thing was to make certain concessions, since in that way time could be won and official posts would remain in Finnish hands; according to them, Finland in the long run would gain nothing by mere passive resistance, considering Russia's overwhelming strength. History has subsequently furnished justification for both these ways of thinking, and fortunately for the country, both courses were resorted to during those difficult years. Then, with the organization of a new parliamentary system, significant changes modified these old party alignments: the parties had to be reorganized on an entirely new basis, if for

no other reason than that the parliamentary changes brought the new franchise, which brought a tenfold increase in the number of voters.

As a result of these changes, the Pro-Swedes lost the most ground. Previously, they had held a majority in two Estates, so that it had been impossible to reach any Diet decisions without their approval, while in the new parliament the Swedes faced the prospect of holding but one-eighth of all the seats, and that only if all Swedish-speaking Finns gave that party their vote. The Swedes perforce organized their party on a new basis: with the aim of safeguarding the linguistic and cultural advantages they possessed, they tried to unite all Swedish-speaking Finns, regardless of what class of society they belonged to, within the Swedish Peoples' Party (*Svenska folkpartiet*). Their social platform consequently remained a cautious one, and the Swedish-speaking population, fearing that Swedish influence would otherwise be at the mercy of a victorious Finnish trend, was generally gathered into the fold. (In 1956, the party still existed, and its program still remained, unchanged.)

The Finnish or Old Finnish party, on the other hand, adopted a radical social program and, above all, a sharply pro-Finnish stand which was greatly to its advantage, since its strongest opponent, the Young Finns, were in coalition with the Swedes. The Young Finns, therefore, also had to adjust their program in an attempt to increase their influence. In social issues their program became almost as radical as that of the Old Finns, with demands for improvements in the lot of tenant farmers and cotters and industrial workers, in the realization of compulsory education, the advancement of temperance, and so forth. (After the battles for Finnish independence in 1918, both these parties disappeared when new political parties were formed.)

A totally new party on the scene was the Agrarian League, founded in 1906. As its name indicated, it was concerned primarily with representing the rural population and small farmers, and in constitutional issues it followed the line of the Young Finns, but in the language issue it took a somewhat stronger stand. (In 1956, the Agrarian League was Finland's second largest political party.)

The battle for parliamentary reforms meant a period of rapid progress for the Social Democratic Party. The general strike had been a touchstone for the labor movement, and the party had come through with increased strength. Previously, the ordinary people had lived their day to day existence without concerning

themselves about political movements, but now a class consciousness began to appear. In 1904, there had been 99 Social Democratic labor societies with a membership of 16,000, but the year following saw the number of societies rise to 177 and the membership to 45,000, while in the years immediately following the growth continued to remain rapid. The biggest victory for the Social Democrats came when the tenant farmers joined them. Parallel with the political activity was the development of the labor union movement, whose most noteworthy organizational achievement was the founding of SAK, the Finnish Federation of Labor, in 1907. Thus the bottom class, with socialism as its torchbearer, awakened to the political, social and economic ways of thought. Some of their leaders, among them Valpas-Hänninen, carried on a hard class struggle action on the Marxist lines; another leader, Yrjö Mäkelin, gained fame as an interpreter of national ideals, and when he analyzed them even his opponents listened. (In 1956, the Social Democratic Party was Finland's largest.)

The elections for Finland's unicameral parliament took place in 1907. The campaign was heated, and the outcome was a surprise to everyone. Of the 1,125,000 entitled to vote, 899,000 voted. The Social Democrats won 80 seats, or two-fifths of the total number, the Old Finns 59, the Young Finns 26, the Swedes 24, the Agrarian League 9, and a party founded on the eve of the election, the Christian Labor League, 2 seats. The results clearly indicated the scant support for the Mechelin Senate: only 50 members out of 200 belonged to parties represented in that government. Of the bourgeois opposition parties, the Old Finns had come out well, thanks to their tight organization as well as their clearly drawn social and linguistic program. The amazing results achieved by the Social Democrats showed everyone that there was opposition in the country to the prevailing social abuses, and that the workers' party was expected to correct the abuses.

The Parliament met at the end of May, 1907, and a straightforward fighter for justice, the Young Finn member P. E. Svinhufvud, was chosen Speaker. One of the most important issues discussed in the 1907 Parliament was the prohibition question. Although the chairman of the trade and industry committee, Stahlberg, who was most closely responsible for the Senate stand in the matter, opposed complete prohibition on the grounds that it would probably be impossible to achieve and would benumb the sense of obedience to law, Parliament nevertheless enthusiastically passed a law to prohibit all sales of alcoholic beverages. However, since the Senate suggested it be vetoed, and since the Czar was of

the same opinion, the law was not signed. Even so, as soon as Parliament had cast its votes for the law, Stahlberg resigned, for he considered the vote an expression of lack of confidence, and he did not want to present the Czar a law which he considered unsatisfactory.

Many other important issues were before Parliament for discussion. In the beginning it revealed inexperience in its work, a great deal of partisanship and even intolerance toward those of differing opinions, but the session also indicated great enthusiasm and a desire to carry out reforms. And it did not take long before Parliament had to take a stand against a new attack being prepared in St. Petersburg.

Since the position of the Mechelin Senate began to be untenable, many of its members resigned, and the Czar dissolved the Parliament in April, 1908. At the same time a new bourgeois Senate was named: its vice-chairman became the Young Finn, Edward Hjelt, and two new members were J. R. Danielson-Kalmari and J. K. Paasikivi of the Old Finns. This government had to perform in even more difficult circumstances than its predecessors, for 1909 brought with it another crisis: in that year the constitutional trend begun in 1905 was forced to a stop altogether, while a new russification phase began. Some men were appointed senators who could only nominally be said to have retained their status as Finns, such as army officers and officials who had taken up residence in Russia, but even they were soon pushed aside and replaced by pure Russians. Governor-General Gerard was recalled in 1908, and his successor General Böckman was recalled the following year, when the position was given to F. A. Seyn, who had been one of Finland's most bitter enemies from as far back as the Bobrikov era. The new repressive policies were now more skillfully carried out than in earlier attempts; an open show of force was avoided, and the press was not treated as harshly as it had been during the first period of repression. Instead of that, the police organization was gradually put into Russian hands, and the influence of the gendarmerie was increased. The Finnish Parliament tried its best to defend the country's rights, but it always found itself dissolved for even the slightest show of stubbornness. In elections which followed rapidly one after the other, there were no significant changes in the relative party strengths, and the voters continued to go to the polls again and again, almost as a demonstration of their determination.

In June 1910, P. A. Stolypin, who had become Prime Minister of Russia four years earlier, made a speech in the Duma, aimed

directly against Finland. He remarked, for example, that national legislation did not fall into the competence of the Finnish Parliament, and he demanded that the Finns, like the rest of the minorities within the Russian Empire, elect representatives to a joint Duma. Two members of the opposition spoke up for Finland, but in vain. The majority of the Duma approved a decision according to which laws and statutes applicable to Finland would be made henceforth by Russia's lawmaking organs. One member of the Duma even raised a shout, "Finis Finlandiae!" In the Russian cabinet the matter was also approved with a large majority, and the Czar signed it into law on last day of June. Finnish protests had no effect, and it seemed as if Finland had reached the end.¹⁴

The second period of repression, then, was at its darkest. Even passive resistance seemed to have become paralyzed in the face of this superior power. But with the outbreak of war in 1914, it was hoped that Russia would be led into difficulties such as the war against Japan had brought it a decade earlier. Public opinion wavered between two extremes: there were those who believed that an Allied victory would bring a breakthrough to more liberal ideas, and who hoped that when peace came those ideas would be realized in Finland, too; there were those who believed that greater support should be given to the idea of cooperation with Russia's enemy, imperial Germany, for when someone fighting vastly superior forces has reached the end of his own resources and is about to perish he will use every opportunity and every ally he can call to his aid: mighty Germany was the strongest enemy of Russia and the only one whose armed victory could undermine the czarist regime, and only on the ruins of that system could a new day dawn for Finland. Finnish active resistance circles began to seek contact with the Central Powers, and in 1915 several hundred young men secretly fled the country, leaving their homes for patriotic reasons, and facing the dangers of going to Germany for military training. All classes of society, from university students to factory workers, were represented in this 'Jaeger' movement, and by 1917 the Jaeger Battalion had grown to a strength of two thousand men.

In Finland, repressive measures continued in all severity until the March, 1917 revolution toppled the czarist government and brought into power a provisional government. As soon as this situation seemed stabilized, there were Finnish-Russian negotia-

14. op. cit. O. Seitkari, "Eduskuntaudistus ja uusi sortokausi", II, pp. 372-420.

tions in Helsinki and St. Petersburg concerning Finland's future status. Both sides were agreed that the re-establishment of Finland's rights could be achieved by following the tradition of making a proclamation. In fact, the Russians did proclaim in March that all illegal actions taken in Finland were therewith repealed, and this manifesto was accepted on the whole as an indication of the new Russian government's favorable attitude and was considered an appropriate point of departure for the trend in Finnish policy, since it restored Finland its official right to speak. Once the Provisional Government had approved the coalition Senate formed by Oskari Tokoi, based on the proportionate parliamentary party strengths, and once permission was granted for Parliament to come into session in early April, Finland's government had returned to its normal channels. In Tokoi's Senate, Väinö Tanner, M. Paasivuori, V. Voionmaa, J. Ailio, W. Wuolijoki, as well as Tokoi himself, were members of the Social Democratic party, while E. N. Setälä, Rudolf Holsti, A. Serlachius, A. Tulenheimo, Leo Ehrenrooth and K. Kallio represented the bourgeois parties.

The March Revolution brought a sudden change into Finnish political life, and the immediate future offered broadened perspectives for political developments. The question of the proper procedure under the circumstances was discussed from all angles when Parliament sat, and the all-important question arose of how the powers which had belonged to the Grand Duke were to be held in the future.

Feelings on this problem crossed old party lines. According to some, the Russian Provisional Government was completely in the right in exercising the rights inherited from the Grand Duke, and the Finns had no alternative but to comply. During the spring and summer of 1917, the majority of bourgeois elements supported this view. Others, however, believed that the powers in question had belonged only to the overthrown Grand Duke and did not belong to the Provisional Government. This line of thought fostered the demand for self-inspired action and set off the movement for independence.

Within the Social Democratic party there were no such disagreements on policy as the bourgeois elements exhibited. The results of a late April 1917 meeting of the party's parliamentary steering committee showed that the Socialists considered that very moment the opportune one for the realization of Finland's independence. When the Russian Provisional Government in June authorized consideration of this problem of the highest authority by the Finnish Parliament, the Socialists followed their own course

and tried to transfer more of the Grand Duke's rights and privileges to Finnish organs of state than the law proposal implied. On this socialist initiative, and with the support of the Agrarian League and the Young Finns, Parliament did pass on 18 June the so-called Authority of the State measure, but the Russians considered this to be a seizure of authority whereby the Finnish Parliament had taken all authority into its own hands. The Provisional Government refused to approve the law; instead, it dissolved Parliament and ordered new elections. At first the left tried to keep Parliament in session with its socialist majority but gave up when the bourgeois parties began to prepare for new elections. In the subsequent October voting, the Social Democrats lost their majority, which seemed to indicate that the Authority of the State supporters would meet stiffened opposition. Simultaneously, however, the position of the Provisional Government was growing weaker day by day, and in the Parliament which assembled on the first of November, the new majority no longer considered itself able to maintain its earlier stand on the issue of state authority. Thus, with the two opposing viewpoints gradually drawing together, Finnish independence seemed to have reached the point of realization.

The bourgeois parties sought to find a compromise solution through joint negotiation. It was proposed that the authority which had belonged to the Grand Duke be transferred to an administrative group to be elected by Parliament — at first it was proposed that just one person be chosen, but upon the Agrarian League claiming that this seemed monarchical, a group of three was decided upon — with foreign affairs and military matters to still be left in the care of the Russian Provisional Government. The Agrarians would have supported the socialist line on the authority of the state issue, but the Social Democrats were no longer disposed to send their measure to the Provisional Government for approval. They were prepared to accept a solution by way of manifesto only on condition that all powers of the Grand Duke be renounced by the Provisional Government, which legally did not possess them. Those who were for independence tended to accept the socialist stand, but opinion on the issue of by whom the supreme authority should be exercised remained divided. The Socialists wanted that authority to rest with Parliament, while the other independence-minded wanted it to be given to a government administrator or to the Senate. Conferences between the bourgeois parties resulted in a compromise proposal according to which the Russian Provisional Government would by proclamation renounce the exercising of the authority of the Grand Duke of

Finland, but which would also state that Finnish foreign affairs would continue to remain in the hands of the highest Russian authority, and that no changes were to be made in Finland's military establishment, or in matters concerning Russian individuals living in Finnish territory or Russian installations existing in Finland, without Russian permission. However, when the then Governor-General Nekrasov arrived in St. Petersburg on 5 November with the draft of this proclamation, it was already too late: a new, bolshevik revolution had begun.

The Age of Independence

In Russia, battlefield losses and stagnation in commerce and industry had led to the growing influence of the Bolsheviks, whose armed revolt then led to the overthrow of the Provisional Government and replaced it with the Soviet of Peoples' Commissars under Lenin. Russian internal developments had reached a point which forced the Finns to make another evaluation of the situation. After a few days of fumbling, Parliament on 15 November declared itself the holder of the highest authority in Finland, and since Russia made no claims reserving authority over foreign affairs or military command, the action of Parliament can be said to have marked the actual breaking of the ties which had held Finland and Russia together.

Possessing not only the authority to make laws but also the executive authority in Finland, Parliament was faced with the appointment of a new Senate. Strikes breaking out that same month intensified the disagreements between the bourgeois majority and the Social Democrats, and the dichotomy persisted in the attempts to form a new government, with one setting as its goal a coalition government and the other demanding a 'red Senate'. The relative parliamentary party strengths dictated the solution, and Svinhufvud's strictly bourgeois list of senators was approved in Parliament by a vote of 100 to 80. Subsequently, since the November 15th declaration of Parliament demanded in its final statement a declaration of independence, the Senate took up this matter as its first task: on the 4th of December Parliament was presented with the Senate's proposal for a new form of government, calling for Finland to be an independent republic, for which the Senate intended to seek immediate recognition abroad. Parliament approved these proposals on 6 December 1917, but not without a vote. There was unanimity on the question of independence, but the Social Democrats would have preferred to have it materialize through a mutual understanding with the Bolsheviks

in power in Russia, a government which the bourgeois parties on the other hand were reluctant to recognize as the legal government of Russia.

Since Finland had made its definite break with Russia, it was important that the step taken meet with Russia's approval. The Senate first tried to get Germany to assist in procuring Russian recognition of Finnish sovereignty, and the Senate believed this assistance would be readily forthcoming since Germany, victorious on the eastern front, was now negotiating a peace treaty with the Russians at Brest-Litovsk. However, the Germans did not help, and since they frankly reminded the Finns that if they wanted subsequent German recognition they had to make direct contact themselves with the Russians, the Senate decided to turn directly to the Soviet of the Peoples' Commissars. A delegation headed by Svinhufvud himself went to Petrograd, but even before this a socialist group had already been in touch with leading Bolsheviks on the same matter. On the last day of December 1917, Russia, the first nation to do so, recognized Finland as an independent republic. Four days later came recognition from Sweden, France and Germany; a week later, from Denmark and Norway; before the end of January, from Austro-Hungary, the Netherlands and Spain. On the other hand, England and the United States delayed to the point where their definite recognition did not come until the World War had come to an end.

* * *

In the period extending from the end of November 1917 to the end of November 1939, Finland's history shows both the deepest division which can befall a nation and the greatest unanimity to which a democratically governed nation can rise.

When the declaration of independence was made, the nation seemed to be plunging toward complete disintegration and the maelstrom of civil war. This cup of bitterness came early in 1918, and after the battles were fought, it was hardly possible to imagine anything more battered and torn than the Finnish people.

There in the land were the victors and the vanquished, and between them there was bitterness. A schism split the Socialists: the leaders tried to unite the ranks of labor behind western democracy and parliamentarianism, which was opposed to a sharply revolutionary wing organized in 1918 under the banner of world revolution, in close cooperation with the new order in Russia. The battle between the two factions was harsh, but the Social Democrats were able to take advantage of their legal status

15. op. cit. Juhani Paasilvirta, "Suomen itsenäistyminen", II, pp. 421-468.

while the Communist Party was forced to appear in public under cover names and was able to harvest only the halo of martyrdom in the eyes of its supporters.

1464473

But the victors were by no means unanimous either; the schisms among them cut almost as deep. As soon as the fighting was done, monarchists and republicans were bitterly opposed to each other. Differences of opinion on the course of foreign policy, especially on the relationship to be sought with the Bolsheviks, seemed irreconcilable and were decided only by majority decision. The position to take on pardoning prisoners and on other settlements in the aftermath of civil war were the subject of argument for years. The language battle broke out in flames again when the independent country had to decide on the relationship between the Swedish-speaking minority and the Finnish-speaking majority. In addition to everything else, the arguments over the defense establishment seemed impossible to solve.

A counterbalance to Finland's internal weakness, nevertheless, was its advantageous foreign situation, characterized in the first years of independence both by weakness in Russia due to lack of organization and by the attempts to achieve security within the framework of the League of Nations. Thus Finnish independence did not seem threatened at that time, and it was possible to focus all attention on internal reconstruction.

The point of departure in the preservation of independence lay in the economic and cultural conditions of the country. Their development during the last few years of Russian domination formed a natural starting point. The Finnish economy was based on the activity of the enterprising farm population and on industry which utilized native raw materials. Although the Finnish economy depended very acutely on economic developments abroad, those world developments seemed favorable as far as Finnish production was concerned. In a world in the process of rebuilding, Finnish wood products in particular found an expanding market. The rising economy made possible a higher living standard, and since patriotism in spite of everything depends not only on spiritual feelings but also on what a nation can provide for its people, precisely this increased feeling of economic security and well-being was an important factor in a growing feeling of solidarity and determination to safeguard the country's independence. Linked with the growing economic capacity was action aimed at increased social welfare, appearing in manifold ways both in legislative acts and in industry, tending to level the gulf between labor and capital. In independent Finland there has

never been cause of speaking of rapacious capitalism and oppression of labor; the actions which were taken, and which the bourgeois supported, made any such talk untenable as a political slogan.

Just as significant for the development of unity was the cultural development. The very achievement of independence presupposes a definite, high cultural level. Although Finland had many shortcomings in this respect, even before their independence the people had met these qualifications and thereby had been able to rise to a national consciousness. Independence placed the intellectual and economic weapons in their own hands, and cultural advance could be directed toward aims chosen independently. Although the Finns did not show sufficient vigor in the pursuit of higher intellectual culture, by which an international cultural level is measured, so much the more attention was paid to cultural work to benefit the masses. In the growth of national consciousness this fact, plus the spirit with which this cultural mission was accomplished, has had a decisive significance: the loyalty of the ignorant is the passivity of the slave, while unity is conscious adjustment which only the educated can make. The expansion of the school system and the stipulation of compulsory education have formed the foundation of Finnish cultural life. Voluntary educational work, especially in workers' circles, has taught the love for the western way of life, for democracy, which, in spite of all its shortcomings, is capable of progress and safeguards the greatest treasure: individual freedom. As late as November 1917 the people of Finland were half-grown in this respect, but the trials of the last two decades have enlightened them. The opportunity that democracy offered, of participation in the political life of the state in terms of proportional representation, accustomed the left to have faith in parliamentary processes. In elections not much more than a year after the civil war, the Social Democrats again received 80 seats in Parliament and became the biggest political party. Although some changes in this figure later took place, the left kept more or less the same representational strength throughout the period under discussion. It gave a strong basis for the reform legislation which the party fostered in Parliament and which was aimed at the improvement of the economic position of the working class.

Since Parliament also had a sufficient number of bourgeois members who realized the necessity for these social reforms, it was possible to cooperate across party lines, and the resulting numerous reforms proved to the workers the efficacy of the parlia-

mentary road to progress. It was fair to ask if comparable gains would have been possible for the people under foreign domination or under a state system other than a democratic one; since the answer was in the negative, devotion to their own form of government grew, and with it, a sense of responsibility for its preservation. The spirit of cooperation in laboring circles was only increased in the early 1930s, when the majority of bourgeois circles fought just as ardently on the same front for democracy against the supporters of dictatorship. The settlement of accounts of the civil war lay far in the past, and their tragic memories were fading. New problems came to the forefront and made both left and right forget the bad dream of the past.

For the working classes, the language question was not a significant one, but from the very beginning of the independence period it did cause deep controversy between the pro-Swedish and the pro-Finnish minded. According to the pro-Swedes, the developments as far as a national language were concerned were too rapid and detrimental to the cause of Swedish, while according to the pro-Finns the developments for the advancement of Finnish were too slow. In the language battle which ensued, stinging wounds were inflicted on minds sensitively nationalistic, and no one seemed to listen to arguments citing the fruitful cultural interaction the two languages had on each other. When the quarrel went beyond the borders of the country and Sweden meddled in it to support the Swedish-speaking Finns, the situation in the mid-1930s on this particular sector of the internal front was awkward, and it seemed impossible to settle the issue between them, let alone to get them to work together for any common cause.

But the human mind functions in such a way that it is constantly re-evaluating, and so in Finland too: the nation was faced with vast problems, questions concerning foreign policy that affected the very existence of the state, and before them internal problems had to move aside. With the collapse of the League of Nations, the Scandinavian countries turned to neutrality, to a policy of neutrality which did not, however, overlook military preparedness. From 1935 on, Finland tried to follow this Scandinavian foreign policy line, but it got no further than making declarations of neutrality; and when the quarrels between world communism and a national socialistic Germany, eager to expand, became more acute, all the countries of the north began to fall back upon the security that strengthened defense measures could bring them. The foreign policy of independent Finland was concerned only with the solution of one problem: the preservation

of its independence; in other words, the question of security. Fear of Soviet Russia dictated the solution. At the beginning of the era of independence there had been forces in Finland demanding the country join counter-revolutionary groups to overthrow bolshevism, a demand the government had firmly rejected. Even later, Finland did not turn to any anti-Soviet policies but rather condemned the ardent, nationalistic youth who in the 1920s and 30s dreamed of a Greater Finland. But since these dreams had received exaggerated attention in Russia, and since Finland with mistrust studied the aims of world communism, there was tension between the two countries; in Finland it made for a feeling of uneasiness and helplessness which, when the world situation became even more critical, led to an awakening of a desire to defend the country and to a great steeling of the will. Finland's independence was to be assured at no matter what the cost by its defenses, which were not aimed against anyone but were aimed for the preservation of Finland. Since the issue of strengthening defenses was put on this basis, the Social Democrats also approved.

When the patriotism and favorable reaction to defense of the Social Democrats was noted by the bourgeois, the suspicions they had entertained against the workers began to disappear. This clearing of the atmosphere and uniting of forces fostered the weakening of anti-democratic forces at the end of the 1930s and the strengthening of bourgeois-social democratic cooperation in the government from 1937 onward. When Soviet Russia signed its pact with Nazi Germany on the eve of the second world war, in August 1939, and then on the basis of that pact made its demands on the Baltic countries and somewhat later on Finland, the temper of the country was intensified. The people of Finland felt they were being driven into a hurricane. Instinctively they realized that the only possibility of saving themselves was through national unity, and if disaster was to come — so it was decided — that disaster would be faced side by side, each supporting the other to the very end.

So rapid and surprising had been these major world political developments that not even communist circles had been able to initiate action to undermine this sense of unity. In those circles, the Soviet pact with Nazi Germany, the partition of Poland which followed and the subsequent demands made on the Baltic countries, upset their constantly repeated belief that Soviet Russia was the mainstay of world peace. When Finland was attacked by Soviet forces in 1939, no action was taken by communist circles in Finland such as had obviously been counted upon by Russia, which

was lacking the real facts about Finland's intentions and the Finns' true feelings. The national feeling of unity reached down into even these communist circles quite strongly, and in the hellfire of the Winter War the feeling of unity was transformed into a simple sharing of the same fate, which spread from the battlefields after the 105-day war with the returning soldiers to the home-front, giving strength for enduring the violent tribulations of the years which were to follow.

Although the forces of unity seem able to influence the Finnish people only in moments of great ordeal, it is a consolation to know that they are always there as a deep undercurrent, which can, when needed, guide the ship of state out of storms.¹⁶

On the cultural front, the birth of an independent Finland did not bring such radical changes as in the political and economic field, because precisely in the cultural field Finnish independence had been almost complete even during the era of Russian domination. Even during the periods of severest repressive measures, cultural activity had been left alone by and large, and in this respect the severing of ties between Russia and Finland mattered hardly at all, since cultural relations between the two had been of scant significance.

When the period of independence did begin, Finland already had men active in the cultural field, and she had institutions, reasonably sufficient. Nevertheless, the establishment of several new, significant cultural institutions did take place during the first few years of independence. In 1919, there was established in Turku a Swedish-language university, the privately endowed Abo Academy, and three years later the same city received a Finnish-language institution, the Turku University, also privately endowed. In Helsinki, private initiative led to the establishment of a Workers' Academy in 1924 and a Peoples' College in 1925 (the name was later changed to the Civic College), and in both institutions persons who have not passed the college entrance examinations normally required can matriculate. Both of these institutions now receive their financial support from the state, as does the Turku University in part. A teachers' college was established in 1934 in Jyväskylä. A Finnish-language business college was established as early as 1911, while a business college was established at the Abo Academy in 1927 and that same year a Swedish-language business college was founded in Helsinki.

The number of college students has increased rapidly during the years of independence. While in 1915 there were 4,216

16. *Helsingin Sanomat*, issue of 6 XII 1954.

students in colleges requiring the passing of college entrance examinations for matriculation, the figure had grown in 1939 to 9,218 students, an increase of over 100%.

In educational work in general, independent Finland's most significant achievement was the implementation of the compulsory education law of 1921. It has brought a huge increase in the number of schools, teachers and pupils: 1915 statistics for elementary public schools showed 6,044 teachers and 181,112 pupils, while the 1938 figures showed 13,810 teachers and 491,989 pupils.

Since the Finns did not have complete freedom of action in the political or even the economic fields in the period before independence, there was more intensive focus on the various cultural fields, science, art and literature. In all these fields there had been significant achievements by the turn of the century and in the early 1900s, and many individuals who had achieved recognition in these fields continued their activity into the years following Finland's independence.

In the sciences, the present has received from the earlier age an heritage of both men and methods. For example, the historian Johan Richard Danielson-Kalmari, whose extensive work, "Finnish Political and Social Life in the 18th and 19th Centuries", was not published until the independence era, had begun his research almost half a century earlier. Similarly, historian Gunnar Suolahti, whose main field was cultural history, had begun his research at the beginning of the century. On the other hand, the work of the specialist in medieval history, Jalmari Jaakkola, has taken place entirely in the period of independence.

A sociologist who achieved international fame, Edward Westermarck, had published his most important works before the era of independence, but he continued his scholarly activities up to his death in 1939. The same can be said of his contemporary, the philosopher Arvid Grotenfelt, who died in 1942. Of Finland's younger philosophers the best known is Eino Kaila, while mention should be made of the sociologist Uno Harva, who died in 1949.

Of scholars in the field of law, mention must be made of K. J. Stahlberg, who became the first president of independent Finland.

In the natural sciences, there should be mentioned geologists Pentti Eskola and Matti Sauramo, the geographer Gabriel Granö, and chemists Gustaf Komppa and Arthur I. Virtanen, Finland's first recipient of a Nobel Prize in the sciences. Well-known philologists were E. N. Setälä and Heikki Paasonen.

Of prose writers who had earned a name earlier, the following were still alive in the early years of independence: Juhani Aho, Kauppinen-Heikki, Teuvo Pakkala, Kalle Kajander and Santeri Alkio. Their contemporaries Arvid Järnefelt and Santeri Ivalo lived longer and still published books in the 1930s, although these latter works added no new features to their careers.

Among slightly younger writers — Maila Talvio, Ilmari Kianto, Volter Kilpi, Joel Lehtonen and Maria Jotuni — the major portion of their work has been published in the independence period; among some, for example in Volter Kilpi and his portrayals of rural life, the production during the independence years has formed the creatively significant portion. Similarly, with Ilmari Kianto, the portrayal of rural life in *Joseph of Ryysyranta* and his partially autobiographical *Preacher's Son* and *The Young Poet*, which were all published in the independence era, are his major work. In the same way, several of the later dramas of Maria Jotuni, such as *I am Guilty* and *Klaus, the Master of Louhikko*, are her best. Almost all the work of the Nobel Prize winner Frans Emil Sillanpää dates from the independence period, and his novels and short stories, generally with a rural background, have been popular both at home and abroad.

Of younger prose writers the best known is Mika Waltari, author of many novels (his *Sinuhe, the Egyptian* was filmed in Hollywood) and plays. Toivo Pekkanen achieved fame in his portraits of working class life; Unto Seppänen found his themes in the Carelian Isthmus; and Väinö Linna has described the battle-field life of infantrymen in the Finnish wars.

Among poets who had achieved fame early in the century, several lived well into the independence period: Eino Leino, Larin-Kyösti, and Otto Manninen. Eino Leino's late work was an autobiographical prose effort, *The Picture Book of My Life*, while Manninen was both an original poet and a splendid translator, bringing forth both the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, Goethe's *Faust* and some of his lyrics, and a selection of Petöf's poetry, in Finnish translation, all in the independence era. Poet Veikko Antero Koskenniemi's most productive period happened to fall in the second decade of the century, and since his appointment as professor of Finnish Literature and its History at Turku University in 1921, his work has been primarily concerned with aesthetics and research into literary history.

In the independence period, lyric poetry has occupied a very important position in Finnish literature. In addition to the poets mentioned above, the influential names have been those of Uno

Kailas, Saima Harmaja, and Kaarlo Sarkia, who all died young. To a generation of poets still younger belong Katri Vala, Elina Vaara, Lauri Viljanen and Aaro Hellaakoski.

Many painters who had achieved fame early in the century continued to work well into the independence period. The best known among them were Pekka Halonen, Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Eero Järnefelt and Juho Rissanen. The period of repression immediately preceding World War I brought a strongly expressionist movement to Finnish art, and T. K. Sallinen was its major exponent, closely followed by the richly imaginative Marcus Collin. In addition, Sallinen's group, which at one time called itself the November Group, also included Juho Mäkelä, Jalmari Ruhooski, Ilmari Aalto and Anton Lindfors, as well as Ragnar Ekelund and Eero Nelimarkka as close associates.

Sculptors who had earned early recognition and continued to be influential in the independence era were Ville Vallgren, Emil Wikström, Emil Halonen and Victor Malmberg. Among younger sculptors who have achieved fame are Gunnar Finne, Jussi Mäntynen and, especially, Wäinö Aaltonen, who is considered the outstanding representative of younger Finnish sculpture, and Kalervo Kallio, whose works are known as far afield as the United States. Of sculptors who have worked mostly in wood, Hannes Autere and Albin Kaasinen must be mentioned.

In sports the Finns have won worldwide fame during the independence period, although the basis for its achievements was made a little earlier, with victories in the Athens Olympics in 1906, London in 1908, and particularly the Stockholm games in 1912, when Finland proved that it belonged among the world's leading nations in sports. An intensified sports program with the beginning of independence brought even better results: in Antwerp in 1920, Paris in 1924 and Amsterdam in 1928, only the United States, with much larger teams, was able to win more points than Finland. The Finns also took part in the Los Angeles games in 1932 and Berlin in 1936, and as recognition for its place in the world of sports Finland was scheduled to be host for the Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1940. Although Finland had made all preparations for the games, war interfered, and it was not until 1952 that Finland was able to hold the games and leave its name permanently in the history of sports.¹⁷

Such is Finland, the beautiful, the barren, land from whence they came, the Finns of Minnesota.

17. Korhonen, op. cit. I. Laati, "Itsenäisyysajan saavutuksia", II, pp. 542-552.

Chapter II

The Finns In Immigration

It is impossible to imagine the rapid growth and development of the United States without the contribution made by the massive waves of immigration to this land of unlimited possibilities. Immigration began to appear as a significant factor in the late eighteenth century, when some 3,000 persons a year made the move from Europe, first chiefly from England. By 1810 the figure had increased to 4,000 a year, and it was increasing steadily.

Motivating immigration on such a scale were the development of industry, the expansion of international trade, a changing economic picture within nations. At a time when masses of wage earners in western Europe began to feel that social and economic upheavals had made their incomes uncertain, reports from the new United States spoke of the enticing possibilities open in the great west to settlers and workers and all enterprising persons. Ships began to cross the Atlantic on regular schedules and, with the advent of steam, the trip became less arduous and less expensive as well. The restrictions various countries had placed on emigration were gradually relaxed, almost as if to acknowledge the right of individuals to move about at will, and increasing numbers left the countries of their origin. The wave of immigration continued to rise, from the 4,000 a year in 1810 to over 400,000 a year in 1850, then close to 600,000 a year during the 1850s.

The Civil War cut the figure to less than 200,000 a year, but when the war was over, the United States, previously a predominantly agricultural country, developed rapidly into a strongly industrial nation, and in less than three decades the value of its industrial production had already surpassed that of its agricultural income, and a decade later was twice as large as the income from the land.¹

The passing of the Homestead Act in 1862, with which federal land was given free to settlers, started a large-scale westward movement. This in turn led to the young industry's continuing search for cheap, unskilled labor, and the demand grew so great that the United States government, some of the individual states, industrial interests and ship lines began to recruit workers from abroad.² As early as 1862, Secretary of State Seward wrote to the consular and diplomatic representatives in Europe that nowhere else but in the United States could diligent workers and artisans expect such a liberal return for their services; he requested that these facts be made known everywhere and in every way, in the hope that it might result in increasing immigration.³

The American economic depression in the 1870s led to a decrease in the annual immigration figure from a half million per year to less than a quarter million at the end of that decade, but by 1891 the figure had risen again, to almost 900,000, surpassed the million mark in 1902, and climbed to 1,800,000 in 1907, only to drop back to under a million again in 1908, due to another depression.

In the years from 1820 to 1870, with a total of 7,500,000 immigrants crossing the Atlantic, Great Britain and Ireland accounted for 3,333,000 of the total, Germany for 2,333,000, France for 250,000 and Scandinavia for 150,000. After 1880, these countries were gradually being replaced by Italy, Austro-Hungary and Russia, which in 1870 had accounted for but one percent of the total, in 1880 for 10 percent, in 1890 for one-third and in the years 1901-1905 for two-thirds of the total.

An immigration law passed in 1907 paved the way for a certain selectivity. The new law denied entry permits to the United States for the mentally deficient and the sick, for paupers who might remain public charges, for criminals and politically undesirable or dangerous persons. Minors under 16 could no longer come unless they were with their parents. Illiterates were classified as less desirable applicants. Then World War I definitely blocked the stream of immigrants, and after the war the flow was carefully controlled with hard and fast maximums, and with annual quotas assigned to the various countries of origin.

1. L. M. Hacher, *The United States since 1865*. p. 186.

2. L. Huberman, *We, The People*. p. 208.

3. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. September 1950. p. 203.

Early Finnish Immigration to the United States

Finnish participation in the settlement of America began in 1627, when the first Finn came to these shores.⁴ A fairly large group came together with the Swedes in 1638 to Delaware—these were Finns who had moved earlier from Finland to Sweden and then moved on to America, some, seeing a favorable opportunity, others, frankly, coming because they were forced to make the move.

After that, small numbers of Finns, seamen for the most part, who landed at Baltimore or Boston, Galveston, New York, Philadelphia, sometimes remained on land. Old New York records mention one Mauno Peterson, from Turku, while records of the 1850s list the following Finnish seamen: Charles Broman and Gustaf Wendelin from Raahe, and Charles Törnquist from Kokkola. Among the earlier inhabitants in Harlem were the Finns Dirsh Mickelsson, Hans Peterson, and Jurgen Woll. In Providence lived the former seaman Tuomas Ruona from Kuortane. During the Crimean War, a Finnish captain who in 1854 had berthed his ship in New Orleans decided it was wiser to sell his ship there than to risk seizure by the English on the high seas, and most of his crew decided to settle down in Louisiana.⁵ In other instances seamen walked off their ships, as did all the Finnish crew members of the *S. S. Sylfid* in 1900 in Portland and Astoria, Oregon, having signed on for the sole purpose of getting to America.⁶ Earlier, during the California Gold Rush, many Finnish sailors settled in San Francisco.

Between 1830 and 1840 numerous Finns settled down in Alaska, whose governor (according to some reports) was a Finn and aware how suited Finns were for facing the rigors of the north.⁷ In the 1860s a large group of Finns, employed by a Russo-American trading firm, did go to Alaska and remained as permanent settlers in Sitka and vicinity.⁸

The groups, and the seamen who had more or less casually moved to America, formed that living link in the chain which united the Delaware Finns of 1638 and the more recent arrivals in the mass movement of Finnish immigrants, which began in the 1860s.

4. C. Niemi, *Americanization of the Finnish People in Houghton County, Mich.* Duluth, Minn., 1921. p. 13.

5. *Siirtokansan Kalenteri*, 1940. p. 45.

6. *Lännetär*. May 10, 1900.

7. *Literary Digest*. May 24, 1919.

8. *Siirtokansan Kalenteri*, 1940. p. 45.

Causes of the Large-Scale Immigration

The motivation for immigration can be stated in many ways. It can be said, for example, that there are either general or individual reasons. General reasons can be broken down into temporary and permanent causes, causes which some scholars have classified under the headings of natural and unnatural.⁹ But at least as far as the Finns are concerned their reasons have been so complex and so entangled that many factors have been at work simultaneously. If, for example, the issue is studied from the American aspect, without a doubt such a factor as America's well-developed industry and economic well-being compared to that of many European countries was a continuing influence and a natural cause for immigration. Among Finnish immigrants this reason has been vital from the beginnings of mass immigration to the present date. It was given additional emphasis by Finland's own limited economic possibilities and the change from a purely agricultural society to a gradually and increasingly industrialized society.¹⁰ When a country can offer but scant return even for the hardest of toil and drudgery, and when even that return has often been lacking altogether, the search for a better existence is understandable enough. It was a reason always present in the Finland of pre-independence times, together with other factors appearing at some particular moments in history.

During the nineteenth century Finland had a whole series of famines, of which 1867 started the most calamitous one, and from which it took decades before recovery from its consequences was forthcoming. Very little grain was harvested that year, and tens of thousands of people died of starvation, and typhoid epidemic added to the death toll. Within two months, April and May 1868, six times as many people died as was statistically normal. In Parkano, one out of four inhabitants died; in Ruovesi and Orivesi, almost one in six. The highways were crowded with people begging for food; the roadsides were littered with corpses. The national standard of living was set back, and a desire to leave the country grew. The governor of the province of Vaasa reported, "Masses of people are leaving the country."¹¹

9. See P. H. Fairchild, *Immigration*, p. 146; also R. Engelberg, *Suomi ja Amerikan Suomalaiset*, Helsinki, 1944, pp 13-60.

10. K. Kautsky, *Vermehrung und Entwicklung in Natur und Gesellschaft*. p. 8.

11. Th. Rein. J. W. Snellman. II, p 463.

Increasingly thoughts turned to the country where there was bread enough for everybody.¹²

Even with a gradual recovery from the famine years, the outlook for landless rural dwellers remained so dark that J. W. Snellman, for example, could express his anxiety over the situation in the following terms: "We know that they live in miserable hovels, earn wages which cannot buy them clothes to cover their bodies, and that their children are half-naked, summer and winter. When hard times come, then even hired servants are dismissed and then crowds of men, women and children have nothing before them but the highway and begging for their bread. If the landowners do not want to support their workers as workers, they will have to support them as their beggars."¹³

The fate of the landowners' own children did not appear much brighter. The oldest son inherited the estate when the father died, but to the younger sons such a farm could no longer seem like home. If, on the other hand, the land was divided among the children, with each succeeding generation the portions of land became smaller and smaller and soon could not guarantee even the most modest existence. Since many, furthermore, saw no prospect of ever getting any land of their own, they left for the country where there was plenty of it to be had: America. A hunger for land was one of the most important reasons for immigration, although Finland actually had no over-population as such, at least not in the Malthusian sense.¹⁴

Tens of thousands, the sons and daughters of land owners and tenants, the landowners themselves, the workers and the artisans, felt the urge to face the unknown road of immigration, and the new world beyond the ocean welcomed them. It not only welcomed those who came, but it sought them out and lured them to come. Mention has already been made of the rapidly increasing demand for labor in the United States and of steps taken to meet the demand. In the persuasion directed toward Scandinavia, the mining enterprises in the upper mid-west played a leading part. The first contact between Finns and recruiters from mining interests seems to have taken place in northern Norway.

In the seventeenth century, some Finns who had settled in Sweden's Värmland province moved farther afield, crossing over to the northern shores of Norway, to earn their livelihoods. In the

12. John Kolehmainen and George W. Hill, *Haven in the Woods*. p. 18.

13. Elis Sulkanen, *Amerikan Suomalaisen Työväenliikkeen Historia*. Fitchburg, Mass., 1951. p. 10.

14. O. H. Kilpi, *Siirtolainen ja Suomen talouselämä 19 vuosisadalla*. p. 31

vicinity of Alten there were in 1714 about twenty Finnish families, salmon fishermen for the most part, who had moved there from the new Tornio and Muonio river valley settlements. In 1756, statistics from Norway's Finnmark (Ruija) showed that there were 642 "Finnish and Lapp" families, and the 1799 figures from the same area spoke of about 3,500 "Finnish and sea-going Lapp" families, while there were no more than 2,000 Norwegians themselves there at the time. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Finns continued to move into the area in numbers. Ruija had become the promised land, where no one had to live in misery: the people of the Muonio and Kemi river regions had been unable to resist the lure of Norway, and the advice, "Go, lad, to Ruija!" had not fallen on deaf ears. In the years from 1825 to 1865 the number of Finns there grew from 780 to 5,862. The Finns in East Tromsö and western Finnmark seem to have been reasonably satisfied with their lot, but those in eastern Finnmark were disappointed: a bare, mountainous desert where even grass and shrubs did not grow (Hammerfest and Vardö-Vadsö.) The area around Kaafjord was also a gloomy place, hemmed in by mountains, to which a copper mine opened by the English had lured hundreds of Finns: 439 of them are said to have been living there in 1855. In this desolate region the work was hard and exhausting, but in the 1860s, when the ore began to give out rapidly, the population began to drift away just as rapidly:¹⁵ representatives of American mines were able to offer better wages, and since there was always the danger of work coming to an end altogether in Norway, their persuasion brought good returns. Furthermore, the Norwegians themselves had begun to make things hard for workers from neighboring countries by passing laws favoring the natives.¹⁶ The westward movement had begun and rapidly assumed significant proportions.

The first to come was a group of 35 men, which arrived in Upper Michigan in 1865. When the Calumet and Hecla firms found rich silver lodes in 1866, the recruiting of foreign miners was intensified: the Scandinavians had proved themselves strong and tough workers, and the various mines competed for their services: in 1868, some 675 persons left Tromsö. It is difficult to ascertain just how many Finns moved via Norway to the United States, but Kolehmainen in his studies has concluded that in the years 1864 to 1865 approximately a third of the Finnish immi-

15. John Kolehmainen, *Suomalaisten siirtolaisuus Norjasta Amerikkaan*. Fitchburg, Mass., 1946. p. 7.

16. E. Sulkanen, *op. cit.* p. 14.

grants arrived from northern Norway; perhaps 700, at the most a thousand, Finns in all came via Norway; that is to say, about every fifth or sixth Finn living in Tromsö and Finnmark.¹⁷

The recruiting activity was quickly expanded to cover those countries from which the workers in the Norwegian mines had originally come. In addition to industry, transportation firms, the American railroads and European shipping lines sailing from northern ports all came to the conclusion that they needed immigrants. For the railroads, taking a long range view, an increased population, particularly along the rail routes they served, was seen as a support for their traffic, and from a shorter range point of view, there was still the need for laborers to actually build the new lines. The competition between shipping lines forced their agents to find passengers to fill their ships. To build up the America fever, representatives were appointed and branch offices were opened. In Haaparanta, at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, the English-owned Allan Line opened an office in 1871 to serve emigrants from northern Finland, and at the same time the Anchor Line stationed officials in Finland. The Finnish steamship lines arranged their own sailing schedules to connect with trans-Atlantic sailings of the bigger lines, and with that, the campaign began to bring results. One of the most energetic recruiters in Finland was a man named Karl Möllersvärd, who had an assistant named Peter Swanberg (Haapa), and these two were chiefly responsible for the trip of the first group of Finns to come direct to Minnesota.¹⁸

The salesmen knew how to appeal to the economic and psychological factors making for immigration. The newspapers carried advertisements regularly, and soon leaflets and brochures were introduced too. In turn, the flood of immigrants led to other, related enterprises, and in 1887 the Finnish Immigration Company was founded in New York, with one G. A. Grönlund as its director, and with men representing it in Finland: V. K. Hultin in Vaasa, Victor Ek in Hanko, and K. L. Holmberg in Seinäjoki.¹⁹ New steamship companies came into existence, and ships were built especially for transporting immigrants, and in 1893 a guide-book appeared, listing thirteen qualified lines.²⁰ Many of these lines were English, but two German lines were included, as well

17. Kolehmainen, *op. cit.* p. 51.

18. Letter of George Sheppard to Karl Möllersvärd, dated July 18, 1873. Como Record Room, Foreign Immigration, St. Paul, Minn.

19. E. Sulkanen, *op.cit.* p. 17.

20. Konni Zilliacus, *Käsikirja Pohjois-Amerikasta*. Porvoo, 1893.

as a Danish line, the Thingvalla, especially recommended by the editor. By this time steamship lines had made mutual agreements controlling the cost of passage, so that they were all more or less the same. Consequently the moderate, often even very inexpensive fares added their bit to encourage the desire to emigrate: in 1909, the Commissioner General for Immigration decided that the advertising of the steamship lines was the highest motivating factor in immigration.²¹

In Finland the America fever began to be epidemic. Letters crossed the Atlantic, declaring that America was a place where it was worthwhile living, "a land where the newcomers were like the Joshua and Caleb of old, who, reconnoitering the land, had found the spot where bread and honey flowed, the land which grew wheat and other grain and which remained fertile for years."²² Or sometimes someone would return back home rich after a trip to America, and would tell anyone who would listen of the legendary land beyond the ocean, and with their tales the fever spread from house to house. "It was almost like an unwritten law that when a man reached the age of eighteen, it was time for him to go to America," said one of the newcomers.²³ Soon not only the men came, but whole families set out: "In spite of the low wages and the high cost of everything at that time, father and mother were careful of what was spent and in two years were able to save enough to buy tickets for their five children, the youngest of whom was eighteen. They secretly got everything ready for the trip, harvesting the grain and selling everything that was to be sold, and then just before they were ready to leave they came to tell my parents, Antti and Kaisa Tuomela, that they were leaving for America. When my parents heard that the Pikkarainens had managed to save enough money for tickets for so many, they got the America fever, too, and they asked the Pikkarainens to postpone their departure for a few days, because they would like to go along with them if they could find the money. They managed it, and they arranged everything for their old mother who was remaining in Finland, and so they joined the group with their two daughters. A blue trunk was filled with clothes and provisions for the journey. The hired man escorted them on the first leg of the trip with cart and horse, and we two girls sat beside the blue trunk while mother and father walked."²⁴

21. John Wargelin, *Americanization of the Finns*. Hancock, Mich., 1924. p. 40.

22. Solomon Ilmonen, *Amerikan Suomalaisen Historia II*, Jyväskylä, 1923. p. 148.

23. Interview with John Seilo. E. A. Aaltio Collection, Duluth, Minn.

24. Interview with Josefiina Kästämä, given to Adolf Lundquist in 1939. Archives of Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society.

Often it happened that it was not even necessary to wait to save money enough in advance, because those who had gone on before sent tickets to their relatives or close friends at home; it is estimated that in the years 1905-07 alone some 16,000 tickets were furnished in this way,²⁵ which in turn did nothing but confirm the illusion that everyone who had crossed the ocean had become a success. Of course, people generally are adaptable, and the Latin proverb, *Ubi bene, ibi patria*, is true in this connection. Many did leave for America with just one reason, one goal in mind: the search for riches. Or if not riches, at least enough money so that one could return to the old country and get some land of one's own, and, who knows, live comfortably the last years of one's life.

At the time of the maximum exodus, there was hardly a family which did not have some relative or other who had emigrated. The poorer seashore communities of Ostrobothnia were threatened with complete desertion,²⁶ but not entirely because the people were so poor but because they possessed the special characteristics which emigration required:²⁷ determination, courage and initiative surely were necessary for someone facing an unknown future. Furthermore, in the russification period, historical factors also influenced these northerners, for this province had been particularly sensitive to the preservation of its sense of freedom. The foreign yoke threatened to weigh heavy on them, and the men of these plains were prepared to leave the country rather than submit to tyranny. The illegal conscription act of 1901, mentioned in the previous chapter, and the resistance to it were particularly strong factors making for emigration.²⁸ The old saying, "Swedes we are not, Russians we do not want to become, hence we must be Finns," was altered a bit to fit the new circumstances: "We intend to become neither Swedes nor Russians, but Americans in all seriousness." At a time like that, if someone returned to the country on a visit from America and urged others who feared conscription into the Russian armies, "Boys, if you're ordered east, go west!" the words fell on receptive ears. At such a time it was useless to apply for a passport, but other means were effective: when one Nikolai Ekola was called to service he took his cousin Isak Rantala's passport, and with

25. Kolehmainen and Hill, *op. cit.* p. 24.

26. Carl J. Silfversten, *Finlandssvenskarna i Amerika*. Duluth, Minn., 1931. Cf Introduction.

27. J. Wargelin, *op. cit.* p. 45.

28. E. I. Parmanen, *Laittomien asevelvollisuuskutsuntojen vaikutus siirtolaisuuteen*. "Jouluviesti 1931" pp 37-39.

that in his pocket he was off to America, just as Matti Maunus was with his cousin Herman Somppi's passport.

Maunus had already been to America and had returned to Finland with every intention of settling down, but one Sunday in the fall of 1902 he had gone to church, and on that particular Sunday Dean Durchman, who had put off the duty for half a year, finally read out the illegal conscription edict to his parishioners. The very next day Maunus went to speak to the Dean, who promised to write out a birth certificate making Maunus out to be older than he really was so that he could apply for a new passport, but then his cousin Somppi, who was already too old for the draft, gave him his. In the village the neighbors were told that Matti was off to the lumbercamps to earn some cash, but by that time his stepfather had taken him one night to another town, where no one knew them, and there the young man had taken the train and was off for America again. Of course Matti was not the only one to leave, for other young men left at the same time, "just to be on the safe side."

In Alavus there was one man, a hired man named Simuna, whose passport was used over and over again. Once the passport control at the point of exit had been successfully passed, the user would mail the passport back to Simuna, and so another young man was able to use it, and another and another, as long as the document was valid. In Jalasjärvi there was quite a similar arrangement, and some forty to fifty young men were able to leave the country: one at a time the Jalasjärvi men would leave, drive to the town of Kristina, and from there they would cross the Gulf of Bothnia in a rowboat, with the passport in their pocket. In Sweden that passport almost became their password to authorities who were well-disposed and to travel agents who were eager to help.

Even the lack of a passport did not need to deter anyone's departure: some who made the trip recall that the agents in Finland who sold steamer tickets would also sell forged passports. In Hanko, there was a "secret activist shop" where passports were made out if there was a birth certificate and a sheriff's certificate to show.

When Emil Huhtala wanted to leave Alavus, the sheriff told him to get his passport in Hanko; he ordered him not to try to get it from the provincial government, because his draft call had already been issued while he was making up his mind to leave. So he left — the Dean wishing him a successful voyage and urging him to return when times were better, and the Sheriff

patting him on the shoulder and saying how he admired the lads who stood up for legality — and went to Hanko, and there he boarded the S.S. *Arcturus*, as did a dozen young men like him. On board ship, the first mate took special care of the group, which had a corner of its own in the hold.

The men from the shore communities of Ostrobothnia needed no passports, neither authentic nor forged. In open boats they crossed the Gulf of Bothnia, setting forth now from Munsala, now from Närpö. Sometimes as many as three boatloads would start out together, and an authority on the times states that the Gulf was “very often” crossed in these open boats.

Still another way of escaping Finland and the illegal draft was to stow away on some freighter, perhaps sailing from Kasinen or Sundsvall.

It is impossible to estimate the number of emigrants motivated by the illegal draft calls to leave the country. However, reports like Oskari Tokoi’s describing the February 1902 secret meeting in Central Ostrobothnia, to which delegates protesting the illegal measures arrived from all over the country, indicate the scope of the reaction, when he claims that, encouraged by the spirited resolution made at the meeting, “ten thousand young Finnish men came to America that year, thus giving a bigger single increase to Finnish numbers in America than any other movement before or after.” To speak of the complete desertion of the northern provinces, as some have done, was to exaggerate the case somewhat, but even Southern Ostrobothnia’s official statistics indicate that thousands did leave as emigrants during the years of the draft crisis.

As the February Edict year in particular indicates, the effect of the repression years on emigration was by no means limited to the reaction to the conscription law alone; rather, the difficult times in particular plus the continuing illegalities in general were enough to force people to leave the country. It is very difficult, of course, to evaluate the effect of the general atmosphere on the decision to emigrate, since it did not impinge on the average man’s daily life as did the conscription law. However, the Southern Ostrobothnian was apt to feel the need to seek a new land of more freedom, particularly since that was within the realm of possibility.²⁹

Between the extremes of political and personal motivation lies that basic trait of Finnish personality, the reluctance to submit

29. Uusi Suomi, February 25, 1956.

to being ordered about by others.³⁰ Sometimes, of course, there would be the case of someone whose deeds had brought him into conflict with society, someone avoiding the long arm of the law, someone defaulting on his debts, or evading difficult family relationships.³¹ The conservativeness of the older generation sometimes came into conflict with the demands of the younger, and the result was the departure of the weaker.³² And ill-fated love — there was a romantic reason for facing the real hardships of pioneer life.

Although the more recent mass emigration of the Finns did not begin until toward the end of the last century, at a time when religion in most of the world had become an individual concern, in spite of that emigration from the very poor and barren northern Finland did have religious reasons also. Old customs were being widely undermined by decadence; the state (Lutheran) church had lost its hold, and then the evangelists appeared on the stage. The teachings of Laestadius began to get wide popular support, but the cult was soon in difficulties with the state church. Although it would be wrong to speak of religious persecution, the conflict nevertheless resulted in many of the followers of Laestadius moving to America, where they knew complete freedom of religion to be.

Some scholars have also developed as a cause for the emigration, the theory of the simple desire of seeing the new, of Wanderlust.³³ Others again have commented that, although this phenomenon has been given considerable attention among researchers in Central and southern Europe, it cannot be given much weight as far as Finland is concerned.³⁴ However, it is difficult to find other suitable classification for quite a few immigrants who have not been able to give a single reason to account for their move.³⁵

Each of these reasons individually, and all of them together, explain a bit of human life: the reason why the Minnesota Finns left the country of their birth.

The Extent of Finnish Immigration

At the present time it is still impossible to procure completely accurate statistics of the numbers of Finns who have come to the

30. E. Sulkanen, op. cit. p. 10.

31. James T. Adams, *Amerikan eepos*. Helsinki, 1947. p. 274.

32. Kolehmainen and Hill, op. cit. p. 23.

33. Cf. M. Tarkkanen, *Siirtolaisuus, sen syyt ja seuraukset*. p. 7.

34. O. H. Kilpi, op. cit. p. 31.

35. Kolehmainen and Hill, op. cit. p. 23.

United States. The earliest figures were not gathered until the exodus of Finns had been underway for more than a decade and had already grown to considerable numbers. The director of the Finnish Central Office of Statistics wrote the Senate a memorandum, 15 December 1881, calling attention to the need for statistical information on emigration,³⁶ and from 1883 on the governor of the province of Vaasa furnished such information, and Oulu began to supply statistics the following year, but it was not until 1893 that all the provinces were instructed to do so. Even after that date there is some uncertainty about the figures gathered, because up to 1924 every person was considered an emigrant who was given a passport for employment abroad, and it was not until after that date that only those were classified as emigrants who actually left the country. Furthermore, up to 1924 all persons who left for the United States, Canada or South America were lumped together. And lastly, any move through an intermediary country to the United States as final destination remains completely out of the scope of the Finnish statistics. Ever since the days of the Delaware settlements three centuries ago, such intermediary countries have been Sweden, later Norway, in the nineteenth century, and lastly Soviet Russia, from where there was some movement both in and out after the Finnish civil war and during the 1920s and 1930s. Even the statistics available in the United States are of no great help, because in these figures the Finns were included, up to the turn of the century, under the country of origin, which in their case was considered to be Russia. In addition to that, the 1900-1908 American statistics must be handled with the warning that they do not indicate those persons returning to the country after having already been here once. The Finnish Statistical Bureau and the United States Bureau of the Census statistics are based on the calendar year, while the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization figures use the fiscal year ending June 30th. Finally, there must be taken into consideration language difficulties and vast distances which can confuse the census takers. ³⁷

The estimated figures for emigration from Finland to the United States have been given by various researchers as follows:

O. H. Kilpi:			
1871-75	ap.	225	1881-85 3,717
1876-80	220	1886-90 21,968 (38)

36. Minutes of the Imperial Finnish Senate, 1881. State Archives, Helsinki.

37. H. P. Fairchild, op. cit. p. 124.

38. J. Wargelin, op. cit. p. 56.

Akseli Järnefelt:

1883	723	1888	2,231
1884	835	1889	2,027
1885	555	1890	2,451
1886	491	1891	5,281
1887	1,822	1892	5,099 (39)

Arthur Hjelt:

1892	36,401	1906	17,517
1893	9,117	1907	16,296
1894	1,380	1908	5,812
1895	4,020	1909	19,144
1896	5,185	1910	19,007
1897	1,916	1911	9,372
1898	3,467	1912	10,724
1899	12,075	1913	20,057
1900	10,397	1914	6,474
1901	12,561	1915	4,041
1902	23,152 (40)	1916	5,325
1903	16,964	1917	2,773
1904	10,952	1918	1,900 (41)
1905	17,427		

Teo Snellman, Elis Sulkanen and Arne Halonen:

1919	1,085	1922	5,715
1920	5,595	1923	13,835
1921	3,557	1924	5,429 (42)

Walfrid Jokinen:

1893-1950	363,467		
1893-1900	47,557	or	13.1%
1901-1910	158,832	or	43.8%
1911-1920	67,346	or	18.5%
1921-1930	58,559	or	16.1%
1931-1940	8,844	or	2.4%
1941-1950	22,329	or	6.1% (43)

These figures reflect the continued growth of immigration year after year to the eve of World War I. They also show clearly the effect upon the numbers of immigrants caused by periods of economic depression in the United States (for example, 1908, which was also affected by the easing in 1905-07 in the russification tactics in Finland.) In 1924 the United States limited the number of Finns who could enter the country to 471 per year, although that figure was revised to 569 in 1928. In the six years following these restrictions, Canada, for example, received almost nine times as many immigrants as did the United States.⁴⁴ After World War II, the maximum quotas for certain countries

39. Akseli Järnefelt, *Suomalaiset Amerikassa*. Helsinki, 1899. p. 18.

40. *Sosiaalipoliittinen Aikakauskirja* 1905.

41. *Virallinen Lehti* XVIII 1920.

42. T. Snellman, op. cit. p. 20, E. Sulkanen, op. cit. p. 17, and Arne Halonen, *The Finnish-American Labor Movement; Its Growth and Decline*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Minnesota. pp. 1-2.

43. Walfrid Jokinen, *The Finns in Minnesota; A sociological Survey*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, p. 35.

44. W. Jokinen, op. cit. p. 5.

were lifted to take care of war refugees, but the figures for Finland were not altered, and 1954 again saw but 560 new Finnish immigrants in the United States.⁴⁵ However, to these numbers must be added the occasional few returning to the United States and receiving permission to stay permanently, being American citizens by birth.

Using the figures of immigrants arriving annually as a guide, many have tried to estimate the total number of Finnish Americans at any given time. However, the only relatively accurate basis for any such figure are given in the Bureau of the Census compilation by decades, which have listed the numbers of Finns, born in Finland, and living in the United States, as follows:

1900	62,641	1930	142,478
1910	129,669	1940	117,210
1920	149,824	1950	95,506 (46)

In addition, the Census figures list second generation numbers, too; that is, when one or both parents have been foreign born, and in the case of those of Finnish descent, the 1940 figure came to 168,080, and the 1950 figure to 172,370.⁴⁷ Beyond this the statistics do not go, and yet, even three and four generations of Finnish descent are not unusual, and a few fifth generation Finns are known. At the same time, of course, there have been mixed marriages as well, but to try to measure the degree of Finnish blood thus involved would amount to pure conjecture.

In 1925, the pastor and historian Salomon Ilmonen estimated the total number of Finns in the United States to be 422,000. The following year Consul Edwin Lundström made a tabulation by geographic areas and arrived at a total of 349,000.⁴⁸ Teo Snellman published a study in 1929 in which the number of Finns in the United States was estimated to be 400,000, with another 70,000 in Canada.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Elis Sulkanen maintained in 1951 that the number of Finns never exceeded 400,000.⁵⁰ All the estimates given remain basically unreliable on one point: although it can be quite accurately stated how many Finns left Finland and in part, also, how many of them actually arrived in the United States, information on how many of them later returned permanently to Finland remains vague.

45. *New York Times*, March 4, 1955.
46. U. S. Census of Poulation, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950.
47. U. S. Department of Commerce. Official Copy on March 29, 1954. Series PC-14 No. 20.
48. E. Sulkanen, op. cit. p. 20.
49. Teo Snellman, *Ulkokansalaistoiminta ja Siirtolaisten Huolto I.* Helsinki, 1929. p. 16.
50. E. Sulkanen, op. cit. p. 20.

Only a very few Finns actually left their homeland determined to spend the rest of their lives in the United States. Of course, many failed to return to the country of their birth, but many others did succeed in doing so. Immigration statistics of 1918, based on reports of passengers carried from the United States by the various steamship lines, show that between the years 1889 and 1914 there were 90,672 persons sailing back home to Finland from America. Although this amounts to 29 percent of those who had come to this country, it is fairly safe to say that about one fourth of these returnees returned once more to America, leaving a total "loss", then, of about 68,000. In 1922, Akseli Rauanheimo, then attache with the Finnish Legation in Washington, wrote that 2,913 Finnish immigrants had come to the United States that year and that 2,753 Finns had returned to their homeland, leaving a "gain" for the United States of only 160 persons.⁵¹ As proof that many did return to Finland, one might cite the records of the small commune of Soini (population in 1900: 3,270; in 1950: 4,708.) Emigration from Soini began about the year 1880 and was at its peak at the turn of the century. From one of its villages 20 persons left for America, but 6 were later listed as returned on the Soini registers; another village listed 23 departures and 4 returns; a third village, 86 departures and 12 returns; a fourth, 18 departures and 1 return.⁵²

In addition to the factor of immigrants returning to the country of their birth, death has also cut into the total number of Finnish-Americans, an increasingly noticable factor as the immigrants have begun to grow old and as the influx of new immigrants has come practically to a halt. As early as 1924, Wargelin estimated the death rate to be eight per thousand,⁵³ and a good example of how that rate has risen is given by the small area of Thomson, where 92 Finns died during 1945-47, and whose age at death is shown below:

Age under 60	4	Age 75 to 79	21
Age 60 to 64	10	Age 80 to 84	15
Age 65 to 69	13	Age over 85	12 (54)
Age 70 to 74	17		

Viewing this decline, it has been suggested that Finnish-Americans surely ought to be as capable of preserving their identify as did once the 'forest Finns' who lived on for a long

51. J. Wargelin, op. cit. pp 58-59.
 52. Church records of Soini Parish, Finland, with assistance of Rev. Väinö V. Kurkinen.
 53. J. Wargelin, op. cit. p. 60.
 54. On basis of obituaries by John A. Mattinen in *Päivälehti*. February 24, 1949.

period in Sweden's Värmland province, preserving their genes, even their language, for centuries.⁵⁵ But the world has changed since those times, and Finnish-Americans are far from being 'forest Finns'. The *Päivälehti* outburst, "The Finns from Finland are disappearing; they are not just decreasing in numbers, they will disappear altogether from America"⁵⁶ is only too true. It is hardly exaggerated to state that they are disappearing at the rate of five percent per year.

The Composition of the Finnish Immigrant Group

The statistics cited on the previous pages include both Finnish and Swedish-speaking Finns. The statistics embrace the young and the old, men and women, married and single persons, rich and poor. Since all these settlers in Minnesota have faced the same problem of learning a new language, have lived and grown old, have married and raised families, grown richer or poorer, it may be interesting to differentiate them somewhat on the basis of what they were like when they left Finland.

The extent of immigration of Swedish-speaking Finns has been considered as impossible to estimate, since all statistics available lump all persons of Finnish origin together. However, since the area from which the Swedish-speaking Finns did emigrate is reasonably limited, population changes within that area can serve as a guide. A 1910 census revealed, for example, that the population of the Swedish-speaking communities in Ostrobothnia had decreased by 6,000 persons in a period of 30 years. Within that same period the population of Finland as a whole had increased by a million persons, and the figure of Swedish-speaking Finns in the Uusimaa province had increased by more than 47,000 persons. It would seem natural to expect the Swedish-speaking population of Ostrobothnia to have increased proportionately, but since there was a decrease instead, the decrease must be attributed to emigration since it is also known that population shifts internally from one province to another were extremely limited. The 1930 census showed that 4,500 Åland Islanders had moved abroad, most of them apparently to the United States, and since this island province was more than 90% Swedish-speaking at the time in question, the emigration can be credited to that element of Finns. Emigration of Swedish-speaking Finns from the Finland Proper and Uusimaa provinces can be estimated to

55. Oskari Tokoi in *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, October 16, 1953.

56. *Päivälehti*, February 24, 1948.

amount to about 3,000. The total figure from all Swedish-speaking areas in Finland is estimated to be close to 60,000.⁵⁷

To try to arrive at a figure embracing the Swedish-speaking Finns in America valid for the present, it is necessary to consider how many may have returned to Finland, as well as the mortality rate; if the total seems to have been less than 40,000 as far back as 1930, there can hardly be more than 10,000 at the present time.⁵⁸ Further, it can be seen that after the 1950 United States Census there was a change in the total picture of Finns in America: death had taken three out of four who had come. Applying the same percentage to the Swedish-speaking Finns would bring their total to the 10,000-12,000 mark. Finally, since the last Finnish census indicates the Swedish-speaking population of Finland to be 9 percent of the total, that 9 percent seems to hold true also for their share in the total Finnish emigration to America.

In 1924, Wargelin estimated that the average age of Finnish immigrants coming to the United States fell into the 20-30 year bracket.⁵⁹ Some three decades later, Jokinen⁶⁰ found that the majority who came to America between 1911-1930 fell into the 21-40 age group; less than 10 percent were children; less than 2 percent were over fifty. The Finnish Statistical Yearbook for 1951 confirms these figures in its breakdown of emigrants by age groups, as follows:

Age	1911-1920		1921-1930		1931-1940		1941-1950	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
-15	9,063	13.5	4,878	8.3	1,243	14.1	5,939	26.7
16-20	15,646	23.2	7,770	13.3	1,306	14.8	2,562	11.5
21-25	17,982	26.7	18,040	30.8	1,854	20.8	4,190	18.9
26-30	10,834	16.1	12,267	21.0	1,398	15.8	3,102	13.9
31-40	9,573	14.2	11,024	18.9	1,864	21.2	3,814	17.2
41-50	2,683	4.0	3,359	5.8	839	9.2	1,873	8.4
51-	1,211	1.8	1,002	1.7	359	4.1	735	3.3 (61)

The registers of the Soini commune, previously cited, also showed the age at which emigrants left from that specific area: 5 were 17 years old; 6 were 18; 7 were 19; 13 were 20; 109 were between the ages of 21-40; one was 41; one, 42; two, 45; one, 48; one, 52; one, 55. Only one child was listed age one.⁶²

57. Interview with Carl Gustafson, President of Runeberg Orden. Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society Archives.

58. Gustafson, op. cit.; Arkiv för svenska Österbotten I, Vaasa, 1922; *Det svenska Finland I-II*, Helsinki, 1919-23.

59. J. Wargelin, op. cit. p. 67.

60. W. Jokinen, op. cit. p. 47.

61. *Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja 1951*. Helsinki, 1952.

62. Soini parish records, op. cit.

In addition to age, the proportion by sex is significant in the picture of an immigrant group's development and preservation. It has been argued that immigration to a country close to home has a tendency to include more women than men, while the reverse is true in immigration to a distant land,⁶³ and the Finnish pattern supports this thesis. Recent emigration from Finland to Sweden, for example, has been predominantly female, while moves across oceans have been predominantly male. For each 100 Finnish women to arrive in the United States in 1893-1900 there arrived 153 men; in 1901-1910, 187.4 men; in 1911-1920, 126 men; 1921-1930, 148.3 men; 1931-1940, 59.5 men; 1941-1950, 100.5 men.⁶⁴ Especially in the earlier years, emigration was not the movement of families as a whole, but much more the going forth of unmarried men, whose goal was to earn money and then to return to Finland to marry and build their own home. Or else the father of a family came to America alone first, to prepare a home, to which wife and children could follow a year or two later. The later increase in the number of women reflected in the above figures was in all probability one of the most important factors in the stabilization of tradition and in the development of a new generation of Finnish descent in the new homeland. Before the increased arrival of Finnish women, marriages to women of other nationality backgrounds had seemed to balance the figures. In a study in 1936 of 350 marriages involving Finns, Kolehmainen was able to draw 1915 as a dividing line: marriages before that date were apt to be mixed, but following that date purely Finnish marriages predominated.⁶⁵

For purpose of comparison, in the matter of sex predominance in emigration the Soini commune figures show that 111 men left the country while only 35 women did so (and of the women, 4 later returned.) Some were already married, and the above figures include the 27 couples involved.⁶⁶

Frequently, of course, the departure of married men (or their wives) could result in family tragedies. The following chart speaks for itself:

	Immigrants who had left families behind	Family members left behind:		
	them:	Wives	Husbands	Children
1901	2,465	31	5,707
1902	3,912	23	8,702

63. W. Jokinen, op. cit. p. 43.
 64. Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja 1950. p. 67. Cf also immigration statistics in series No. XXVIII (24 pamphlets).
 65. American Journal of Sociology. November 1936.
 66. Soini parish records, op. cit.

1903	2,398	2,294	18	5,017
1904	1,071	1,006	13	2,157
1905	2,356	2,209	45	5,085
1906	1,971	1,841	38	3,915
1907	2,097	1,902	38	4,209
1908	528	472	9	1,028
1909	2,600	2,380	54	5,319
1910	2,786	2,571	52	5,974
1911	863	721	40	1,750
1912	848	712	40	1,745 (67)

Of course money and assistance was generally sent to those left back home, but things were not always easy even with such help, as the following story indicates: "I was five years old when my mother died and my father left for America. I was left in the care of strangers, whom my father agreed to pay for my support. At first life went on so-so, even though I was treated harshly. When my father finally sent tickets for me to join him in America, my greedy custodian burned them so he would continue to be paid for keeping me. Not until my father sent a new set of tickets, by way of a neighbor this time, was I able to get to America."⁶⁸

Sometimes a husband might even take off for America, without saying a word to his wife. She could wait for a long time without word from him, perhaps until a man from the farm next to theirs might have come back home to Finland for a visit and said, "Oh yes, to be sure, Charlie was living in Duluth, somewhere along Rat Avenue." At that point the wife might have packed her trunk and set out after her Charlie. And if she found him there, and if he had not taken up with another woman, well, the reconciliation would have followed promptly enough.

The fact that the majority of the immigrants were at their prime as workers and that there were so many of them to leave caused considerable anxiety in Finland.⁶⁹ Direct propaganda to counter emigration appeared in the writings of leading Finnish authors, and even the authorities conducted investigations, which also focused their attention on the status of those who did emigrate. To understand the various social classifications into which they belonged, it is best to first consider from what parts of Finland they came, and whether they were from town or country.

It has previously been mentioned that statistics were first made available from the province of Vaasa, and indeed Vaasa also led the rest of the provinces in the number of emigrants, with

67. Päivälehti, May 23, 1914.

68. Interview with Juho Jaakko Hepokoski. Archives of Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society.

69. Uusi Kotimaa, July 17, 1902.

the province of Oulu coming second. Between the years 1893-1902, the emigrants came from the various provinces, as follows:

Vaasa	51,247	Viipuri	2,886
Oulu	13,801	Kuopio	1,513
Turku-Pori	7,866	Häme	1,394
Uusimaa	3,473	Mikkeli	721 (70)

Between the years 1903-1912, the various provinces contributed the following numbers of emigrants:

Vaasa	63,028	Uusimaa	7,964
Turku-Pori	25,812	Kuopio	6,361
Oulu	20,505	Häme	5,750
Viipuri	10,758	Mikkeli	3,307 (71)

In comparing this decade with the previous one, it can be seen that the Oulu and Turku-Pori provinces switched places, as did also Uusimaa and Viipuri. Nevertheless, northern Finland was the area from which most of the emigration occurred, accounting for 67 percent of the total. One newspaper (*Amerikan Uutiset*, 24 February 1905) stated the case graphically: "In one particular part of Finland, namely in the western portions of the Oulu and Vaasa provinces, from the coast southeasterly to Saarijärvi (lake), emigration has become a frenzy. About four-fifths of Finland's emigrants stem from this relatively limited area." This delineation of area also seems to answer the question of whether the emigrants came from urban or rural Finland, and in substantiation the Finnish Statistical Yearbook for 1961 furnishes the following percentages:

Years:	Rural:	Urban	
1893-1900	91.8	7.2	1% uncertain
1901-1910	86.2	13.8	
1911-1920	83.5	16.5	
1921-1930	78.2	21.8	
1931-1940	56.2	43.8	
1941-1950	54.0	46.0	

These statistics, with their drop in rural origin and rise in urban origin over a period of almost 60 years, reflect somewhat the change in rural-urban population statistics, for in 1900 some 12.5 percent of Finland's inhabitants lived in cities and 87.5 percent in rural areas, but in 1950 the urban population had climbed to 32.3 percent, with a drop in the rural population to 67.7 percent.

70. Päivälehti, May 18, 1914.

71. Päivälehti, May 18, 1914.

72. W. Jokinen, op. cit. p. 43.

The social and economic status of emigrants in the year 1909 was tabulated as follows:

Farmers (freeholders)	757	Laborers	2,927
Farmers' sons & daughters	1,947	Servants	976
Tenant farmers	387	Artisans	861
Tenant farmers' sons & daughters	4,793	Officials	83
Leaseholders and retired	42	Property owners, merchants and seamen	408 (73)
Cotters	5,191		
Others employed in farming	46		
(A total of 13,163 persons engaged in farming activities.)			

This year of 1909 cited as an example is just one in that series of years of maximum emigration. Some changes in classification did take place, but a study by Kolehmainen on the changes in Finnish immigration⁷⁴ show that the percentages remained fairly constant throughout the period 1901-1915.

Skills learned at home in Finland had much to do with the possibilities of earning a living and the area of settlement in the new surroundings, but the geographical scattering within the great area of the United States was also influenced by many other factors, of which pure chance and, above all, the available roads and routes, cannot be called the least significant.

The Trip

On foot, or by horse-drawn cart, sometimes by rowboat, perhaps even by train, the young men and women began their long journey. There were no great preparations involved, no crowds of friends to bid them farewell. A few clothes were crammed into a knapsack, some food was wrapped into a package, and that was all, except with the fortunate ones who might have had a small suitcase with them. If the departure was not a secret one, father came out into the yard to shake hands in farewell, with mother sobbing quietly at the threshold and sisters at the gate to wave their kerchiefs. Some turned their footsteps toward the coastline cities of the Gulf of Bothnia, to take ship to Sweden, from there to go to Stockholm and Göteborg to take a bigger ship to England, either Hull or Liverpool, there to board the steamer that was to take them across the Atlantic. Others were already in Norway, or trudged across Lapland to Hammerfest, where they could find work enough to support themselves and in a couple of summers have money enough to buy a steamer ticket for the Atlantic crossing. That is what Johan Piippo did, one the first Finns to

73. Päivälehti, May 20, 1914.

74. Siirtokansan Kalenteri 1945.

arrive in Minnesota, in 1861-62.⁷⁵ A few went north, then turned east, reaching the Kuola Peninsula from where they were finally able to start across the ocean. From Haaparanta, on the border between Finland and Sweden, a group of 230 immigrants set forth in June 1873, the first group from Finland whose destination was Minnesota. The group reached Stockholm on June 19, Hull on June 26. They went by train to Liverpool, where they attended services at the Finnish Seamen's Mission on July 1. Two days later they were on board their Atlantic steamer.⁷⁶

For many others Hankoniemi, in southwestern Finland, was the last stopping place on Finnish soil. One traveler who came by this route wrote his impressions of it: "Hundreds of tubs of fresh butter, the export article creating a higher standard of living for the Finns, were carefully packed away in the hold, and the human cargo was crammed, much less carefully, into whatever space was left. The air was so bad it was almost impossible to breathe."⁷⁷ Like herrings into a barrel, 264 persons were crowded into the 280-foot long *Arcturus* in October 1899, and 119 persons into the 1,100 ton *Urania*. With some sense of responsibility but little show of friendliness, the Hanko steamers carried 1,445 men, women and children in March 1903. In April the figure rose to 2,381, and so it went on from year to year. Overcrowded conditions like this astonished the English who saw the ships arrive,⁷⁸ and the immigrants themselves felt that they had not been treated like human beings.⁷⁹

On board ship an immigrant who knew no language but his own was able to manage somehow, but once on land the difficulties began in earnest. Anything could happen, even if a husband had advised his wife well, and had instructed her to bring all their savings in cash, to be changed into American money in New York. If she had made the acquaintance of a man on shipboard who became very helpful, and then had entrusted him with looking after the financial transaction, man and money in all likelihood were never seen again. Even with a railroad ticket still left in one's purse, it was difficult to make a long journey by train with not a single penny to spend.

Some, of course, had no money to begin with, like two friends of Johan Piippo. Piippo himself had arrived in the United States

75. Vernon G. Barberg, *I'll Take This Land by the Lake*. MS. Cokato, Minn. p. 39.

76. Workers Progress Administration (WPA), unpublished study on the Finns in Minnesota. St. Paul.

77. Vilho Reima, *Amerikan mailta*. Helsinki, 1907. p. 7.

78. Ernest Young, *Finland, the Land of a Thousand Lakes*. London, 1912. pp 87-88.

79. *Amerikan Sanomat*, June 18, 1902.

via New York and had gone north and west and had sailed along the Great Lakes to Upper Michigan, and although he still had £17 English money in his pocket, he stopped in Calumet to work in the copper mines, to earn money enough to buy himself a piece of land. From Calumet he went on to Minnesota, as so many after him were to do. Delighted with what he found in Minnesota, he wrote a letter to Finland describing the new land. The result was that two friends of his, Matt Jacobson and John Matson (Lehto) saved enough money to buy themselves steamship tickets, set forth on their journey, and landed in New York with a slip of paper in their hands — "John Piippo, Moe Township, U.S.A." was written on it — which was all they had to go by. They had no idea of the distance between New York and Minnesota, and since they knew not a word of English, how could anyone have explained it to them? And since they had no money to buy train tickets in any case, they simply started out to hike, in the direction "where Piippo lived," showing their slip of paper many a time on the way. It took them two months to walk to their destination.⁸⁰

Ten years or so later it was much easier for new arrivals. Since the Northern Pacific Railroad was aware how important would be the reports these immigrants sent back home in maintaining a continued influx of population into the area, everything possible was done to give the immigrants a warm reception and to make further travel arrangements for them. Evidence of this appears in the letter George Sheppard wrote Karl Möllersvärd in 1873: after mentioning that he has received notification of the group's departure, he stated his pleasure at their impending arrival, by which time arrangements would be ready for their trip inland to their final destination: the railroad's Quebec representative, Mr. Holloway, had already been assigned to meet the group there and to assist them, while Captain Ward of the Central and Pacific had been instructed to reserve enough space for them on the ship to Duluth, where they were again to be met and their trip expedited. This particular group did run into some difficulty, however: the lake steamer broke down before their departure and caused some delay, and the new escort for the group, a Mr. Swanberg, was furious because it had been overlooked to send along an interpreter for a group in which no one spoke a word of anything but Finnish.

80. V. G. Barberg, *op. cit.*

The group did arrive in Duluth, of course, and stayed there overnight, prior to being sent on to jobs on the railroad, where construction work was going on near Fargo, North Dakota. But that stop in Duluth was long enough for the immigrants to hear tales about the dangers of the wild west, and in the morning they refused to continue their trip any farther, especially since they had also learned that the Finns living in Duluth were making out well. Swanberg lost his temper and an uproar ensued, and it was not quieted down until the police interfered. Since everybody in the group had paid for his own trip in advance, and since none of them had made any definite commitments to the railroad, the Finns were free to do what they pleased. Many of them turned back a bit, to Hancock, Michigan, while others stayed in Duluth or headed for the lumber camps of northern Minnesota. However, in spite of such disappointments, the railroads showed a continued eagerness to guide these groups of immigrants, as evidenced by the letter H. B. Brait and H. Dannel wrote to Henry Willard, President of the Northern Pacific: "Being greatly concerned about how the immigrants in the United States settle down in various parts of the country, we would like to remind you that at the present time your railroad serves as an efficient means of spreading immigrant settlement. With its help the great numbers of immigrants now coming from northern Europe can be steered away from the eastern states, where their presence would cause confusion and strikes, such as have recently occurred with considerable frequency. The St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad has realized this, in trying to direct this flood to the northwest, to the areas of the farthest present settlements. These railroads have opened an immigration agency in St. Paul, directed by a Swedish commissioner with a salary of \$5000 per year, and assisted by a staff of officials and agents . . ." ⁸¹

The Finns in America

"America, here we are!" was once heard in Finnish, too — after the voyage from Hanko to Hull or Liverpool, then the Atlantic crossing to the shores of the New World in over-crowded steerage quarters, suffering seasickness and, surprisingly, attacks of gnawing homesickness and regret at having started out on such a journey at all. When the last physical examinations and other formalities had been passed at Ellis Island, the huge, overwhelm-

81. Undated letter, filed April 18, 1882. WPA Collection, St. Paul, Minn.

ing country lying west of Manhattan awaited these immigrants to people it.

That was the moment when these newcomers should have been interviewed and photographed and written about. Some tenant farmer's son from deep in the heart of Finland might have been able to remember the reasons and impressions that caused him to come to America: the evenings around the hearth when his father and his grandfather recalled the heart-sickening famine years, or even some experiences from his own childhood, like the gruelling and long days of work in field and forest even as a boy, or perhaps something about his mother, always so exhausted, and how all these things together one day resulted in the decision to leave for America — and many there were who would have told essentially this same story. Then, farmers' sons and daughters, too, could have told how the number of mouths to feed at home grew out of proportion to what the farm produced. Then, there would have been young men and women, lured into making this trip by relatives and friends already in America. There would have been some, bemoaning their own hard fate and trying to forget it; others, looking forward to the new, to the new life beyond the ocean. Each and every one of them could have told something painful, something very personal, at the moment when they stood on the threshold of the New World and thought to themselves, "America, here we are!" And America opened its gates to these throngs and scattered them about over all her vast reaches.⁸²

"The Finns have been just as curious as Columbus, forever hoping to find somewhere the very best place to live," was a comment in the *Sven Tuuva* as early as 1878,⁸³ and 15 years later a visitor from Finland found his countrymen in the east and west, the north and south,⁸⁴ and in no state of the Union could the census takers report there were no Finns.⁸⁵ However, widely scattered as they were, they also had a tendency to group together in certain areas, and at the turn of the century 37 percent of the Finnish immigrants were clustered about in Minnesota and Michigan; add eight more states to the two — Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, California, Washington, Oregon, Montana and Wisconsin — and 85 percent of the Finns were accounted for.

The earliest Finnish arrivals settled down in cities along the East coast. There were tailors among them, who found work in

82. Eero A. Pulli, *Minnesota suomalaisten Juhla-albumi*. Duluth, Minn., 1948. pp 14-15.

83. *Sven Tuuva*, September 27, 1878.

84. *Kansanvalistusseuran Kalenteri*. New York Mills, Minn., 1893.

85. *Uusi Kotimaa*, October 8, 1896.

New York or Boston, Cleveland or Chicago. In the 1860s and 1870s, seamen settled down in the harbor cities, and many of them became carpenters, construction workers or painters. In Maine, the quarries had large numbers of Finns, and hundreds more worked in the lumber camps and sawmills. Before the turn of the century, rural settlements of Finns appeared in central New York state, especially around Van Etten and Spencer. Fitchburg, Massachusetts, Detroit and Chicago have been centers of Finnish settlements from the time the immigration waves began, and in those cities the Finns were mostly factory workers. The Finns in the Middle West arrived as unskilled laborers for the most part, and they went to work in forests and mines, but economic depressions, labor strikes, and their own desire for independence made farmers of many of them, while others followed the rapid march of the lumber camps and sawmills westward to the Pacific.⁸⁶ Swedish-speaking Finnish fishermen from Ostrobothnian coastal towns and from the Åland Islands tended to seek out new homes along the water, so that they could continue their former occupation, and there were many of them on the shores of the Great Lakes.

Mining operations throughout the United States attracted a great number of Finns. Early in the century there were over a thousand of them in the gold and silver mines in the Black Hills of South Dakota. In Montana and Wyoming they mined coal; in Utah, Colorado, Nevada and Idaho, silver and coal. And so there were centers of Finnish population in Red Lodge, Sand Coulee, Belt and Stocket in Montana, Rock Springs, Hanna, Carbon and Cumberland in Wyoming. Butte, Montana, has always had a good number of Finns. Grays Harbor, Aberdeen and Hoquiam in Washington were early centers where Finns worked in forests and sawmills. The first Finns left the Michigan copper mines for Oregon and Washington in 1877-79, but reports about frightening Indian attacks in Pendleton interrupted a bigger push to the west, but at the turn of the century and even later whole trainloads of Finns moved into Oregon.⁸⁷ Along the west coast, in Oregon, Washington and California, they worked as fishermen and lumberjacks, but changing times made farmers and orchard keepers out of them. And in the years following World War II, a very unique kind of Finnish colony has been growing in Florida: it is made up almost entirely of older Finns who have spent most of their lives working in northern mining areas and farming cen-

86. Kolehmainen and Hill, *op. cit.* p. 73.

87. S. Ilmonen, *op. cit.* II, p. 194.

ters and who are now retired and enjoying their old-age pensions. They say that the Florida climate is what has attracted them there; others add that their pension dollars go farther in Florida than elsewhere in the States.⁸⁸

If the Finns have grouped themselves in the United States from coast to coast and north to south, many factors have influenced the development of their settlements. Not the least has been the fact that almost half of them have preferred rural areas rather than the meltingpots of the big cities. However, since their total figure had already decreased to less than 100,000 by 1950, the census of that year no longer brought out any statistical tables about them. The last figures to report on their whereabouts appear in the 1940 census, according to which 63,759 Finnish-born residents lived in cities, 32,284 were farmers, and 21,167 more lived in rural areas.⁸⁹ How the scales have been balanced between farming and other occupations the chapters that follow will delineate, for Minnesota — the young optimistic state — also called the Finns to its forests and fields, its sawmills and mines.

88. W. Jokinen, *op. cit.* p. 61.

89. U. S. Census of Population, 1940. Special Reports.

Chapter III

Minnesota And Its Growth

The Land of the Sky-Blue Water

Minnesota lies approximately at the geographic center of North America. Its greatest length, from north to south, is about 400 miles, and its maximum width, north of Lake Superior, is some 357 miles. In area, Minnesota ranks tenth among the continental United States with 4,287 square miles. The climate is continental, with temperature extremes marked by cold winters, with strong winds from western Canada bringing Arctic cold over the state, and at times very warm summers, due to moist, warm air from the Gulf of Mexico. In the northern part of the state the temperatures can fall to -50° F. in winter, and in the southern part of the state the thermometer can show 111° F. in summer. In general, the climate throughout the state is mild rather than cold, and the average temperature is about 12° F. in winter, 41° F. in spring, 67° in summer and 45° in the fall, suggesting climatic conditions making Minnesota the healthiest of all the states.

Comparing the Minnesota climate to European conditions, it can be said that at the latitude of the capital, St. Paul (the latitude of the French Riviera) winter begins a few weeks earlier than it does in Southern Finland and goes on, with the severity of winters in Central Finland, to about the middle of March, when there is rapid change to spring, with the snows melting away within a very few days. On the other hand, severe snowstorms even in May are not unknown, and one occurring in May 1954 came mixed with dust from Texas, dropping a "red snow" over the already green fields and lawns of Minnesota. In summer, there is a period of several weeks that are noticeably warmer than

the summers in Southern Finland. Farther north, around Duluth (at the latitude of Paris) winter comes at about the same time that it does in Central Finland, except that near the shores of Lake Superior "Indian summer" weather still comes late in the fall. There is about the same amount of snowfall as in Northern Finland; frequently it all falls within a few days, and drifts 8 to 10 feet high are not uncommon. Spring usually begins at about the same time it does in Southern Finland, but it changes more rapidly into summer, and into a slightly warmer summer.

The length of the growing season varies considerably between the northern and southern sections of the state. In the north, in the area of the Lake of the Woods, it is limited to about 100 days, while in the southeastern corner of the state it is as high as 160 days. The annual rainfall is adequate but not excessive, averaging about 25 inches per year, half of which falls during the growing season. The hours of sunshine also favor the growing season, into which the majority of the 2,604 hours of annual sunshine are concentrated.¹

It is evident that Minnesota has developed through geological phases similar to those of Finland. Minnesota's northeastern area apparently was fashioned 500,000,000 year ago. The iron ores of the Mesaba area have been in their present location about 200,000,000 years, from the time when volcanic formations along the northern shore of Lake Superior took shape. There dinosaurs lived, and disappeared, about 25,000,000 years ago. During the last 500,000 years, the area has gone through four ice ages. During those glacial periods there was formed the huge Agassiz Lake, which covered most of what is now Minnesota and which left behind it what is now the fruitful Red River Valley.²

The southwestern part of the state is a gently rolling plain, dotted with hardwood forests and numerous lakes and rivers with crystal clear waters, while the north and northeast have more uneven terrain which was once covered with dense timberland. The extreme northeast has remarkable iron ridges, reaching down to Zenith City (Duluth) and the shores of Lake Superior. There are over 10,000 lakes, covering 3,600,012 acres.³

In the Minnesota landscape, nature has been generous and even lavish. There are broad fields of grain and tall corn, and here and there shady patches of woods and handsome homes

1. Lindquist, Maude L. and Clark, James W. *Minnesota: The Story of a Great State*. N. Y. pp 20-21.

2. Nute, Grace Lee. *The Voyageur's Highway*.

3. *Minnesota*. A pamphlet prepared by the Immigration Service in St. Paul and translated into Finnish by J. W. Lähde, New York Mills, Minnesota, 1903. p. 3.

add variety to the scene. In northern areas the woods change to forests of giant pine, which stand watch over the countless lakes, whose clear, cold waters sparkle in the sun.

Because of its iron content, the soil of Minnesota is very fertile, and its reddish earth has brought wealth to farming. The extensive forests, which once covered much of the state, especially its northern portions, have been largely consumed or fallen prey to forest fires, and the present forests, mostly deciduous and young, are covered with an almost impenetrable undergrowth.

Deep in these thickets still lives the original fauna, with wolves and bears in even greater numbers than in Finland. There is also a greater variety of mammals than in Finland, but in bird life Finland is definitely the richer. Measures have been taken to conserve the fish and game resources, once so widely exploited. In spite of the popularity of fishing as a sport, there are probably more fish available now than in many Finnish waters, indicating the success of the conservation program. As for flora, there is an abundance of varieties that in Europe grow in latitudes south of Finland.

There is proof of human life having existed in Minnesota as early as 15,000 years before the pyramids were built in Egypt. In 1931, near Pelican Rapids, buried in ten feet of alluvial mud, there was found the skeleton of a young girl, who had lived and died about 20,000 years ago. In addition to this find, called the "Minnesota Man" by the anthropologists, another pre-historic skeleton, "Brown's Valley Man", has been found, together with some flint tools — the remains of man who must have lived some 12,000 years ago. Other pre-historic finds point to life 9,000 years ago. In modern times, the Sioux, or Dakota, Indians peopled the northeastern part of the state, and with the picturesque landscape in which they lived in mind, they called it Minnisota, composed of the words *mini* or 'water' and *sotah* meaning 'reflected clouds.'

A State is Born

History is vague about the exact arrival of the first white man in Minnesota. In the autumn of 1898, one Olof Ohman, a Swedish farmer living near Alexandria, found a big, flat stone entwined in the roots of a tree he was chopping. When his small son noticed strange carving on the stone, it was taken into the house and cleaned, and surprisingly, a long inscription was found on one side of the stone and along the edge. The stone is of

native, grey rock, 31 inches long, 16 inches wide, and 6 inches thick; it weighs 202 pounds; presumably it was cut from a bigger rock on the same site. The stone was taken to the town of Kensington, where it was put on display in the window of the local bank. The Kensington Stone aroused considerable interest, and discussion: could it be genuine? It was not until a well-known Norwegian scholar and historian was able to study the stone, in an attempt to determine its authenticity, that a translation of the inscription was forthcoming. Holand's translation, accepted both in America and abroad, reads as follows:

"8 Goths and 22 Norwegians on expedition from Vinland to the west. We had camp near 2 rocky islands one day's journey north from this stone. We were fighting one day. Returning home, we found 10 men red with blood and dead. Ave Maria, save us from evil."

And the following text was written along the edge of the stone:

"Ten men from our group are at seashore looking for our ships. 14 days' journey from this island. In the year 1362."

After considerable research, it was determined that the lake with the two rocky islands was in Cormorant, Becker County, Minnesota. At the place where the camp must have been and where the fishing party found their comrades dead there are big rocks, in three of which big, triangular holes were found to have been gauged. It has been suggested that the holes were intended for anchoring ships in the way common in fourteenth century Norway. These rocks along Cormorant Lake have subsequently been called "anchor stones" and have attracted considerable attention. In 1939, Holand found a similar "anchor stone" near the spot where the Kensington Stone was found. It has been established that the sea, mentioned as the place where the ships were left, was Hudson's Bay, and to reach Cormorant Lake the expedition must have come down the Nelson River from Winnipeg Lake, and from there down the Red River to Cormorant.

Historical research confirms that about the year 1355, Magnus Ericson, King of Norway and Sweden, did send an expedition led by Paul Knutson to Greenland to try to preserve the Christian faith there. It is believed the King learned that the settlers in western Greenland had moved to the American continent and had given up their religion, and it is assumed that Knutson's expedition, failing to find any of the settlers in western Greenland, went on to Vinland and, meeting failure there, too, went on to look for them along Hudson's Bay, and that from there they came to the spot where the Kensington Stone was found. It is known

that some members of Knutson's expedition returned to Norway in 1363 or 1364. Further confirming the inscription on the stone have been the finding of three battleaxes, a flint steel, and a spearhead, all of Scandinavian origin.⁴ In spite of all this, however, the authenticity of the Kensington Stone, which has been on exhibit for thirty years, is still questioned.

Coming to documented history, the first regulations concerning this territory were made when the Virginia Colony was given a grant in 1609 to include what is now Minnesota in its jurisdiction. At about the same time, the Chippewa or Ojibwa Indians, who had already learned the rudiments of agriculture and warfare from the white man, began to move into the area from across the north and east shores of Lake Superior, pushing the Sioux tribes westward before them.

In the years between 1634 and 1756 numerous French traders, missionaries and explorers utilized the canoe routes from Lake Superior to the south and west. Their basic motivation was a threefold search for the water route to the Pacific and China, the procurement of furs, and a field for Jesuit missionary work.

In 1634, Samuel De Champlain sent Jean Nicolet from Ottawa to the Great Lakes to seek a water route across the new continent to China. Nicolet crossed Lake Huron, entered Lake Michigan and landed at Green Bay (Wisconsin.) Jesuits followed on the heels of the explorers and fur traders, and in 1661 two Jesuits, guided by Chippewa Indians, came to the rapids to which they gave the name Sault Ste. Marie. Father Claude Allouez arrived at the western end of Lake Superior in 1665, and he mapped the western and northern shores of the lake. In 1673, the Frenchman Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet started out from Mackinac down the waters of the Mississippi, while somewhat later Sieur du Luth (or: du Luht) came to Minnesota by way of Lake Superior, looking for a route to the Pacific and trying to bring peace to the Sioux and Chippewa tribes, whose warfare made life dangerous for the activities of the fur traders. This French nobleman, an officer of the King's Guard, left Montreal in 1678, spent the winter at Sault Ste. Marie, and then crossed Lake Superior into Minnesota. In the Mille Lac region he heard mention of a lake whose water was not fit to drink, and which he assumed to refer to the Pacific Ocean. Spending the following winter at the head of the lakes, he set out in 1690 to search for the salt water, travelling down

4. Esiraivaajien Muisto. A pamphlet published for the 20 August 1939 commemoration of the pioneer Finns of New York Mills, Sebeka, etc. and the pioneer work of the earliest Finnish immigrants. New York Mills, Minnesota, 1939. p. 34.

the Bois Brule River to the St. Croix, and then down to its juncture with the Mississippi. There he met three fellow-Frenchmen, Michael Accault, Antoine Auguell, and Louis Hennepin, whom the Sioux had taken captive. He persuaded the Indians to release these men at Mille Lac, and he returned with them to the Great Lakes through Wisconsin.

In 1763 the region was taken over by the British through the Treaty of Paris, and in 1774 what is now Minnesota became a part of the Province of Quebec, although Virginia still considered it a part of her territory on the basis of the 1609 grants. In 1778 the North West Company was formed, and the British garrison at Grand Portage involved the territory in the War of Independence. In the peace of 1783, England relinquished the lake areas and the borderlands to the United States but did not actually give up control until the end of the War of 1812. Meanwhile, in 1787 it was organized as the Northwest Territory and was given laws and administration under the United States; in 1800 it became a part of the Indiana Territory, and in 1809 it was incorporated into the Illinois Territory.

The first American challenge to British jurisdiction did not come until more than two decades after the War for Independence, because in the interim the Americans had not yet been ready to occupy the area. Minnesota was far from the fixed American settlements; St. Louis, for example, lay 800 miles to the south. Not until President Jefferson made the Louisiana Purchase did the situation begin to change; the President wanted facts about this vast new territory which extended to the Pacific, and in 1804 he arranged for the Lewis and Clark expedition to the west, and simultaneously he sent Lieutenant Zebulon Pike with twenty soldiers to Minnesota. When the young lieutenant arrived with his men on 21 September 1804 on the island which later was named Pike Island, the American flag was raised for the first time on Minnesota soil. Pike persuaded the Sioux Indians to grant sites for forts at the mouths of the Minnesota and St. Croix rivers. He also continued to explore the land toward Little Falls and late in December reached the vicinity of Brainerd, from where he continued on to Sandy Lake and Leech Lake, where the group met some polite Britishers. In May 1806, Pike returned to St. Louis. Later, in the War of 1812, Minnesota (that is, the Sioux Indians) still fought on the side of the British, and although the Americans controlled the Great Lakes, the British had a strong foothold in the northern sectors of the Mississippi valley. In the peace treaty which followed, these regions were ceded to

the United States, and in 1815 a peace treaty was signed with the Sioux Indians.

In the meantime, about the year 1810, John Jacob Astor had entered the picture with a fur trading company, the Mackinac Company, founded with British associates, and in 1816, when Congress forbade foreign fur trade in the area, Astor, who had become an American citizen, held the monopoly in the fur trade in northeastern Minnesota. The history of the region in the decades which followed can be called the era when "fur-bearing animals made Minnesota's history." It is said that on one fur buying trip two traders came back with 60 canoe-loads of furs. In the old Northwest Company warehouses in Grand Portage as many as 1,400 bundles of fine furs at a time were waiting shipment east: beaver, otter, mink, marten and wildcat. In 1835 the director of the American Fur Company, Henry Sibley, reported the following quantities of furs on hand: 389,000 muskrat, 3,330 mink, 3,200 deer, 2,800 young muskrat, 2,000 raccoon, and more than 1,000 beaver, otter, buffalo, marten and fox. Once, when France had controlled the fur trade, Paris had been the sales center; later it had shifted to London; now, with this rich territory in American hands, the sales center had shifted to New York, through which went the Minnesota furs which the rich of Europe wore with pride.

Those incredible quantities of furs resulted from the Indian zeal for trapping. Although the Indians could not understand the white man — who did not know how to live, who left his home to face the risks of strange lakes and rivers and strange peoples just to get beaver skins — the white man wanted furs and was willing to pay the trapper something in return. For a first-class beaver pelt the Indian could expect a bit of powdered dye, and one otter, or three marten, or one lynx, or fifteen muskrats were the equivalent of one beaver. Thirty beavers brought a keg of rum. Or, \$2000 worth of goods could procure 96 sackfuls of beaver skins, which in turn could be sold on the New York market for \$35,000. In 1823, one guide told that he had received 120 beaver skins from the Indians for two blankets, eight quarts of rum and a pocket mirror, and that he had been able to sell the furs in Montreal for \$400. During this golden age of profits, these fur-bearing animals were hunted almost to extinction, and even the buffalo disappeared from Minnesota. The buffaloes, of course, were doomed because they and cattle could not share the

same land, but it is certain that the white man wiped out almost all fur-bearing animal life in Minnesota.⁵

In 1818, northeastern Minnesota had become a part of the Wisconsin territory, but when Wisconsin became a state in 1848, Minnesota was left without organized government. In 1849, it was proclaimed the Minnesota Territory.

President Zachary Taylor was interested in the new territory, where he himself had served as a young officer, stationed at Fort Snelling. It had been at Snelling, too, that his oldest daughter had married, and in Minnesota that two of his grandchildren had been born.⁶ Taylor appointed Alexander Ramsay governor of this new territory, whose borders were now more precisely defined. Several names had been proposed for the territory — such as Chippewa, Itasca, Jackson, or Washington — but the original name won final approval, under the spelling proposed in the Stillwater convention of 1848: Minnesota. Upon arriving at his post, the new governor was able to note that his new “capital” consisted of “a dozen partly finished houses and about ten low storage sheds.”⁷ But since peace had been made with the Indians, Minnesota was opened to settlers, and in a six-year period, 1851-57, about 150,000 newcomers arrived. On 11 March 1858, Minnesota became the 32nd state in the Union.

On the Eve of the Finnish Flood to Minnesota

The Civil War, necessitating a concentration of resources for military purposes, slowed down the development of outlying states. Minnesota's contribution to the war effort was not great, but the war made itself felt throughout the state. On 16 April 1861, it was ordered to raise ten companies of soldiers, and thirteen days later they reported for duty at Fort Snelling. On 22 June those ten companies, forming the First Minnesota Regiment, were ordered to the front, and they were cheered as they boarded the steamships *War Eagle* and *Northern Belle* and pulled out from St. Paul. Before the war was over, Minnesota had furnished 22,016 men, of whom 635 died in battle and about 2000 died of epidemic diseases.

During the Civil War, Minnesota also witnessed the last act in its wars against the Indians. Poor harvests, poor hunting, as

5. A summary based, inter alia, on Blegen, Theodore C., **Building Minnesota**, Boston 1938, and Follwell, William W., **A History of Minnesota**, St. Paul, 1921.

6. **Minnesota History**. September 1949. p. 189.

7. **Minnesota History**. September 1949. p. 195.

well as other difficulties had made the Sioux tribes restless, and in August 1862 the hungry and angry Indians attacked the offices of the Indian agents at Yellow Medicine and Redwood Falls and many white settlers were also attacked. Volunteers being trained for the Army had to be sent into battle against the Indians instead, and the attacks against Fort Ridgely and New Ulm were repulsed. The Indian war went on for about a month, in the course of which about 600 white men were killed, a great number of them being helpless women and children, until the Indians were beaten in the battle of Wood Lake. About 300 Indians were taken prisoner near Mankato and Fort Snelling, and 39 of them were found guilty of cruelties and were condemned to die. This rebellion brought to an end the history of the Sioux in Minnesota; they were banished to South Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming, although some managed to flee into Canada. Their chief, Little Crow, tried to attack Minnesota again the following summer, but he soon met his death, and peace returned for good.

American policy in the distribution of public lands had always been generous, but in the Homestead Law passed during the Civil War it reached its peak of generosity. The law provided that any citizen, or any non-citizen who took his 'first papers' for citizenship, could take title to 160 acres of land — on condition that he agree to live on his land for five years and pay the small fee required for making out the ownership papers. So popular did the government offer become that in the first period from 1862 to 1880 approximately 20,000,000 acres were granted to persons eager for homestead lands.⁸

The needs of war veterans returning home, over-population in eastern cities, and the need of the rest of the world for wheat and food were factors to spur on the increase in agricultural production. The railroads pushed out westward persistently, to cross the prairies and bring ever greater areas of what had been wilderness into contact with civilization. Minnesota, together with Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, began to take its place among the states leading in wheat and corn production. Within a brief period, the harvests of wheat, oats and barley were doubled, as were the heads of cattle, sheep and pigs. In spite of all obstacles, the wheat of the Minnesota prairies became a "bonanza" product and king of the grain market; in short order, as much as 62 percent of all tilled soil in Minnesota was planted in wheat, and

8. Krout, John A. *United States since 1865*. New York, 1953. p. 15.

it was almost the only agricultural product. In the New York Exposition of 1853, Minnesota prepared a state exhibit showing an Indian canoe, wild rice, grain grown in the state, a series of pictures, and a live buffalo. The exhibit was a success, and soon Minnesota was ready to send its own immigration commissioner to New York to interview immigrants arriving from Europe and to publicize the state. Horace Greeley wrote in the *New York Tribune* about the fertility of Minnesota, and James M. Goodhue, owner and editor of the first newspaper in St. Paul, saw in his imagination "thousands of farms, and wheat fields swaying in the wind" and "cities crowned with towers." In 1854 one local editor was even more high-flown: "Fence the prairie fire! Dam up Niagara! Drain Lake Superior! Tame the wolf! Civilize the Indians — but don't put any limits to St. Paul's development."⁹

The first means of transportation in Minnesota had been by ox-drawn carts, which moved between Fort Snelling and the new settlements in the Red River valley. The big wheels of these ox-carts were suited for muddy roads and river beds. The wheels made such a loud noise, since there was no axle grease, that in one settlement the Sunday service had to be interrupted when an ox-drawn caravan moved through the vicinity, a quarter of a mile away. Hundreds of such caravans were on the roads every year. They left Fort Gary in the spring and were in St. Paul in July. They brought the settlers their supplies and carried away their bundles of furs. The roads were old wilderness trails, where dogsleds were still sometimes used in winter. With new communities springing up rapidly, and distances growing greater, these road communications became too slow. The building of railroads definitely became the order of the day. In 1842, the westward rails had reached Buffalo, but ten years later they had already crossed the Mississippi at Rock Island, uniting the Atlantic and the midwest. In 1857 the plans for trunk lines were ready, but an economic crisis put off their realization. In 1862, there was a ten-mile stretch of rail between St. Paul and St. Anthony; three years later there were 210 miles; in 1872 there were almost two thousand miles. By that time the railroad from St. Paul to Duluth on the shores of Lake Superior was ready, to unite the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, and with that railroad in operation the farmers were able to send their grain to the mills. From there the flour sacks came back to Duluth, to be shipped via the Lakes to the big markets of the east. In the

9. Follwell, *op. cit.*

first year of operation, more than 2,000,000 bushels of grain went by rail, and the transportation costs were figured to have cost 6c less per bushel. The ox-carts disappeared with the arrival of the railroad in the Red River valley, and the river boat traffic on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers began to decline.

The population increased rapidly. In 1850 it had been 6,077 persons, but a decade later it was already 172,023, of whom 259 were Negroes and 2,369 were Indians. In 1870 the population was 439,706, of whom 759 were Negroes and only 690 were Indians. There had been no urban population in 1850, but a decade later there were 16,223 persons living in towns, and in 1870 there were 70,754 urban residents.¹⁰ Even so, in these 1870 statistics, only in the capital city and its vicinity was there a population density of more than 45 persons to the square mile, while the area along the Mississippi from St. Paul to Red Wing and continuing on to the southeastern corner of the state had a density of 21-45, and other parts of the southeastern corner, reaching toward the central part of the state, varied between 5 and 15, and beyond that thinned out to 2 to 5 persons to the square mile. All the rest of Minnesota, the southwest corner, the west, the center and the north were almost deserted, with less than two persons to the square mile.¹¹

While the foreign-born population of the United States as a whole amounted to 13.2 percent in 1860, in Minnesota it was 34.2 percent. Ten years later, the entire country had 14.4 percent foreign born; Minnesota, 36.5 percent.¹² The first immigrants were Scots arriving from Canada, and Irish and Swiss.¹³ By 1860, the leading national groups were as follows:

1. Germans	18,400	4. Canadians	8,023
2. Irish	12,821	5. English	3,462
3. Norwegians	8,425	6. Swedish	3,178

Ten years later, the ranks were as follows:

1. Germans	48,457	4. Swedish	20,948
2. Norwegians	36,573	5. Canadians	16,459
3. Irish	21,303	6. English	5,699 (14)

10. The population of Minnesota reached the one million figure in the late 1880s. During World War II, the urban population for the first time exceeded the rural population. The 1950 Census statistics indicated a population of 2,982,483, of whom 1,607,446 were urban. There were then 14,022 Negroes and 12,533 Indians.

11. Nelson, Lowry and Clappitt, Hazel, **Population Trends in Minnesota**. St. Paul, 1940. p. 7, chart 2.

12. For Minnesota this was the maximum. For the United States as a whole the high point came in 1890, when 14.8% of the population was foreign-born. Cf Nelson and Clappitt, op. cit. p. 11.

13. Nelson, Lowry; Ramsay, Charles E.; and Toews, Jacob, **A Century of Population Growth in Minnesota**. St. Paul, 1954. p. 13.

14. The Finns gained 6th position in 1910, rising to 4th in 1920, a status they maintained until 1950, when they fell to 5th. Cf Nelson, Ramsay, Toews, op. cit. p. 13.

In an article for the Minnesota Finns' commemorative album for the centennial of the state, E. A. Pulli wrote as follows: "History reminds us of a drama, for which geography has set the stage. The people of Minnesota have an especially fine stage and magnificent settings. The play is of great interest. It tells of men and women who lived here in the past and of those who are living here now. It tells of the struggles of the pioneers against Indians, nature, and other white men. It tells how the white man first came to this region, and how he slowly, a bit at a time, built it to what it is today. Some people believe that many customs and conditions of the past were better than those of today. Perhaps we can decide that better after we have acquainted ourselves with this historical drama that is Minnesota." The present volume will try to throw some light on the role that Finnish settlers, pioneers, and after them, tens of thousands of other Finns of Minnesota, have played in that drama.

Why Did They Choose Minnesota?

In 1918 Eugene van Cleef conducted a series of interviews with 60 Finnish residents of Minnesota to find out why they had chosen to come there specifically. The persons interviewed were chosen on a basis where they could speak for about 1,500 Finns. With ten exceptions, all gave as their reason some geographical factor. The similarity of climate was one of the first things mentioned by almost all; the rest had come because letters from friends urged them to, and of these all except two stated that once they had come the climate had made them stay. The supervisor of agricultural courses in the St. Louis County schools stated that, because of climate factors, the Finns were stubbornly and in increasing numbers moving to the state's more barren northern region, although there were much better lands to the south and in other states. Because of this trend, a responsible county official doubted the ability of the Finns to evaluate the kind of land they were choosing. Many stressed, however, their longing for a snow-covered nature, where smooth ice-covered stretches of lake could be glimpsed through pine and spruce. Those who had had an opportunity to see the United States rather extensively were convinced that nowhere else in the country but Minnesota did nature remind them so much of Finland.¹⁵ Other scholars, too, among them Ilmonen¹⁶ and Arne Halonen, have

15. van Cleef, Eugene. *The Finn in America*. Reproduced by Permission of the American Geographical Society of New York. Duluth, 1918. pp 20-21.

16. Ilmonen, Salomon. *Amerikan Suomalaisen Historia III*. Hancock, Mich., 1926. p. 164.

considered the geographic factors to be decisive. Among younger scholars, Heinonen¹⁷ and Jokinen,¹⁸ another factor is added as well: that in those years when immigration was at its peak Minnesota required unskilled labor in quantity. Since the Finns belonged primarily to this category, and since ignorance of the language, too, would have made any other kind of work difficult, this must be considered a very important factor. In addition, the Finns were frankly urged by direct publicity to fill this need for unskilled labor on the railroads and in the lumber camps, and a little later in the mines. The results of the interviews cited by van Cleef in respect to the Finns' choice of land is misleading, for it is valid only as far as the very first Finns to arrive in Minnesota is concerned. Certainly the Finns were aware of what kind of land they were choosing, but the desirable land had all been bought up by the time the Finns were ready to buy: earlier arrivals had chosen the best. Free homestead lands were available only in Minnesota at the time, and even there only in the more barren and northern regions. That is why many came to Minnesota, where, because the nature was so similar to that of Finland, they knew how to clear the land and grow crops on it. They also had the only initial capital required for such a task: their own might and main. How could they have been able to buy land in the plains, with its rich dark soil, and have financed farming operations already beginning to require machinery? For all these reasons together, then, the Finnish immigrants chose Minnesota, to settle down, for the most part, in its barren but beautiful northern region.

17. Heimonen, Henry S. *Finnish Rural Culture in South Ostrobothnia (Finland) and the Lake Superior Region (U.S.) A Comparative Study*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1941.

18. Jokinen, *op. cit.* p. 61.

Chapter IV

Southern Minnesota and Its Sprinkling of Finns

Red Wing

In the southeastern corner of Minnesota, where the Minnesota and St. Croix rivers empty into the swiftly flowing Mississippi, lies the river port town of Red Wing. A century ago the river was the vital nerve center, controlling all activity. The sounds of side paddles and whistles blowing heralded the river boats and their cargoes of grain, supplies and prosperity, but death, unfortunately, travelled the same route.

In 1853, Asiatic cholera made its first appearance, and after that, it returned every summer for about twenty years. In 1854, for example, of twenty settlers who just arrived in the town, seven died on the island set aside for the contagious disease, and Dr. Sweeney ordered the bodies burned to prevent a spread of the epidemic — and to keep secret from the Indians the loss of life that the white settlement was suffering.¹ However, new outbreaks recurred whenever new people arrived in Red Wing.

In 1864 some of these newcomers were, for the first time, Finnish settlers. The summer of that year saw several small groups of Finns arriving in Minnesota, all of them following more or less the same route: having arrived in Chicago, they came by train to the Mississippi, and then on river craft downstream to Red Wing.

Members of the first group were Peter (Pere) Lahti from the Tornio River valley, and his wife Johanna (nee Palovainio) from Hietaniemi; Matti Niemi and his wife Maria (nee Korpi) from Kemi; Antti Rovainen from Matarenki and his wife Matlena (nee Helpi) from Kittilä. In addition to these families there were two

1. Ilmonen, S. op. cit. II, p. 143.

bachelors, Mikko Heikko from the Tornio River valley and his comrade whose name has appeared in various records in three different forms: Budas, Pudas, and Nulus. Just how many children came is uncertain, but the following were definitely in the group: Kaarlo Lahti, Matti Niemi (age 18), Nikolai Niemi (age 10), Kalle (Kaarlo) Niemi, a few weeks old, and Ida Juhanna Rovainen (age 2). As soon as this group landed in Red Wing it continued on its way westward.

However, there soon followed a second group, consisting of Matti Tiiperi (according to Ilmonen, the name is Friberg²) from Alkkula and his wife Elizabeth from Tervola, their three children, and two young single men whose names have been lost. This group stopped in Red Wing, and the men tried to earn money as woodcutters, but within three weeks Matti Tiiperi and his son and the two young single men were taken to the hospital, where they all died of cholera. Mrs. Tiiperi was left helpless, with two children to care for, and although she tried to escape the cholera by moving from Red Wing to St. Peter, one of these children died — just as the mother was giving birth to another son. Her other child who had survived, a two-year-old boy, was taken care of in a Swedish orphanage while the mother nursed her newborn son. The widow later remarried, and her two sons in later years used the name Mattson.

The third group to arrive consisted of four men: Elias Peltoperä and Esajas Kujala from Kemijärvi, Matti Määttä from Kuusamo, and Matti Marttala from Hietaniemi. For them Red Wing was but a brief stopover: Määttä joined the Union Army while the three others went off to lumbercamps.

In the spring of 1865 three friends of Peltoperä followed along the same route: Mattias Kärjenaho, Olaf Westerberg and John Wiinikka. That same summer there were a few more arrivals: Johan Paloniemi and Isak Antinjuntti, both from Hietaniemi, as well as Erkki Paavo and Antti Kauvosaari and two others whose names have been lost.³

The summer of 1866 seems to have seen a greater number of Finns in Red Wing than ever, but for most of them the port was only a landing place, and not many settled in Red Wing itself. However, in the areas around Red Wing there were now many working in the forests, cutting fire wood for the river steamers. But even in the forests they were not safe from cholera,

2. Ilmonen, S. op. cit. II, p. 143.

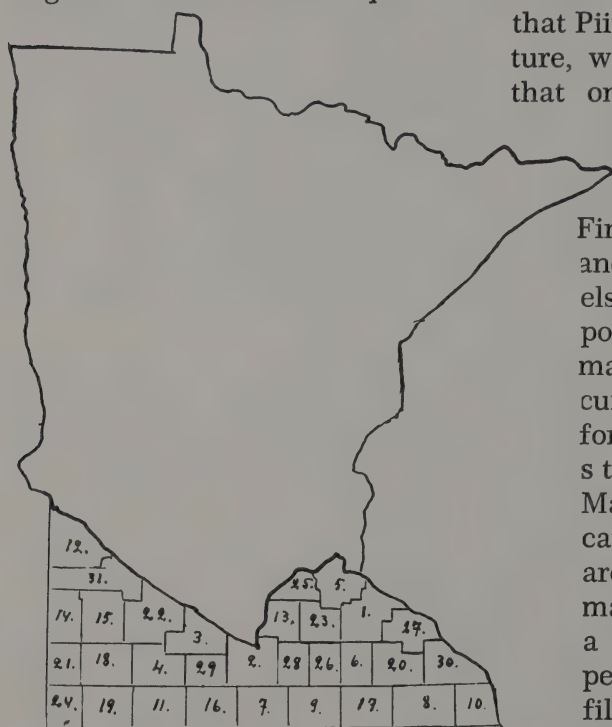
3. Barberg, V., op. cit., plus *Siirtokansan Kalenteri*, 1940, p. 48.

and the story told by John Piippo, who came to Red Wing in 1866, was a harrowing one.

In the lumbercamp where he was working, Piippo met another Finn, one Matti, who became his friend. When Matti fell ill with the cholera, Piippo remained faithfully at his bedside. In great pain, his body bloated and death approaching, Matti tried to raise himself but fell into his friend's arms and died. An hour later Piippo felt that he was beginning to lose his vision, whereupon some fellow-Finn took him to Red Wing to get help. The German druggist there prepared such an effective medicine that within a short while Piippo got his sight back and suffered no other ill effects either. There is, however, another version of the same incident, according to which Piippo had sent his friend August Peter to fetch a quart of rum and some asafetida, and

that Piippo drank all this mixture, which was so powerful that only complete cure or death could result.⁴

The outbreaks of cholera forced the Finns to leave Red Wing and seek a livelihood elsewhere. It is impossible to estimate how many of them succumbed to the cholera, for under such tombstones as Anderson, Mattson and Peterson can lie more Finns than are indicated by the 25 marked graves, interring a great number of expectations never fulfilled.⁵



Southern Minnesota counties: 1. Goodhue; 2. Blue Earth; 3. Brown; 4. Cottonwood; 5. Dakota; 6. Dodge; 7. Faribault; 8. Fillmore; 9. Freeborn; 10. Houston; 11. Jackson; 12. Lac qui Parle; 13. Le Sueur; 14. Lincoln; 15. Lyon; 16. Martin; 17. Mower; 18. Murray; 19. Noble; 20. Olmsted; 21. Pipestone; 22. Redwood; 23. Rice; 24. Rock; 25. Scott; 26. Steele; 27. Wabasha; 28. Waseca; 29. Watonwan; 30. Winona; 31. Yellow Medicine.

The Southern Counties

The Minnesota River, running horizontally across the state, almost seems to cut Minnesota in two. The thirty-one

4. Interview with John Piippo in 1939, WPA Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota.

5. *Duluth Herald*, 21 December 1939.

counties which lie south of the river make up the most fertile regions of the state. A hoe hardly ever strikes rock, and nothing interrupts the smooth flow of plain to a distant horizon. Perhaps it can be said that the climate there is too warm for the Finns in summer, the hardwood forests unhomelike, or that the choicest lands were already picked by others anyway when the Finns arrived, but still, the almost complete absence of Finns seems unusual, since in the same state, only a few hundred miles farther north, there have lived tens of thousands of them. Red Wing in 1900 had more than 7,000 inhabitants, but all Goodhue County had only two Finns, and ten years later the figures were 9,048 — and still two — respectively.⁶ These two sole exceptions were Johan West (Vestola) who had come to Red Wing in 1871 and had worked first as a lumberjack near the city and then later had turned to farming, and Maria Katariina Esko, who was married to a Swede, P. Johnson, with whom she had come to Red Wing in 1866. When Ilmonen met her in 1914, she had already forgotten every word of Finnish she had ever known.⁷ In 1940 Goodhue County's population had grown to 31,564 and in 1950 to 32,118, but not a single Finn was left. In spite of that, during Finland's Winter War in 1939-40, there were Finnish aid committees in both Red Wing and Zumbrota, with Raleigh R. Albrecht and Walter R. Grimm serving as chairmen respectively.⁸

Goodhue County, already considered in this chapter, served as a gateway through which the Finns arrived in Minnesota. In what follows, the other counties of southern Minnesota will be considered, in alphabetical order.⁹

Blue Earth: In the first decade of the century there was one Finn; in 1920, two; in 1950, one, who lived in Mankato. During the Winter War there was an Aid Finland Committee, with W. P. Willard as chairman.

Brown: In 1920, two Finns; 1930, three; 1940, one — and after that there were none. There was a Finnish aid committee in New Ulm, sponsored by the *Daily Journal*.

Cottonwood: During World War I there were three Finnish farmers near Westbrook: Hans Hanson (Niemi), who had come in 1878 from Kemi with his wife Kaisa nee Kokkila and their son John J. Hanson; and Johan Jolberg and Abram Keskitalo, both from Tyrnävä.

6. U. S. Census of Population, 1900 and 1910.

7. Ilmonen, S. op. cit. II, p. 146.

8. Halonen, Arne, *Minnesota's Help to Finland*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1940. p. 13.

9. Halonen, Arne, together with 1900-1950 U. S. Census,

Dakota: Since the northern tip of the county extends to the suburban area of St. Paul, there are consequently more Finns here than in any other county south of the Minnesota River. Although 1900 indicated only one Finnish born inhabitant, in 1910 there were nine, and in 1920 there were thirty; 1930, forty; 1950, twenty-nine. Of these twenty-nine, there were twenty-one living in Hastings, one in West St. Paul, and the rest in rural areas.

Dodge: Only once, in 1920, was one Finn noted down as a resident.

Faribault: One Finn appears in the 1900-1940 census figures, three in 1950. During World War I two Finns, Ernest Niemi and Peter Niska, were working in lumbercamps near Dunbar. There were Finnish Aid committees in Blue Earth (City) and Elmore, with E. P. Hummel and O. H. Aamodt respectively as chairmen.

Fillmore: The turn of the century showed five Finns here, but 1930-1950 figures list only two. Perhaps the two lived in or near Lanesboro, from where two donations were sent in 1938 to the American Finnish Delaware Tercentenary Committee.¹⁰ In Preston and Rushford there were Finnish Aid committees, with Elaine Gleason and Dr. R. V. Williams as chairmen respectively.

Freeborn: One Finn was reported in the 1930 and 1940 census. There was a Finnish Aid committee in Albert Lea, with W. A. Gray serving as chairman.

Houston: One Finn was reported in the 1910 and 1920 census statistics. There was a Finnish Aid committee in the town of Houston, with I. G. Iverson as chairman.

Jackson: One Finn was listed in 1910; one Finn was listed in 1950.

Lac Qui Parle: One Finn has been listed in the census figures from 1900 through 1940. Both Dawson and Marietta had Finnish Aid committees, with Elmer Bratsch and the Reverend Melvin N. Tatley, respectively, as chairmen.

Le Sueur: One Finn has been listed in the 1900 through 1950 census figures.

Lincoln: One Finn is listed in the 1910-1940 figures. In Hendricks and Ivanhoe there were Finnish Aid committees with K. E. Holia and L. V. Widmark as chairmen.

Lyon: In 1900 there were four Finns here, but 1920-1950 figures list only two. Marshall, Tracy, and Minnesota Village

10. American Finnish Delaware Tercentenary Committee. Financial Statement. New York, N. Y., September 15, 1938.

had Finnish Aid committees, with J. M. Shrader, Oscar L. Johnson and H. J. Tillemans as chairmen.

Martin: Census statistics do not indicate any Finns as resident in this county, but there was a Finnish Aid committee in Fairmont, and its chairman, F. Haapaniemi, had a purely Finnish surname.

Mower: Two Finns were listed in 1930: three in 1940 and 1950. In Austin there was a Finnish Aid committee with H. E. Rasmussen as chairman.

Murray: In 1900 there were 15 Finns, but in 1950 none were left. There was a Finnish Aid committee in Slayton, with A. W. Hoodecheck as chairman.

Nobles: In 1910, one Finn; 1940, two; 1950, five.

Olmsted: The figures rose from three in 1900 to five in 1910, fourteen in 1920, twenty-four in 1930, and to twenty-five in 1940, but by 1950 they had dropped again to nine, with seven of these living in Rochester. Finnish relief activities were directed by the Reverend W. K. Naeseth.

Pipestone: There has been one Finn, listed only in the 1920 census.

Redwood: Two Finns are listed in the 1920-1950 figures.

Rice: Two Finns were listed in 1910, seven in the 1920 and 1930 figures, and five in the 1940 and 1950 count. Faribault had a Finnish Aid committee directed by Matt J. Hintsala and Wilbert C. Nelson, while Dr. L. W. Boe, President of St. Olof College, was chairman of the committee in Northfield.

Rock: Apparently there have never been any Finns here, but during the Finnish war there was a relief committee with A. A. Anderson as chairman.

Scott: In 1910 there was one Finn here; in 1940 there were 17; ten years later there were none. There was a Finnish Aid committee, in Jordan, with J. H. Breuning as chairman.

Steele: In 1900 two Finns were listed: in 1920, five; in 1930, one; in 1940, two. Owatonna had a Finnish Aid committee with A. C. Capman as chairman.

Wabasha: In 1900, one Finn was listed.

Waseca: In 1910, one Finn was listed.

Watsonwan: One Finn is listed as living in St. James.

Winona: In 1910 there were seven Finns; in 1920 and 1930 there were three listed; 1940, one; 1950, two.

Yellow Medicine: In 1900 there was one Finn; in 1910 there were three; in 1930, one.

To summarize, only about 200 Finnish-born immigrants have lived in the thirty-one counties considered above, in the "too fruitful" southern region. Naturally, listing second, third and fourth generation native-born descendants of these immigrants would probably raise the figure to at least 400. If this was the part of Minnesota that the Finnish immigrants saw first, the more permanent Finnish areas of settlement nevertheless lie to the north of the Minnesota River.

Chapter IV

The Finnish Contribution In Central Minnesota

Central Minnesota— the area north of the Minnesota River but south of a horizontal line that might be drawn by continuing the dividing line between the Dakotas straight eastward—is an area embracing 29 counties, which contain considerably more Finns than do the counties to the south. In considering these Finns, the counties will not be taken up alphabetically but rather in a sequence based on the routes the Finnish pioneers themselves followed.

Nicollet and the First Minnesota-Born Finnish Child

Nicollet County, located within an elbow of the Minnesota River, is really in the heart of southern Minnesota. A few of those Finns who first stepped ashore in Minnesota at Red Wing came here in their attempts to escape the epidemics. Their destination was St. Peter, the point from where the newcomers generally continued their journey westward by oxcart to the virgin prairies or primeval forest lands.

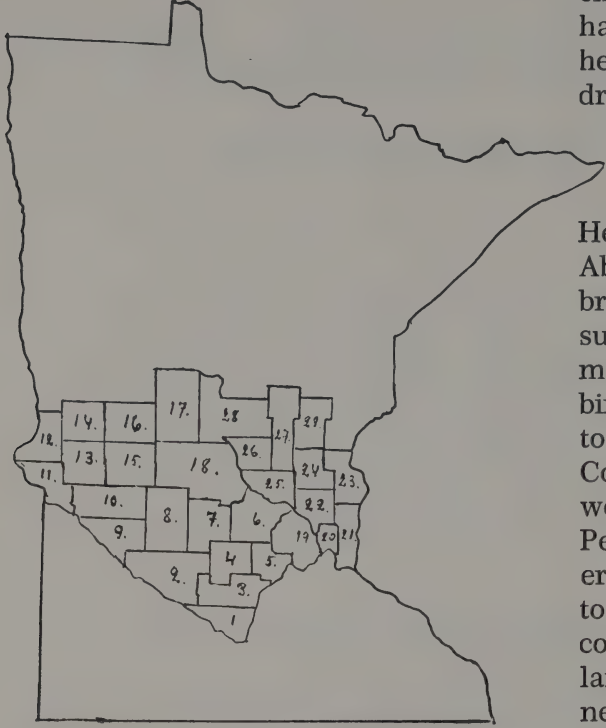
The first group of Finns to arrive here were given shelter and most welcome advice by Norwegians who arrived even earlier. The Finns took jobs on farmsteads near the city, and they saved their pay to be able to secure homestead lands for themselves. One of them, Matti Niemi, changed his name to Matt Johnston, and his son Nikolai became Nicholas and son Kalle became Charles. While most of the men stayed on farms, two of the younger ones enlisted in the army in the fall of 1864: Peter (Pere) Lahti joined the First Minnesota Heavy Artillery and young Niemi-Johnston the First Minnesota Infantry. However,

neither of these men saw action, for peace came while they were still in basic training at Chattanooga, Tennessee.¹

Meanwhile, in St. Peter, on 22 February 1865, Elizabeth Tiiperi (mentioned in the previous chapter as one of the early arrivals at Red Wing, where her husband and one son died of the

cholera, causing her to hasten to St. Peter with her two very young children) gave birth to a son, the first child of Finnish parents born in Minnesota.

He was baptized John Abraham and he and his brother later used the surname Mattson. A few months following his birth, the family moved to Franklin (Renville County) for the Norwegian minister in St. Peter, the Reverend Peterson, urged the Finns to go to that neighboring county, where homestead lands were still to be had near Norwegian and Swedish settlers. These Scandinavians, plus German immigrants, had already picked out the best and most level prairie sections, but the minister knew that the



Central Minnesota counties: 1. Nicollet; 2. Renville; 3. Sibley; 4. McLeod; 5. Carver; 6. Wright; 7. Meeker; 8. Kandiyohi; 9. Chippewa; 10. Swift; 11. Big Stone; 12. Traverse; 13. Stevens; 14. Grant; 15. Pope; 16. Douglas; 17. Todd; 18. Stearns; 19. Hennepin; 20. Ramsey; 21. Washington; 22. Anoka; 23. Chisago; 24. Isanti; 25. Sherburne; 26. Renton; 27. Mille Lacs; 28. Morrison; 29. Kanabec.

Finns in any case preferred wooded regions, which were still available. The Finns heeded the advice, visited the land office to pick out their grants, and then travelled on to Franklin.²

St. Peter itself at that time was a small town. Its population in 1870 was 2,124 but grew to double that by 1900. In the county as a whole there were but nine Finns in 1900, and fifteen in 1910, while in 1950 only eleven were left, all of them in St.

1. Curtiss-Wedge, F. *History of Renville County*, Chicago, Ill. 1916. pp. 335-336.
2. Ilmonen, S. op. cit. II, p. 132.

Peter, which now had a population of 7,754 while the whole county had 20,929.

Renville and the First Finnish Pioneers

Renville County lies northwest of Nicollet, but one flank of it still follows the Minnesota River. Having marked down the lands they wanted, the first Finnish group came to Brick Cooley and to Camp. Peter Lahti, receiving his discharge from the army after ten months' service, was the first to be bold enough to come to this region, where the Sioux Indians had in 1862 brought destruction and death to pioneer families living on isolated farms. To make life more secure, the Federal Government had built Fort Ridgely, which housed a cavalry unit, but when conditions returned to normal the fort had been pulled down. Lahti built himself a log cabin and cattle shelter on the 160-acre homestead he received, and he offered to put up Matti Niemi-Johnston until the latter could take possession of his own land at Camp.³ In addition to his farming, Lahti used to do a great deal of hunting, and for years he hunted the forests north of Bird Island Lake. Later on in life he became the first Finn in Minnesota to be involved in a scandal: on 18 February 1882 the *Uusi Kotimaa* published a story, according to which Lahti had been locked up in an insane asylum after putting his farm in his wife's name: "This was followed by arguments over which one was the boss. The wife procured witnesses and took the matter to court, which decided that the husband was unsound of mind, and now his wife is both wife and boss at home," wrote the paper, adding a warning to all its readers: "Don't give your wife too much authority, it's a dangerous thing."

Another settler in this area was Matti Pokema (Matts Pukema or Bogema) who came with his family and settled in what was to become the town of Franklin, situated in the northeast corner of Birch Cooley.⁴

Information about other Finns who arrived at this time is vague, but at least one Mikko Heikka seems to have settled in this new region. According to the WPA history of Birch Cooley, "he hunted for eight years and then got himself a homestead." Salomon Budas (or Nulus, or Pudas) mentioned in the previous chapter as one of the first group to arrive in Red Wing, seems

3. Nicolas Johanson interview. Franklin, Minnesota, 1938. WPA Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota.

4. Isaac Bogeman interview. WPA Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota.

to have dropped from sight, for no subsequent records make mention of him, but one Erick Nulus is said to have been a farm laborer who died in Franklin in the early 1870s. Again, however, records make no mention of him, while an obituary notice in the 31 December 1881 issue of *Uusi Kotimaa* does state that “this is to inform you that my dear husband, Salomon A. Podas, died after a long illness on 25 December at 10:55 in Cokato, Minnesota, having lived 50 years, 6 months and 17 days. Anna Greda Podas.”

To survive Minnesota’s winters the first task of the settlers was to build shelter for their families and for what scant livestock they possessed. Having settled in a region where forests bordering the river met the hay fields of the prairie, both forest and plain offered building materials. For example, Antti Rovainen made his cabin of logs and roofed it with turf cut from the fields, and for his only cow he built a simple shelter, a tentlike double row of poles, spaced a foot apart, with the spaces packed with hay and twigs. When November came and summer had suddenly given way to the grey of approaching winter and snow, life was confined to these simple cabins with their rough walls, and to the cattle shelters and the woodpiles, connected by paths trampled down in the snow. An open fire lighted the cabin and warmed it during the long winter evenings, and melted the snow drifting in under the door sill. The howling of wolves became a familiar sound, and the footprints of deer around cabins was a familiar sight.⁵

That first winter, on 17 February 1866, the wife of Matti Pokema (Bokema) gave birth to a boy, who was given the name Isaac. He was the first Finnish child born in Franklin. This new settlement was sparsely populated, but everyone in it lived close to one another. Matt Niemi-Johnson’s homestead was in the Camp region, in section 5-112-33 on the map, while his son Matt Junior owned the homestead in section 20-112-33, two miles away. Peter Lahti had settled down in Birch Cooley in section 12-112-34, and Matti Pokema’s land was in 1-112-34. Mikko Heikka had not taken title to any land as yet, but lived by clearing land for others or by trapping, until 1872. There is no land office recording of Antti Rovainen’s farm, but all of these settlers were close neighbors, and the distance between their homes was on the average a mile or two.⁶ In spite of living as close as this to one another, life for the pioneer women seemed

5. Ida Juhanna Rovainen interview. WPA Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota.

6. Curtiss-Wedge, op. cit. p. 339.

monotonous and harsh, even to the point where it caused "many tears and complaints."⁷

The autumn of 1866 brought these settlers their first harvest, the fruit of heavy toil. Early in the spring the fields had been furrowed by ox-drawn plows, and the virgin soil had been sowed by hand with wheat, the money-producing grain. For their own use the farmers planted oats and corn, which was new to the Finns. Around the planted fields ditches were dug to halt possible prairie fires. The crops were harvested with sickles, and the threshing was done by ox: the sheaves were placed in a circle, with the heads facing the center, and the oxen trampled the grain from the ears. The chaff was separated from the grain by tossing it into the air. For home use, the grain was ground with a hand mill.

The home larder was also enriched in autumn with many kinds of berries. Because of its expense, hunting with rifles was rare, for guns and ammunition cost money, always in short supply among these settlers, but wild turkeys and prairie hens were snared, as were muskrats, whose pelts brought in money. Foxes, minks, weasels and otters could also be caught by snares.⁸

Antti Rovainen died in 1867, leaving a wife (Maria Matleena nee Helppi) and two children behind him on a homestead where life had just seemed to begin. The energetic and resourceful widow was not disheartened. She soon had two teams of oxen and continued the hard farm work by herself until the legal title to the homestead was assured. Besides that, she had time to be a midwife, to read a great deal, and to teach other Finns how to read, with the Bible and the Catechism as the only Finnish-language texts available, both usually brought along from Finland in the settlers' baggage. Even more, the other Finns soon began to believe that this clever woman also had supernatural powers.

A few years later Maria Rovainen was married again, to Gust Friska (Kustaa Sukki) whose first wife Briita had died of the cholera in Red Wing. This new marriage did not last for long: in May 1872 Friska and his stepson, John Abraham Rovainen, went to Dakota, where a new homestead was taken; Maria's homestead in Franklin was sold, and the next winter, when Friska went to Franklin to fetch the money due from the sale he vanished on his trip back to Dakota in a severe snowstorm, and no trace of him was ever found. Maria was a widow once more, with even more children to feed, for another child was born after her hus-

7. Ida Juhanna Rovainen interview, op. cit.

8. Curtiss-Wedge, op. cit. pp. 335 and 339.

band's death. The family returned to Franklin in 1874, and Maria was married a third time, to Andrew Anderson (Antti Koivuniemi), who died in 1912, Maria two years later.⁹

In the livestock inventories of the 1870s, horses were not unknown in the settlement, but they were still rare, Gust Friska being one of the few to own one. The farmers were gradually prospering, however, and the livestock on a particular farm could include as many as 25 cows, 60 sheep, plus a few chickens. Eggs could be sold for 10c the dozen, and a pound of butter could be swapped for 10 or 15c worth of staples. Potatoes, turnips and pumpkins had been added to the grain crops.

Oxen were still being used for plowing and as draft animals. John A. Rovainen has recalled how one autumn after the harvest he drove a team of oxen to New Ulm, thirty miles away, with a load of twelve sacks of wheat and ten one-pound sacks of wool. He left Franklin at three in the morning and reached his destination at nine in the evening. By light of the streetlamps he sold his load: the wheat at 25c the sack, the wool at 25c the pound. After sleeping a few hours, he had been ready by three in the morning to start the trip back home again.

In addition to John Rovainen's mother Maria, there were also others who were believed to have supernatural powers. According to legend, Nils Alarick Olson (Folkki), who came to Franklin in 1870, could protect a haystack from prairie fire by walking once around the stack. Another man, John Wittikko, was said to be able to foresee who was to die, as well as forecast future events. Such rumors about the Finns were enough to make their neighbors believe they were closer, even then, to the pagan gods of their *Kalevala* than to Christianity.¹⁰

In reality, however, the Finns had brought along with them the sturdily pietistic Christian outlook based on the teachings of Lars Levi Laestadius. In the 1870s religious meetings were held in private homes, and it was noted that at a meeting in 1872 eighteen women and twenty-two men took communion. The first visit to Franklin by an ordained Finnish pastor was in 1875: from the nearest Finnish church, in Cokato, almost a hundred miles away, the Reverend Jacob Wuollet (Vuollet) and two lay members of his parish, Isak Barberg and John P. Martala, made the trip to Franklin and conducted a service at which Matt Johnson, Matt Johnson Jr. and his wife, Mikko Heikka, Marjaleena Anderson, John Wuoppola's wife, Ole Johnson and

9. Ida Juhanna Rovainen interview, op. cit.

10. Barberg, V., op. cit.

his wife, as well as the Lahti and Bogema families were present.¹¹ This group of Finns formed an Apostolic Lutheran congregation, which was occasionally visited by pastors who would come for a week's stay at some member's home; the collection basket money was given to him to defray his expenses, but the Finns were so poor and there were so few of them that most of the costs were defrayed by the Cokato church. John Takkinen also visited Franklin, and in addition to conducting services he also checked the literacy of the parish members.¹²

Later, when the John P. Marttala mentioned above moved to Franklin, he became the first regular preacher of this small congregation. In the Apostolic Lutheran church, preachers were frequently lay members who did a busy week's work earning a living, as did Marttala on his farm, and on Sundays he held meetings. He was succeeded by Johan Oskar Isackson in 1878, at which time all the members helped build a church for their congregation.

In 1880 a woman named Angelica Charlotta Jokela arrived in the community.¹³ She was, in fact, the daughter of Lars Levi Laestadius himself, born in Swedish Lapland in 1842. With her arrival she brought a resurgence of her father's credo at its purest, and she did not hesitate to remind the local community if they strayed from it. Her only child died young, and she herself died on 19 September 1900; a monument erected by friends marks the grave of this descendant of the 'Apostle of the North' in the first permanent Finnish settlement in Minnesota.

From 1902 until his death in 1915, Isaac W. Rovainen served as elder of the Apostolic Lutheran church of Franklin.¹⁴ Those few Finns in Franklin who did not belong to this church found themselves in a very isolated position as far as religion was concerned, although they were occasionally visited by pastors, among them the Reverend S. Ilmonen, who utilized his visits to gather material for his books on the history of the Finns in America.

On the Fourth of July in 1883, the Franklin Finns held their first big patriotic celebration, with some forty families, or more than 200 persons in all, taking part. The houses showed flying flags, and there were speeches, a big dinner for all, and a

11. Curtis-Wedge, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

12. The religious groupings of the Minnesota Finns and their leading personalities will be taken up as a whole subsequently.

13. Barberg, *op. cit.*

14. Barberg, *op. cit.*

strongly patriotic spirit prevailing: the Finns were beginning their Americanization.

The Finns also began to branch out from farming into other activities. Nikolai Johnson (Niemi) turned to shopkeeping, and Andrew E. Erickson (Törmälä), who had moved to Franklin in 1873 and had been a clerk, opened his own successful store.

Life in Franklin has changed greatly from the days of the pioneers. The log cabins and sod huts have given way to modern farmhouses, and cattle shelters to big barns. Automobiles and tractors have replaced oxen and horses. And the village of Franklin, whose population in 1950 was 546, has become so Americanized that it is difficult to think of it now as a Finnish settlement.

In Olivia (population 1,788) there was a Finnish relief committee during the Finnish Winter War of 1939, with J. R. Landy serving as its chairman.¹⁵

In looking at census statistics, all Renville County still had 123 foreign-born Finns in the year 1900. After that the figure began to drop: 107 in 1910, 55 in 1920, 40 in 1930, 21 in 1940, and only 15 in 1950, when the county's total population stood at 23,954.

Sibley County: No Finns.

McLeod: One Finn.

Carver County: In 1930 there were 6 Finns, in 1950 but one.

Wright County, Center of Finnish Farming

Wright County lies north of McLeod and Carver counties. This region westward from the twin cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis was originally a vast forest stretching from the bend in the Minnesota River to Mankato in the south, and then, with a width of 40 miles and even more, extending northward 100 miles beyond Minneapolis. The Indians, very graphically, called this region the "Big Woods" and the early settlers used the same name for it. It was a region rich in sugar maples, varieties of ash, elm and oak, and with a heavy undergrowth of shrubs and wild flowers.

Cokato: The Finns were not the first settlers in this county; in Cokato, for example, where the Finns first came, there had already been settlers since 1856, many of them Scandinavians or Irish.¹⁶ It was on a morning in June 1865 when Mathias

15. Halonen, A. op. cit. p. 13.

16. Barberg, op. cit.

Kärjenaho, Elias Peltoperä, Olaf Westerberg and John Wiinikka started their way on foot through the Big Woods toward Cokato. For the first few miles they were able to follow a road, but soon that was no more than a path which wound itself along lakeshores and across streams. The first evening these men, accustomed to covering long distances on foot, reached the shore of a big lake, probably Howard Lake. Exhausted by their long trek through the woods — they had covered some 50 miles — Wiinikka, who was 57 years old, was unable to go on. While the others stopped to build a fire and lay down to rest, Kärjenaho went ahead alone and reached the Mooer post office that same evening. So it was that Kärjenaho, walking a bit farther than his companions, became Cokato's first Finn. When the others got there the next morning, Kärjenaho and Westerberg went out to find one John Rustad, whom they had been told to look up when they enquired at the post office as a man who could advise them in their search for suitable land. Rustad was too busy gathering honey to go along to help the Finns, but he told them what direction they should take.

Each of the four men chose an 80-acre homestead in section 10 of Mooers Prairie (now Cokato), a short distance to the northwest of Cokato Lake. During the first two years that they were there, they were joined by other Finns: Isak Hara, who took land in section 10, and Adam Ongamo, Isak Parbo (Barba, Parpa), Nils Selvälä and Antti Sepponen, who moved into section 18. Apparently there was also one Isak Branström in section 18, but he returned to Finland in 1867. Thus two separate Finnish settlements were established, and a road was later built to connect the two villages.

During the first winters the men held jobs which took them away from home, but in the spring they were always back to work on their farms. Now that these lands were provisionally theirs, they began the work of settling on them by first building temporary living quarters on Kärjenaho's homestead, on the shore of a small pond. After that they built a log cabin for Peltoperä, and finally cabins for Westerberg and Wiinikka, who both had families with them. Peltoperä's cabin was located on the edge of a big meadow, in the center of his property, and was the first real building put up by the Finns in section 10. (In section 18, the first home was Parbo's cabin, built in 1868.)

Actually, however, Peltoperä did not stay on his land for long, though long enough to clear some forest, plow, plant potatoes, only then to discover he had gone beyond his own boundary

and onto his neighbor's land. In 1870 he sold his homestead rights to Antti Lankki and left Minnesota. And Kärjenaho, who had changed his name to Abrahamson, did not remain on his farm, either, but sold it in 1869 to John Marttala (Peterson), who in turn sold it in 1875 to Henry Sakko. Kärjenaho became a real estate agent, buying and selling lands in the region, and helping other pioneers with his team of oxen to plow their new fields. In 1881, after his marriage to Kreetta Johanna Myllykangas, Kärjenaho settled down on a farm in Dassel, but soon after that he bought the farm next to the one which had originally been his in Cokato, and there he lived the rest of his life.

By the end of 1869 there were twelve Finnish families and a few single men living in Cokato, but the following year the number began to grow after Finnish miners at Michigan's "Copper Island" heard about the place. The first of them to come were still able to get homestead lands, and certainly there was also enough land available for purchase, even on the installment plan. In the next five years over fifty families arrived, and then twenty-five families in 1876 alone.¹⁷

The first real population count in Cokato was made in 1879, and at that time there were 95 Finnish families, with a total of 450 persons, of whom some 400 lived on farms. At that time the Finns owned a total of 1,500 acres of cleared land, 56 horses, 126 oxen, 231 cows, and included in their equipment, several reapers and three threshers.¹⁸ This count was made at a time of rapid expansion. The free homestead lands had all been allotted and land prices around Cokato now averaged ten dollars the acre. By 1890 the Finnish population totalled 634, and the biggest Finnish farm, owned by Jacob Ojanperä, had grown to 300 acres, while the more usual holdings were 160, or 80, or 40 acres.

It was a time when there were no fish and game laws, and the Finns fished Cokato lake with nets, and they hunted when they had the time or needed to replenish their larders. When Mathias Abrahamson shot a caribou in the spring of 1867, he first wondered a bit at what strange sort of game he had shot, and then, realizing he could not move the beast alone he went to fetch help from the Ongamo farm, where a cabin was just being built. However, there was no one at the building site — presumably the men had gone to eat — so Abrahamson picked up a sharp stick and scratched his message on the fresh sheathing:

17. Barberg, *op. cit.*

18. Isak Barberg's statistics of Finns in Cokato, made in 1879. Archives of the Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society.

"Shot strange beast mile and half north of here. Come help." When the builders returned to their work they saw the message, set out to help, and found the happy hunter standing beside his quarry.¹⁹

Life was vastly different, of course, from what people today are accustomed to. Food, for example, consisted of wild rice, potatoes, berries, game birds and fish, corn bread and porridge, salt pork, venison, milk and butter, coffee or a coffee substitute made from roasted grain.

Most people had so little money that they were able to make no more than a down payment on their land and to buy a few building materials. People avoided getting into debt and tried to get along with a bare minimum. Naturally, compared to today, not very much money was actually needed. In 1889, one dollar bought 12 pounds of sugar, 21 pounds of plums, 25 pounds of crushed rice, and 18 pounds of currants. Strawberry jam was 5c the pound, butter 12 to 15c the pound.²⁰ When a cow no longer gave enough milk, it could always be sold at the St. Paul slaughterhouse for \$11-14, although the cow had to be taken there first, usually led along forest trails, paths, and down the roads, a walk of 80 miles. A train ticket to St. Paul would have cost \$3, but the railroad was out of the question anyway because Cokato had no loading platforms. The birth of a bullock was always welcomed: full grown, it could pull a cart over that 80 mile distance.

All possible economies were made, all possible sources of income were exploited. For example, the root of the ginseng, so well known in China, was dug up and dried in Cokato also and was sold to willing buyers in the vicinity for as long as people can remember. There was not too much of it in the Cokato region, it grew deep in the forests and was hard to find, but the children of the Finnish settlers still remember digging up ginseng, drying the roots carefully, and selling it for good pocket money.

The axe, the mattock and the shovel were the best tools for clearing the land. In the winter the men cut the forest and hauled the logs to the railroad sidings, to be swapped for flour and food. In the spring the land was turned and plowed, and patches of oats, wheat and barley were planted, together with, inevitably, potatoes. When this planting was done, the men usually left to go to work on the nearby railroad construction jobs, while the women and children stayed home, did the necessary work in the fields, made hay, cut and harvested the grain. Sometimes the

19. Barberg, op. cit.

20. Lamson, Frank B. Cokato, Wright County 1888-1892. *Personal Recollections*. p. 12.

wife and children had finished all the fall chores before the husband returned home with his wages.

The First Sauna: Isak Parbo (Barberg), together with his neighbors Selvälä and Salmonson, decided in 1868 to build a sauna (Finnish steam bath) in accordance with ancient tradition. They built it on the boundary between Parbo's and Selvälä's lands, and accessible to all three farms. It was a small log building, ten by twelve feet, and seven feet high. There was no dressing room, just the steam room with its pile of stones to be heated in one corner, a high bench along the back wall, ventilation openings up near the ridge to let the smoke escape, and a large wooden tub for water for bathing. The three neighbors took turns heating the sauna every Saturday through the year, unless severe snowdrifts sometimes made it impossible to reach in winter. For twenty years this sauna served the three families well, and nobody wanted to improve upon it in any way.

The members of one family at a time would use the sauna together, all taking the steam at the same time, and when they had steamed themselves enough, they would stand outside, naked, to cool themselves. Within a few years, however, this boundary between the Parbo and Selvälä farms was turning into a country road, and since the sauna stood almost in the middle of the road, people who were not Finns but who used the road had to pass the sauna and thus could not help but stare at the stark naked Finns cooling themselves off in front of it. This, of course, led to all sorts of grumbling and muttering about the strange ways of the Finns. Finally, around 1885, the village authorities ordered the sauna removed "from the middle of the road." But since the authorities refused to share the expense of moving the building away, Nils Selvälä, who had once owned half the sauna and had later bought Parbo's share, started the first Finnish lawsuit in Cokato and won it. The village had to pay him \$30 damages and \$40 for moving the building away. With the money in his hands, Selvälä tore down the sauna and built a new one on his farm.

Calamities: The elements at times severely tried these Cokato pioneers. There were rainy spells and dry spells, storms and extremes of summer and winter, and to these were added at one time the locusts, which first appeared in the Cokato area in 1876. That first year they did not cause very much damage, but in the spring of 1877 they were already so numerous they threatened many farms with complete devastation. Primitive counter-measures did not help much, but one day, almost as if by miracle,

all the locusts in the whole region suddenly rose up into the sky and darkened the sun as they flew westward. A few locusts have been seen since then occasionally, usually along roadsides, but they have never again multiplied the way they did in that year of 1877 and have not caused any damage since that time.

Fire, however, was a constant threat. A forest fire in September 1871 spread destruction, burning grain and hay and levelling two homes of Swedish pioneers, and six later fires are remembered, burning now a sauna, then a grain bin, or a barn with all the cattle, or a threshing shed, but only two fires were disastrous enough to demand human lives. In April 1877, five-year old Hilda Parbo was poking the fire under a big cauldron set up in the barnyard, and just then a strong gust of wind sent sparks which caught the little girl's dress. Her brother Isaac Arvid, who was only four, grabbed a handful of hay to smother the fire on his sister's dress, but when he saw that it was hopeless he ran shouting into the house, with his sister in her flaming clothes at his heels. While the mother was trying to do the best she could for the little victim, through the open window she heard the shouts of their neighbor's wife, and to her horror, she saw that the barn was on fire. All the cattle perished, except for one calf which happened to be out in the yard. And little Hilda died a few hours later.

In the winter of 1901, the mother of Abraham Salmonson (Rautio), Eeva Rautio, lost her life when her cabin burned, not much more than a stone's throw from the site of the Parbo fire. Mrs. Rautio's grandson Joe (Jonas) Salmonson was living with her at the time, but on the evening of the fire he happened to be away at a meeting of Temperance Society, and when he came back home he found his 79-year old grandmother dead in the yard, and the cabin a smouldering ruin. How the fire started was not established, but it is believed that the old woman, who liked to smoke a pipe, had been careless with it.

To these calamities should be added an outbreak of smallpox. In the spring of 1880, Nils Selvälä's wife, Katriina Kristiina Olsen (Stor), who had emigrated from Norway, had sent for her sister Anna Kreeta Pyttynen (from Vadsö) to come to America. As soon as Anna Kreeta reached Cokato she fell ill with smallpox, and before long everyone in the Selvälä family caught it. Mrs. Selvälä died, and while the rest of the family was saved the contagion had spread to their neighbors, the Parbo family, and ten-year old John Parbo and his five-year old sister Maria Alvina were soon dead. The authorities tried their best to

stop the contagion, and all the local children were inoculated. Even this measure had its fateful consequence, for Kreetta Rovainen, who had helped at the inoculations as interpreter, apparently carried the bacteria home, for her sister Maria Kristiina soon came down with smallpox and died.

Religious Activity in Cokato: Amid the trials and tribulations of living so very close to nature, the Cokato Finns had very early grown accustomed to seeking God's help, in solitary prayers at moments of danger and crisis, and in joint pleas at their prayer meetings. In 1868 they had held their first religious services, at Adam Ongamo's house, and four years later they established a congregation. It was an Apostolic Lutheran group, whose shepherd until 1883 was Isak Barberg, and of whom the *Uusi Kotimaa* wrote (4 March 1882) that "a schooled pastor there is not yet, but one man has been elected from the congregation to hold church services, give communion, baptize children, bury the dead, and perform all religious functions except the wedding ceremony."

Barberg was assisted in his functions by Kaleb and Jaakko Wuollet, the former of whom took over when Barberg died and who served on until 1904. After that Jaakko Wuollet took over for a year, to be succeeded by William Lahtinen, who served from 1905 to 1911. In 1911 Lahtinen and his wife and their adopted daughter made a trip to Finland, but in Finland the girl died, and on the way back to Minnesota the next spring the Lahtinens themselves perished in the sinking of the *Titanic*. From 1913 to 1919 John Oberg was in charge of the congregation, and he was succeeded by Niilo Saastamoinen, John Koski, August Huurula and Adolf North.

The St. Paul-Minnesota and Manitoba Railroad presented the congregation a 40-acre plot of land in 1876, and on that land a church was built, the first Finnish church in all Minnesota and the second in the United States. A cemetery was laid out next to the church, and Jacob Keränen, who died in 1876, was the first Finn to be buried there. By 1903, when the church called itself officially the Apostolic Lutheran Congregation, more land had to be bought to enlarge the cemetery. In 1913 the old church building itself was torn down to make way for a new one.

Although Cokato had become a strong bastion of the apostolic creed of Laestadius, other religious groups also appeared. There were occasional visits by various Evangelical Lutheran pastors, which led in January 1892 to a formal meeting resulting in the founding of a new congregation, with 22 men as its founding

members; however, it took almost a decade before the church officially joined the Synod and took as its name the Cokato-French Lake - Albion Finnish-American Evangelical Lutheran Church. By this time the congregation had its own cemetery, too (a two-acre plot of land purchased in 1900 for \$80) and there was talk of building a church and of using one corner of the cemetery lot for a building site.

However, when it was learned that the Catholics in French Lake wanted to sell their St. Ignatius church, the Lutherans in 1907 bought it for \$350 and moved it at a cost of \$400 to a half-acre plot purchased for \$75. This building was in use up to 1925, by which time storms had torn down half the steeple and made the building itself ready for abandonment. However, even when a new church was put up, material from the old building was still salvaged and used again, and although building costs had increased to make this new church cost \$3000, a good part of it was covered by a \$2500 bequest by J. W. Schwartz.



Old church at Cokato-French Lake-Albion.

This church has always held confirmation classes in Finnish, and Sunday school and summer classes have always given the children both Finnish language and religious instruction. Even in the years after World War II there have still been about 15 children in Sunday school studying their lessons in Finnish.

Pastors of this church have been Niilo Saastamoinen, D. A. Samanen, Antti O. Kuusisto, Carl Tamminen, Aarne Juntunen and J. Wargelin. From its founding membership of 22, the church increased in 1906 to 50 members; 1911 to 85; 1926 to 135; 1950 to 169.

In addition to these two churches, a third joined the ranks in 1904 when a National Congregation was established, owned its own meeting house since 1905, and enjoyed a membership of about 100 in 1911, although that membership dropped to 26 by 1950.

Other Activities: The churches, however, were not the only organizations fostering moral and ethical education and guidance among the Finnish immigrants, for the temperance movement also played an important role.

The Onnen Toivo ('Hope for Happiness') Temperance Society was founded in 1896 by a group of 21 persons, and it followed the pattern of other such societies in the state, with individual societies being members of a central Temperance League. John Ojanperä was elected the first chairman of Onnen Toivo, which in its early phases had an average of 30 to 40 persons attending its meetings. And like the churches, the temperance society was also soon involved in plans for a building of its own, for meetings and socials.

The Finnish temperance halls in Minnesota have generally been quite modest buildings, usually two-story frame structures. The 'auditorium' itself was the important room, of course, and was usually built with a full-width stage at one end, with the permanent backdrop of the stage usually painted with a Finnish landscape scene. The level floor generally had rows of folding chairs, and after an evening's program was over, the audience would drink coffee in an adjoining room while the chairs in the hall were being cleared away for the dancing to follow.

Within the framework of the temperance societies there were frequently auxiliary groups to which the members could belong: a dramatic group, a band, sports groups. The Cokato society, for instance, gave birth to an athletic club in 1910, for both men and women, for which additional dues were collected, for "practising gymnastics, wrestling and other sports," with the club building and facilities at their disposal when not required for other use, "as often as was seen advisable, except on Sundays."

With church and social activities conducted in Finnish, the Finns were still not satisfied that their children were learning enough of the Finnish language. When they reached school age they went to public schools — there were two one-room grammar school in early Cokato, the Molstersteigen and the Cochrane schools — where the instruction was, of course, in English. On their own (this was in the 1880s) the Finns set out to find a Finnish teacher, too, because "it has been determined proper that the children should also speak their mother tongue." A school actually was started, with a succession of teachers holding classes, on Saturdays and during summer vacations, and with the children eager enough to attend because it was a way to escape chores at home or on the farm. This still did not halt their gradual Americanization, of course, and even back in the 1880s new immigrants coming from Finland were bewildered to hear nothing but English being spoken on the streets of Cokato.

It was a sign of the role the Finns were beginning to play in public life. Isak Buda already served as postmaster and notary

public of Cokato, and later he was elected Recorder of Deeds of Wright County on the Democratic ticket. Another man, Jacob Ojanperä, was one of the group of Republicans supporting Democrat John Nugent, Sheriff of Wright County for 27 years. Ojanperä was not only an outstanding farmer, businessman, and leader in the cultural life of Cokato but also a member of the board of directors of the State Bank of Cokato from the time of its establishment in 1892²¹ and was the organizer and chairman of the board of the Finnish Mutual Fire Insurance Company, founded that same year with Oscar Ingman, Isaac Abrahamson, Peter Gunnary, Erik Paava, Jacob Peterson and Adam Zachariason. Originally the company served only the Finns of Wright County, giving them insurance coverage at the low rate of 25c per \$100 for five years. Before World War II began, the company had grown to a membership of 480 and had a capital of over two million dollars, but by this time the company no longer served the Finns exclusively, and indeed, the only thing Finnish about it was the name.²²

Specifically serving farming interests was the Cokato Creamery Association, which the Finns and Swedes of Cokato founded jointly in 1894, with August Hanno, Jacob Ojanperä, Peter Salmela, Peter Wanha and Peter Ylijärvi as its original Finnish members. A dairy building was erected the following spring and was in operation by June.²³ The Cokato farmers have also had their own organization since 1910, the Cokato Farmers' Mercantile Association, which has been supported chiefly by Finns and Swedes; to its board were always elected three Swedes and three Finns, and as a seventh member, someone belonging to that national group which happened to have the most votes at election time. In this organization, too, the name of Jacob Ojanperä once more appeared, for he was the treasurer of its general store for several years. The Association follows cooperative principles, as does another farmers' organization, the Cokato Farmers' Shipping Association.

Other Finns have earned mention of their names by their individual efforts: Matti Sippola as a businessman; William A. Nelson as founder of a soft drink plant, the Wright County Bottling Works; H. O. Ohlgren as a veterinarian; more recently

21. 50 Years of Service. State Bank of Cokato. Cokato, Minnesota, 1942. p. 5.

22. William Onka interview. 1939. Archives of the Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society.

23. History of Wright County. Chicago, Ill., 1915. p. 665.

William Abraham with his numerous state awards for his agricultural achievements.

It was on farming that the chief emphasis of the Finns in Cokato was placed, but did a field once cultivated constitute a lasting memorial to him who had made it out of wilderness? It was in 1906 that a visitor from Finland saw what had been accomplished in Cokato and wrote his impressions: "The last tree stumps are still standing, but soon the axe will be dropped for good. The tired old men and women will be laid to rest alongside those who have already preceded them to the cemetery beside the Laestadian church. A new generation is growing up

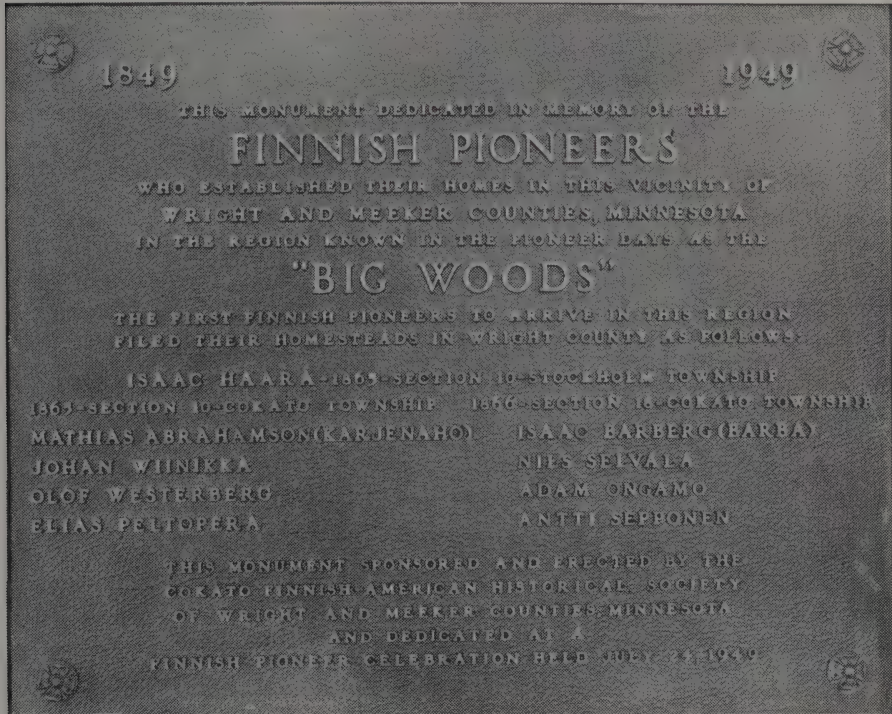


Pioneer Memorial Committee members: William Abrahamson, Isaac A. Barberg, Vernon G. Barberg and William A. Nelson.

on these fertile fields. Forty years from now, who will remember those heroic workers who came from the far reaches of northern Europe to the heart of the new continent to pave the way for these cultivated fields and for progress?"²⁴

²⁴. WPA, MS op. cit. St. Paul, Minnesota.

In more recent years the descendants of those pioneers have taken steps to preserve the memory of their pioneer forebears with the founding of the Cokato Finnish American Historical Society, whose chairman was W. A. Nelson and secretary, Vernon G. Barberg. When a new county road was planned between what had once been two Finnish villages, the residents of Cokato proposed that this road be dedicated to the memory of the Finnish pioneers; the authorities concurred, and not only was the road given extra width but an area was set aside where Elias Peltoperä's little cabin, the first Finnish building in the region, was moved, and where a memorial tablet was erected.



Wording on the Cokato Pioneer Memorial.

The first generation of pioneers has passed away years ago, but the accounts they gave of the past to their sons and daughters and grandchildren remain fresh in memory. They are accounts of work and toil, of difficulties and how they were overcome, until life gradually seemed to offer some sense of security. How vastly the region has changed since the days of the pioneers! The forest has retreated farther and farther, out of the way of ever more land taken under plow; the number of farms has increased steadily, and where a scant hundred years ago the wilderness

murmured and nature was untouched there now stand villages and towns and homes, chiefly the result of the persistent and tireless efforts of the Finnish pioneer spirit. Now and then the eye will hit upon some vestiges of the past, which will shed light upon the life and conditions of the pioneer generation which toiled on long ago, and which will make traditions more alive. The voices of these pioneers have been stilled, but their grandchildren and their great-grandchildren can cast a contented look over the wide fields of Cokato, where the grain sways in the breeze, cowbells can be heard, and smoke rises into the American sky from hundreds of homes, speaking of the warmth of the Finnish hearths in Cokato. And whoever walks along through Cokato after sunset, in quiet meditation, can almost sense that the spirit of the pioneers still hovers over this region, blessing the work and the efforts of the generations which have succeeded them, in their efforts to show the greatness of America and the honor they do to the best virtues and traits of the Finns.²⁵

French Lake: French Lake lies just north of Cokato. The first Finns to arrive there were Nils O. Nelson (Urard?) in 1875,



and Oscar Ingman and Lars Romback (Römbäck) in 1876. The first Finnish child to be born there was Albert J. Nelson, in 1877. In 1950, out of a total population of 861, there were 477 Finns.

In a 1928 meeting of the Suomi Synod (Evangelical Lutheran) the Minnestota representatives proposed that a home for the aged be established by the church. The proposal was accepted at the 1929 Synod meeting, and French Lake was chosen as the site of the new institution, the Bethania Home.

Annandale: The village of Annandale lies northeast of French Lake, and as in Cokato, the Finns here are mostly farmers. In former days when the major work was finished on the home

25. Barberg, Hazel and Vernon. *The Pioneers of Cokato*. Voice of America radio program to Finland, 1951. Archives of the Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society.

fields the men used to go as far away as the Dakotas to seek extra work — at threshing time, for example, they could earn as much as five dollars a day there, back in 1914-15. There have been two cooperative enterprises in Annandale, both of them with Finns included as founders and directors, the Annandale Farmers' Elevator Company and the Annandale Farmers' Shipping Company.

Knapp: Between Cokato and French Lake lies the village of Knapp, where Finns have also resided, and where they assisted in the establishment of a cooperative dairy in 1901.

Albion: Lying east of Knapp, Albion included 119 Finns in its population in 1900. A cooperative dairy was established there in 1903.

Stockholm: South of Cokato lies the village of Stockholm, with a population of 862 persons. In 1900, 37 of them were Finns.

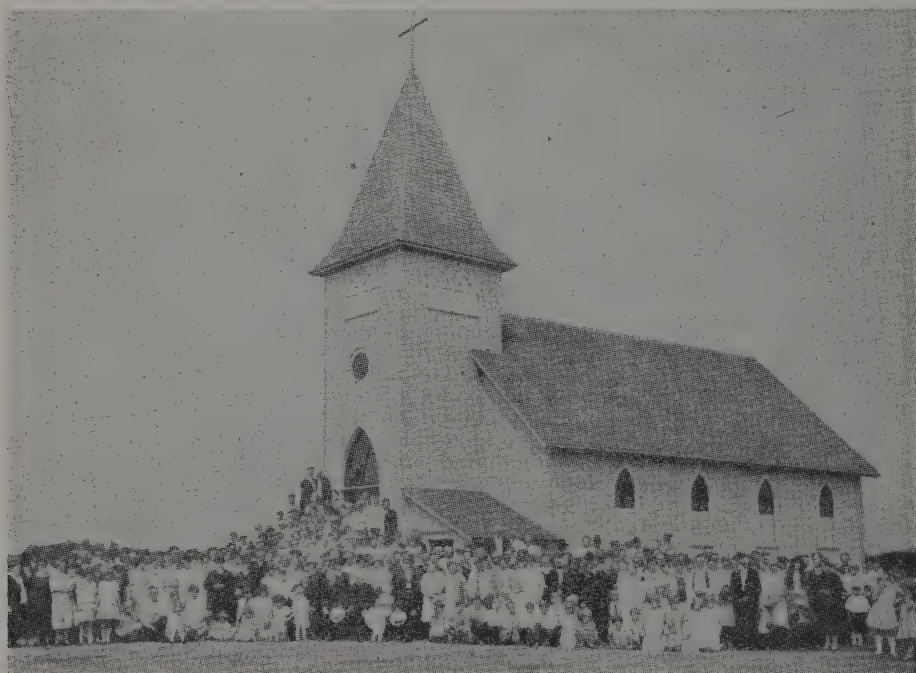
In addition to the communities mentioned above, there have been smaller groups of Finns, or at least a Finnish family or two, everywhere in Wright County. Year after year, however, their numbers have decreased, from 432 in 1900 to 428 in 1920; 317 in 1930; 234 in 1940; 134 in 1950. Similarly, the percentage of Finns in the population has gone down, since the total population of the county as a whole — 27,000 in 1900; 29,000 in 1950 — has remained fairly constant.

The names of Finns who came to Minnesota have often undergone changes. It often happened that when some Kalle Ylimäki landed in New York the immigration officials 'forgot' the first part of the surname they found impossible to pronounce in any event. So, known now as Kalle Mäki, the man might have moved to the Minnesota iron mines, and when the first payroll was called, the boss, trying to pronounce the name, might have asked what 'mäki' really meant, and when he learned that it meant 'hill', after that Kalle Mäki was known only as Kalle Hill, and it usually did not take him very long after that to adopt the English version of his given name, too, and so Kalle Ylimäki was transformed into Charles Hill. Many Minnesotans named Hill are actually of Finnish origin. The same process affected many other Finnish American names which were difficult to pronounce, and this is a change which also constitutes a portion of Minnesota history.

Meeker County and Its Finns

With all of the outstandingly Finnish communities in Wright County being located near the western end of the county, close to the boundary of Meeker County, the result has been a considerable Finnish population here, too.

Kingston: The village of Kingston (area pop. 1,316) became the center for the Finns in Meeker County, and in 1900 there were still 234 of them. A Finnish National Church congregation was founded here in 1898, and the local Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church followed in 1904. The latter held its services in private homes the first few years of its existence, then at the Kingston Presbyterian Church, rented at 50c per service, then in a former public school rented at \$1.00 per year. Finally, in 1922, a member



The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kingston.

of the church, J. Ruotsinoja, gave the congregation a two-acre plot of land as a site for a church, which was built with all the members contributing their labor, as best they could, and with one member working 323 days in all, free of charge. Pastors of the church have been J. Nikander, Keränen, Riippa, H. Sarvela, N. Saastamoinen, T. Samanen, A. Kuusisto, C. Tamminen, C. Jennings, L. Lurvey, and C. R. Heikkinen. The mem-

bership of the congregation has been between 50 and 110 through the years, with 77 members being listed in 1953.

The Kingston church membership is typical, for the Finnish churches generally have been small. As a consequence, all the members used to know each other well, and the church was like a big family for them. And because the membership was small, the holding of socials and bazaars to raise money enough to meet the expenses was encouraged.

In Kingston, however, Finnish activity was not limited to the church. Finns were also so well represented in the Kingston brass band, for example, that 21 out of its 23 conductors prior to 1917 were Finns. At a much later period, other activities developed with the establishment of a temperance society in 1932.

Among the Kingston Finns, Arvid Ruotsinoja, who came there as a child in 1901, has gained prominence. Having attended the Kingston grammar school and the Dassel high school, he later devoted himself to politics and in 1934 was elected on the independent ticket to the Minnesota Senate. Another Finn, Joel



The home of A. Haapala in Dassel in 1903. Seated is A. Haapala and his second wife Josefiina, nee Bungt. Standing are seven of the family's 19 children.

Hokkanen, has held responsible posts in Kingston, being a member of the Board of Education and treasurer of the Farmers' Shipping Association, and still another, J. H. Mattson, has been president of the Farmers and Merchants State Bank. Others, Johan Henry Marks, William Salmela and Antti Höyhtyä, have owned stores

in town. In 1937, Kingston-born William E. Leppä was appointed to the Minnesota State Board of Education.

Dassel: Eight miles due south of Kingston lies Dassel, a village of 614 persons in 1950, but which at the turn of the century included 150 Finns. As in other areas of Finnish settlement mentioned previously, the Dassel Finns have been primarily farmers. In the county fairs in 1923 and 1924 a Finn, Henry B. Abrahamson, won first prizes for his farm products; he also served as chairman of the Meeker County Guernsey Association and as a member of the Dassel school board.

The biggest population center in Meeker County is Litchfield (4,608 persons in 1950) about ten miles south of Dassel. Finns have not lived there, but during the Finnish Winter War a relief committee organized in Dassel, with D. F. Nordström as chairman, was able to raise \$2,000 in funds in the Dassel-Kingston region.

In the county as a whole, the number and percentage of Finns in the population has been declining. With the total population of the county averaging 18,000 to 19,000, the Finns in 1920 numbered 233 but fell to 57 in 1950.

Kandiyohi County: At the turn of the century there were 3 Finns living in the county; the figure rose to 72 in 1940 but then fell back to 3 again in 1950. There was a Finnish relief committee in Willmar during the war, with O. F. Grangaard as its chairman.

Chippewa County: In 1900 there was one Finn in the county, and in 1910 there were three, but in 1940 the figure had dropped back to one. In Montevideo there was a Finnish relief committee with Oscar J. Halvorson as chairman; in Maynard, with E. G. Hein.

Big Stone County: In 1910 there was one Finnish resident; in 1920 there were three. In Graceville and in Ortonville (part of which lies in Dakota) there were Finnish relief committees, with J. Roy Geier and G. McRae, respectively, as their chairmen.

Traverse County: Two Finns resided here in 1900, but between 1910-1930 there was but one.

Stevens County: One Finn was listed in the census statistics in 1900 through 1930.

Grant County: The 1900-1920 figures listed two Finns; subsequent figures, one.

Pope County: In 1910 there were five Finns. In 1920 there were two, Johan Olson-Kaitaniemi and Jalmar Olson by name. They lived in Farwell village, on the northern edge of the county, on the fringe of the fairly large Finnish area in Douglas County.

Douglas County

The county lies east of Grant and north of Pope. In 1900, there were 102 Finns out of a total population of 17,964, but in 1950, when the county total had climbed to 21,304, the number of Finns had dropped to 43.

Holmes City: The first Finns to arrive in Douglas County in the autumn of 1866, coming by way of Red Wing, settled down on homestead lands near Holmes City. This first group consisted of Isak Johanson (Janson, originally Jaakon-Antti), P. E. Julin with his wife and four children, August Peteri and Johan Piippo.

Within a few days their first temporary shelter had been built, using whatever materials were available in the wilderness, but a fireplace was included, and there were real windows, bought en route and hauled with them on their ox carts. The whole group spent the winter in this one shelter, but when spring came Johan Piippo began to build himself a proper dwelling, erected near the present Finnish Lutheran cemetery..²⁶ Piippo later recalled in print his experiences of those first years in Minnesota:

"In the spring I cleared land with a hoe and planted a bushel of wheat, which the bluejays ate, so that nothing was left but two sheaves, which other birds ate before it was reaped. By summer I had cleared an acre of land, where I planted potatoes and tobacco. The third winter I got so many wolf-skins that I was able to buy a pair of oxen and a cow, but misfortune was more clever than I: during the spring which followed I was working for a 'Yankee', building his cabin for him, and one evening when I returned home, everything was in ashes. All that I had left was my axe and the ragged clothes on my back."²⁷

Piippo had to begin again from the very beginning, and this time with no money at all. Even with his 160 acres of homestead land as surety, he had a hard time persuading shopkeepers in Holmes City to give him a scythe on credit.

Other tales about Piippo sound almost legendary. For example, he was an ardent hunter, and once, 45 miles from home, on the shores of Lake Traverse, his gunpowder got soaked. The weather was cold and stormy, and Piippo was near starvation. He managed to catch a raccoon, and promptly ate half of it at his campfire. The rest he salted down with his wet gunpowder and ate on the trek home.

²⁶ WPA MS op. cit.

²⁷ Article by Johan Piippo in *Uusi Kotimaa*, 17 December 1881.

Among other things, Piippo had learned in Finland, from an uncle who was a dentist, how to take care of the ill and how to prepare various medicines. However, his medicines called for Finnish herbs, for which he could not find counterparts in Minnesota, so he used to write to friends who were setting out for America to bring him the necessary plants.²⁸

Following this first group of Finns to which Piippo belonged, another party arrived in the region in 1867: Antti Anderson (Kaukosaari), Erkki (Erik) Haara, Matti Jacobson (Makkonen), Johan Lehto, Peter Peterson (Välimala) and Thomas (Tuomas) Thomson (Maikko.) During the years following, the settlement grew, so that in 1883 there were 133 Finns, of whom 38 had come from Kuusamo in Finland, 15 from Piippola, 13 from Tervola, 12 from Rovaniemi, 8 from Ii, 7 from Muonio, 1 from Kemi and 1 from Suomussalmi.²⁹

Naturally these Finns — all from northern Finland — were followers of the teachings of Laestadius. Their formal religious meetings began in 1870, and an Apostolic Lutheran church was built in 1877, the oldest of such churches whose interior has been preserved intact in its original state.³⁰ Among the preachers of this church have been Matti Haapala, Herman Jacobson (Karjalainen) and Johan Lehto.

At the turn of the century, an Evangelical Lutheran church got underway, too, and a church was erected in 1901; it was badly damaged by storms in 1917 and then was promptly rebuilt. In 1923 this church had 170 members, and in 1955, 69 members. Pastors have included M. Anttonen, J. Huuskonen, S. A. Anttila, J. Urpilainen, J. Haakana, E. V. Niemi, S. A. Krankkala, M. P. Miettinen, E. A. Heino, H. Esala and R. W. Heikkinen.

A Finnish temperance society, *Taisto*, was established in 1900.

In 1950 the population of Holmes City was 655; a good number of them are of Finnish descent.

Alexandria: The nearest settlement to Holmes City is Alexandria, where Finns have been permanent residents. One M. Luukkonen, who lived there for a time, even held the position of bank director. During the Finnish Winter war, there was a relief committee headed by Mssrs. Robards and Putnam.

Brandon: The nearest railroad station to Holmes City used to be that of Brandon, from whence mail was delivered to the

28. Barberg, op. cit.

29. Estimate of Finnish population in Holmes City in 1883, by Uusi Kotimaa correspondent J. Fredrickson. Archives of the Finnish American Historical Society.

30. *Finnish Pioneer Day*. Duluth, Minnesota, 1949. p. 21.

Finnish settlements. Brandon itself never had many Finns, but the first to arrive there were Johan Koskelo, Johan Lehto, Louis Seppänen, and Charles Mattson. One W. R. Johnson opened a general store in Brandon in 1914, at a time when there were still several Finnish farmers in the vicinity. One of these, Charles Silvola, sold his farm and moved to the Rio Grande valley of Texas, to be followed by others, but at least one of his eleven children remained in Minnesota to make a name for himself: Richard Hugo Silvola, at one time a representative to the state legislature from St. Louis County.

Todd County

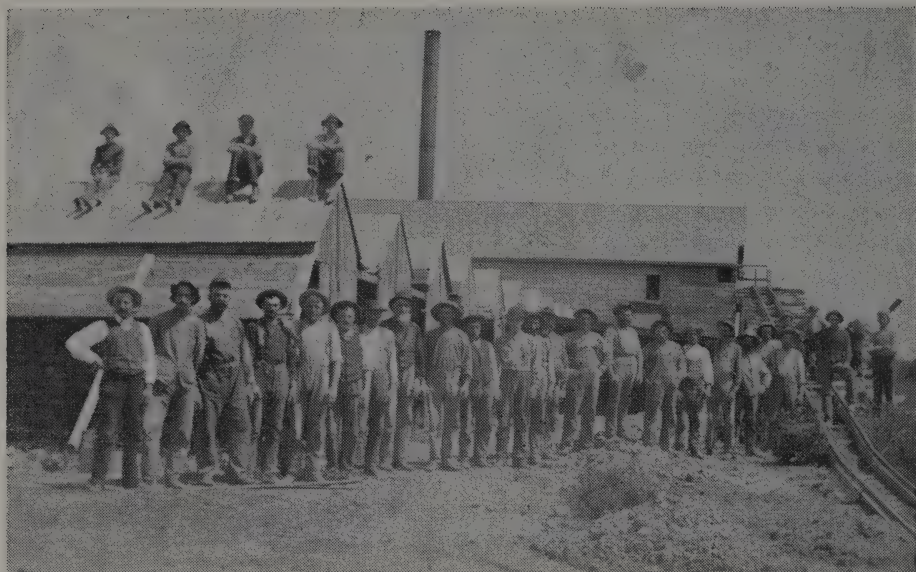
At the turn of the century there were 22 Finns in Todd County, a figure that remained constant until the 1940 census which showed 17 Finns and the 1950 census which listed but 10, out of a total county population of 25,450. In the chief town, Long Prairie, there were several Finns in the 1930s, but in 1950 the statistics listed but one Finn and four second-generation Finns. In Staples, also, there was but one Finn in 1950. Grey Eagle — to which in 1893 there came Johan Ainali, Johan Autio, John Hemmi, Antti Hiltunen, Matti Johnson, Adolf Jokinen, Alex Koski, Johan Meltaus, Mikko Meltaus, Israel Orin (Örn), Alex Paavola, Heikki Paavola, Jacob Paavola and Isak Pattiin — has the rest. Grey Eagle has even had its own Evangelical Lutheran congregation, to which in 1934 belonged 28 members.

Stearns County

In 1900 there was one Finn living in the county, and after an increase to 20 in 1940, the 1950 figure was down to 15. There were Finnish relief committees in Paynesville (H. J. Sauer, chairman), Sauk Centre (D. B. Coughren) and St. Cloud (Wheelock Whitney.)

Hennepin County and Minneapolis

That triangle of land where the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers join forms Hennepin County. In that county, at the point where the St. Anthony Falls, to which Father Hennepin, presumably the first white man to see that splendid flow of the Mississippi, gave its name in 1680, lies Minnesota's biggest city. The village established there did not begin to expand rapidly until after 1805, when the American Government reached its agreement with the



Finnish workmen at brick factory in Minneapolis.

Sioux Indians and began to erect forts and outposts in the area. A hundred years ago there was but one road across the countryside from St. Paul to the shore of the Mississippi above the falls, an Indian path which later became Hennepin Avenue in the middle of a metropolis. Below the falls used to stand a solitary mill, which Major Russhell had built there in 1822 with money furnished by the Government. In 1849 Colonel John H. Stevens owned a farm in the same area, and the first plan for a town was drawn up at his request in 1855, and in 1856 Minneapolis was born.

If the population in 1850 was but 538, it grew to 2,555 in 1860, and ten years later it was already 13,066. In another twenty years it grew to 164,738, and in 1950 it was more than half a million. In 1881 the *Uusi Kotimaa*, a Finnish-language newspaper just then commencing publication in Minneapolis, commented on this rapid growth: "There is much activity here, just as in any big city. New, huge brick buildings are being put up — and they are needed, for rents are high and living quarters are almost impossible to find." Later that same newspaper stated that 13 miles of buildings had been put up in Minneapolis in 1881, or 1,670 buildings with a total value of \$5,000,000. It was indicative of a growth that was to continue; to develop Major Russhell's one solitary mill into a city with the world's largest flour mills, to embrace extensive industries employing thousands, to become

a center of railroad lines serving vast agricultural areas extending into the Dakotas, to become the site of businesses, colleges and universities, a city of great beauty with its numerous lakes and parks. For a long time the Swedes, Norwegians and Finns, whose numbers were estimated at one-third the city's total population, were the leading national elements in the city, and although members of nationalities from farther south in Europe later became predominant, the city is still strongly Scandinavian if the succeeding generations of Scandinavian descent are taken into consideration.

The first Finns in Minneapolis appeared in 1865, coming from Red Wing and pausing here on their way to the west. Within a few years others came back from the west, pioneers from their homesteads who spent their winters in the city to earn money; the brickyards, for example, used to employ many such immigrants. The earliest statistics of the number of Finns present in Minneapolis was made by the *Uusi Kotimaa* in 1881, which wrote that there was much work to be had, even by the Finns, at \$1.75 the day, and that there were already about two hundred Finns living there and more arriving all the time. That figure was obviously exaggerated, because on Christmas Eve of that same year that same newspaper wrote that "there are more than forty Finns living at present in Minneapolis, most of them single persons. There are both men and women, and every so often there is another wedding." However, no matter how inaccurate the statistics might have been, it is obvious that the number of Finns was increasing. Again, although there were later estimates at the turn of the century claiming their numbers to be some three or four thousand, or even seven or eight thousand, a figure closer to reality was probably something over one thousand. The 1920 census lists 1,120, and since then a downward trend continued, so that the 1950 figures listed only 770 being native born Finns.

Religious Interests: Church activity began briskly in the 1890s. Although Pastor E. Bachman from Upper Michigan came to hold services in Minneapolis in 1880, organized religious activity was still a decade in coming. The followers of Laestadius were soon divided, splitting into two separate groups, with separate churches, one on Humboldt Avenue and the other on Newton Avenue, and there was even a third, independent apostolic group. Previous to the splits, however, the Minneapolis Apostolic Lutheran Church had even served as host for an annual national convocation, in 1913, with whole series of sermons, early morning business meetings followed by more sermons in the afternoons, and evening

meetings so crowded that the Workers' Hall had to be hired to take care of the throngs — all this for five days on end.

The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church got its start in 1894, and its first pastor, G. Bauruus, served the congregation for a monthly salary of \$7.00. Successors were J. K. Nikander and then K. Sahlberg, until the congregation almost died at the turn of the century. But in 1901 there were 28 members left, who founded the so-called Bergstad Church, which has continued to grow and which in 1953 had more than two hundred members. It participated in 1917 in setting up a "Minneapolis Parish" which included the French Lake and Kingston churches, as well as the Minnesota and Almenon-Owen congregations in Wisconsin. The latter two congregations quit the parish in 1939, and in 1951 Kingston-French Lake formed an independent parish of their own, leaving Minneapolis alone once again. These parishes have been served by pastors H. Sarvela, N. Saastamoinen, T. Samanen, Antti O. Kuusisto, Carl Tamminen, Arne J. Juntunen, John Wargelin, Edward J. Isaac, C. Heikkinen, C. Jennings, and then C. Heikkinen again, who in 1954 returned to the Minneapolis church.

In 1908 a group of 60 Minneapolis Finns petitioned Methodist Bishop Luther B. Wilson to send M. Lehtonen, a Methodist pastor, to serve them, but since Virginia City also sent a petition, with 101 names, Lehtonen was assigned there, and the Finnish Methodists of Minneapolis have had to join other Finnish churches or else Methodist churches with English services. A National Lutheran Church was established in 1925, and the congregation has its own church, with a membership in 1951 of 59. Pastors have been S. A. Krankkala, W. W. Wilen, H. P. Esala, Erick Erickson and J. Aho.

The Women's Club: The first organized, non-church activity among the Finns in Minneapolis was a women's club. Its inception can be traced back, perhaps, to a suggestion in the *Uusi Kotimaa* in 1881 that the Minneapolis Finns "ought to hold a bazaar to raise money for a library." A few weeks later the paper returned to the theme and amplified it: "We should do something along civic lines. As a start it would be excellent if a reading circle were set up, in such a way that we would get together to raise money with which to buy moral, instructive and diverting books, to be housed in suitable quarters. We could even print any books we like here in America, if readers and buyers are interested. The women would be the ones to spur on such an idea, but unfortunately many of them run around to utterly useless dances." Actually, it took more than ten years for the *Uusi Kotimaa* pro-

posal to be realized: in 1895 the Minneapolis Finnish Women's Club was organized, along the lines of a club organized the previous year in Calumet, Michigan, with an aim to acquaint women with good literature and to discuss literature in their club meetings. But the Minneapolis club also engaged in other activities, keeping a Sunday school for children, arranging meetings and program events open to the public, sponsoring lectures which were most frequently concerned with questions of morality, the responsibilities of motherhood, etc.

Later, in 1919, there was established another women's club, the "Fennia Club", originally for aiding the Red Cross but then gradually shifting to charity and social work. In the Fennia money has been raised through membership dues, with suppers and coffee parties, gifts, sale of Christmas cards — even with such events as sponsoring an exhibition race in 1925 between Paavo Nurmi and American track stars. Membership, numbering about 40, has been limited exclusively to women of Finnish origin or descent or to the wives of Finnish men. Hannah Södergren, Sophia Haddox, Esther Sarenpa (Saarenpää), Ellen Södergren, Effie Wuorie, Madie Hakarinen, Hulda Storm, Marie Hake, Lempi Lindquist and Signe Wuollet have served as chairmen of the club.

The temporary Temperance Society: Shortly after the Women's Club was formed, people remember vaguely "another Finnish society", presumably the Vesa Temperance Society founded then. It was at a time when Finns and alcohol did not agree with each other, and when *Uusi Kotimaa* could write as it did: "A certain Finn has the honor of being the first to be arrested for drunkenness on New Year's Day. When he came face to face with Judge Coley on Monday morning he declared himself ready to vow that he would never again touch hard liquor if the court would forgive him this time. He was acquitted on this condition."

To prevent incidents of this sort, Finnish temperance societies were established everywhere where Finns lived in the United States. The Minneapolis Vesa Society, however, was unusual: after about six years of activity it ceased to function, but was revived again, only to find itself becoming the center of the local socialist movement. After a first, so-called "Speakers' Club" socialist organization, a Finnish Socialist Workers' Association was formed in 1903, to which the Vesa gave all its assets and in which the former Vesa members joined. Functioning first as a subsidiary of the local Minneapolis Socialist organization, in 1905 it became a member of the Finnish Socialist central body in America. Beginning with a membership of 27, it had 176 members in

1912, and of them 52 were women. To measure the popularity of this political philosophy, it might be stated that in 1911 there were 134 Minneapolis subscribers to the *Työmies*, Finnish-language leftist newspaper; thirty-five years later, the *Työmies*, transformed into a communist paper, had 50 subscribers in Minneapolis, and the communist *Naisten Viiri*, a women's periodical, had 23 subscribers.

The Minneapolis Finnish Socialists, who from the very start sent delegates (usually John E. Sala and Erich Hook) to the city and state-wide Socialist Party meetings, built their own hall in 1913, a popular social gathering place, and a cultural center as well, with its dramatic groups (Frans Eklund, John Steckman, Victor Sainio, Hilja Ahonen-Steckman, Ida Loukola, Helmi Mäkelä, Arvo Närki, Saima Seppälä, Lyydi Koski and Fanny Sala were particularly active) its bands, its gymnastics and sports



The theatre group's first actors presenting "The Happy Bridegroom": unknown, F. Eglund, Mrs. Paavola (Halonen), J. Sala and Elli Rossi.

programs — a popularity that was paralleled in other areas where there were concentrations of Finns. W. M. Rein in his book, *Nuoriso, Oppi ja Työ* ("Youth, Learning and Labor") gives a partial explanation of this manifestation: "Why do the workers have their own halls, their thatricals, their socials?" he asks, and goes on to answer: "For the same reason that they have their own newspapers, literature and even schools. For class-conscious education and recreation. Even recreation is partisan

in a society that has classes, and even the average stage productions are infiltrated with capitalist propaganda. The workers' societies try to carry out counter-propaganda in all fields."

Although internal dissensions had a tendency to disrupt the unity of the workers' movement, they did not have much effect in Minneapolis, and even during World War I and the difficulties that war brought, there was no let-down in activity, for the atmosphere was not unfavorable in Minneapolis, where a socialist mayor, Thomas Van Lear, was famous for his pacifist stand. After the war, however, when a schism led to a split between moderate socialists and a radical wing which became communist, a big majority in Minneapolis joined the radical wing, (there were 116 members in 1922, and later the number doubled) and the moderates were ousted. The hall fell into the radicals' hands, and with them in control, activity soon slackened and died down, membership fell, and in 1936 a property worth \$20,000 was foreclosed when the organization was unable to pay \$4,000 due to the banks.

After the parting of the ways, some of the Finns joined the American Socialist chapter. Further, in 1930, a group of supporters of the IWW and other anti-communist supporters of the labor movement founded a new group, the "Minneapolis Finnish Workers' Society", which reached a membership of about 50. It was active for several years and had a mouthpiece, the newspaper *Industrialisti*. Some of the members also belonged to the local IWW "Recruiting Union".

Finland Aid Programs: In October 1939, when Russian pressure against Finland began to become alarming, there was considerable anxiety in Finnish circles in Minneapolis. In fact, several people wrote the Finnish Consul in Duluth, proposing that steps be taken to send help to beleaguered Finland. Early in December, when hostilities had actually begun, a mass meeting in Minneapolis resulted in the setting up of a relief organization, "Helping Hand to Finland," a move agreed upon by all the Finnish elements in the community. Dr. V. A. Luttio was elected chairman of this organization.

Relief work was begun immediately. Appeals were made not only to the Finns but to everybody, and the tremendous response was proof that the Americans, too, were wholeheartedly supporting the Finnish cause. Within a few months, \$10,000 in money was collected, and gifts of clothing began to pour in. There were money-raising rallies, coffee parties, silver teas, collections in churches, voluntary contributions from small businesses, and so money and supplies kept on flowing to Finland as long as that was possible.

When the Finnish military situation put a halt to further shipments, Arne Halonen proposed in December 1941 that the establishment of a new organization to carry on the work in a form appropriate in the altered circumstances was in order, and so the Finnish-American Society of Minneapolis was born, to foster the well-being of its members and to encourage a better understanding of American institutions and customs, especially among those of Finnish origin: to encourage the arts; to perpetuate Finnish cultural traditions, and to assist various benevolent and worthy causes.

In spite of the difficulties inherent in the situation, aid for Finland was continued quietly, until the Finnish armistice with Russia made it possible to work more freely and effectively. The "Helping Hand to Finland" committee ceased to exist in January 1942, and its assets were put aside to be sent to Finland when the opportunity presented itself, but the Finnish-American Society of Minneapolis has continued to exist even after aid to Finland was finally discontinued. Its first chairman was Dr. Luttio, who was later succeeded by John Sala. Prominent in Finnish aid work were Carl E. Södergren, William Toivonen, and later Victor H. Gran. The latter received the Order of the Finnish Lion from the President of Finland in recognition for the work he has done.

Historical Work: The most recent form of communal work among the Finns has been through the local chapters of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society, active in Minneapolis from 1949 to 1955. It brought together a group of 10 to 20 interested Finns, and its most recent chairmen were Mrs. James Arnold and Leo Liiste.

Musical Activities: Musical activity, particularly choral work, has been present among the Finns in Minneapolis as long as any formal organizations have existed. They have had a place in all societies from the early temperance society to the present Finnish-American Society. The first permanent chorus was established in 1905, when Emil Kemppainen conducted both a brass band and a mixed chorus. He was succeeded by a musician named Lee, who, like his predecessor, came from a military band in Finland. For some years August Blom directed both band and chorus, and Kalle Kaario, another musician from the Finnish army, conducted the band. Then came Toivo Oksanen, who conducted both brass bands and orchestras, among both Finns and Americans, and then John Mickilä, who also conducted a chorus.

The last conductor of the chorus of the Finnish Workers' Society was John Pietarila, a self-taught musician. In 1933, when Irene Halonen arrived from the east coast, where she had conducted choruses, she was first assistant to Pietarila and then took full charge of the mixed chorus, which advanced to a high standard of musicianship and which appeared before numerous audiences, both Finnish and American. When Finnish relief work commenced, the chorus was re-activated by Irene Halonen and played an important part in the fund-raising drives.

The Finns at Work: The Finns of Minneapolis have worked in the most varied fields and professions. Work in the kilns,



The Minneapolis mixed chorus. In the center is Mrs. Irene Halonen, director.

previously mentioned, where many Finns found employment in the earlier days, was but one of the many labor and factory jobs open to Finns ignorant as yet of the English language. Soon (as early as 1878) there were Finnish restaurants where laborers could go to eat, and in 1881 there were two Finnish barbers among the city's two score, prepared to give a shave for 15c or eight shaves for one dollar. Then came the shopkeepers, of whom Antti Anderson (Kauvosaari) and Isak Anderson were among the early ones. A Finnish druggist, Alfred Södergren, appeared in the 1890s and made his drugstore famous throughout Minnesota:

"There exist very few real Finnish apothecary shops besides ours where our citizens can procure the authentic Finnish drugs they have been accustomed to in Finland," Södergren wrote in one of his catalogs: "The success achieved by our mail order department through the years proves clearly enough that a well-organized apothecary shop meets the requirements of Finnish immigrants in America. We have set up our shop in Minneapolis, which is a focal point of Finnish settlements and which, because of its excellent transportation facilities, offers all those facilities indispensable to this kind of enterprise." More recently, the most outstanding business enterprise has been the Wire Specialty Manufacturing Company, owned by Veini Tuoma.

At the turn of the century the Finns began to appear in great numbers as office workers, nurses and teachers, among them Marie Kallio, who has advised thousands of immigrants on the formalities of becoming American citizens. Hundreds of Finns have studied at the University of Minnesota, and several Finns have been faculty members there, beginning with Clemens Niemi, who served as assistant professor, circa 1910. Robert E. Nylund and Professor Olga Lakela have taught in the Department of Botany, Gertrude Esteros in Home Economics, Pearl Niemi in foreign languages, Gerald Hill in music, Mary B. Lampe in physical education. John I. Kolehmainen has spent one academic year as visiting professor. Mr. Laitala has taught at the School of Engineering, Vera Mäkivirta-Clausen and Anne Kallio in the School of Medicine. During World War II, the Finnish language was taught to military personnel at the University by Arne Halonen, who has received the Order of the Finnish Lion from the President of Finland in recognition of that work. In the field of government, it should be noted that President Truman in 1945 appointed Viena P. Johnson to be Collector of Customs for the Minneapolis Customs Office. Esko E. Ranta, a Minneapolis lawyer, was appointed Finnish Vice-Consul in 1954.

In cooperative activities, a Cooperative Consumers, Inc., was established in 1935; three years later it had a membership of 157, but it was terminated soon thereafter. Previously, however, a cooperative life insurance company (Cooperators' Life Association) was established in 1933, with Arne Halonen the guiding spirit, and a cooperative Mutual Service Casualty Insurance Company covers fire and automobile insurances. Minneapolis has, of course, several successful cooperative enterprises, such as the Franklin Cooperative Creamery and the Cooperative Services,

Inc., which is an oil distributor, in which the Finns have participated.

Journalism and Literature: A center in so many respects, Minneapolis has also been a center for the printed word in Finnish. The fifth Finnish-American newspaper to appear, and the first of its kind in Minnesota, was the *Uusi Kotimaa*, ("The New Homeland") which began publication in August 1881, appearing first with a sample issue, in which the editors stated their program: "The *Uusi Kotimaa* will be published in Minneapolis every Thursday. It will be liberal in every respect and will present to the best of its abilities useful, entertaining and morally suitable material, even longer novels, to increase the desire for reading among our fellow Finns, and to bring them the significant news from America and abroad. We shall try particularly to encourage our Finnish readers in this new country to preserve their national traditions and language, and as far as is possible, we shall inform them about conditions in this country."

The newspaper did change its day of publication from Thursday to Monday, and then from Monday to Saturday, but it did not change its program. Appearing first as a four-page paper, then with six pages, it did bring its readers the 'longer novels' it promised, in serial form, novels with such titles as "The Wife He Deserved", "A Wife's Love", "There's No Place Like Home". Events in Minnesota and adjoining states were carefully followed, and other American news were given considerable space.

Subscription cost \$2.00 the year in the United States, or 10 markkas per year to Finland, and subscribers were told that "a large group of people have joined to support this paper financially, so that subscribers need not fear they will be asked to give it support." The editor was August Nylund, who actually also owned the newspaper, although he had set up a corporation to supply financial support, a step most Finnish-American newspapers have had to follow at some phase in their existence. According to some reports, the "large group of people" supporting the *Uusi Kotimaa* were the churches, exclusively, and the newspaper was originally to have become their mouthpiece. That may have been so, but the newspaper very soon appeared to belong exclusively to its editor, who soon had to retreat from his proud words of financial independence, for after four months of publication the paper announced the establishment of an *Uusi Kotimaa* Association in Calumet, Michigan, and ended its appeal for members with the statement that "it is impossible to even

hope at this stage that the paper will be able to exist with readers' subscriptions alone. The editors alone cannot assume responsibility for the paper's future but must rely on the support of assisting organizations." The Finnish population of Minneapolis was too small at that time to give any assistance, so in 1884 Nylund moved his newspaper to New York Mills, to a region where there were more Finns and more prospects of forthcoming help.

The *Uusi Kotimaa* was not the only attempt to publish a Finnish language newspaper in Minneapolis. In 1893 an "association" was established there to publish another weekly newspaper, the *Amerikan Uutiset*. Fred Karinen and August Edwards were its editors, but they were soon joined by a third man, Kalle Haapakoski. Within a year, however, exclusive ownership fell to Fred Karinen, and he transferred the paper to a region of a potentially larger circulation — to Calumet, Michigan.

In addition to these newspapers, a monthly, *Lentäviä Lehtiä*, appeared for a while before it was transferred to Duluth. Another periodical, the *Kuvalehti*, began publication in 1894.

During the period when he was still located in Minneapolis, Nylund published the following advertisement in the *Uusi Kotimaa*: "Since there seems to be a general lack of books for the study of English by Finns living in America, the undersigned has planned to prepare a practical English grammar for beginners if there are subscribers enough to warrant publication of such a book." Apparently not enough subscriptions came in, since it was never published. However, there was enough interest, somewhat later, for Matti Lehtonen, Methodist pastor, to publish in 1910, his "Practical Finnish Primer for Finnish-American homes, Sunday schools and summer schools." A brief book, of some 30-odd pages, it sold for 10 cents, and the first edition of 3000 copies was sold out in three years.³¹

In 1923, Betty Järnefelt-Rauanheimo wrote a 96-page religious book in English, *A Mother's Farewell Letters*, which was published by the Augsburg Publishing House in Minneapolis. In 1939, Elma K. Anderson published a pamphlet, *Translations of Finnish Songs*, a collection of Finnish religious songs in English. A varied group of Finnish pamphlets have also been published in Minneapolis, including materials by authors working elsewhere: for example, the Cooperative Printing Association produced several printings

31. Lehtonen, M. *Käytännöllinen suomenkielen lukemisen alkeisoppi eli uusi Aapinen Amerikan suomalaisten Koteja, Pyhä- ja Kesäkouluja varten*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1910, and 2nd, corrected edition, Chisholm, Minnesota, 1918.

of V. S. Alanne's work, *Fundamentals of Consumer Cooperation*, a work sponsored by the Northern States Cooperative League. To the same category belong *The Story of the Virginia Cooperative Society through 30 Years of Progress*, 1909-1939, and many others.

Finnish Population: A considerable number of Finns have lived outside the city proper, in the suburbs and elsewhere in Hennepin County. Recently, of course, many second and third generation Finns have favored the suburbs. (Hopkins, Osseo and Robbinsdale had Finnish aid committees, with their chairmen, respectively, being F. F. Sefcik, A. P. Hechtman and J. W. Roche.)

Statistically, there were 397 Finnish-born residents in the 228,340 population figure of Hennepin County in 1900. The peak number of Finns, 1,218, appeared in the 1930 census, when the county's population was 517,789. In 1950, when the county's population had increased to 676,579, the number of Finns had fallen to 847.

Ramsey County and St. Paul

East of Hennepin lies Ramsey County, with the state's capital, St. Paul, which is situated so close to Minneapolis that the two cities are often referred to as the "Twin Cities." After the Jesuit priest Father Lucien Caltier in 1641 built here his chapel dedicated to St. Paul, the village which grew up around it took the same name. During most of the 19th century the population of St. Paul was much greater than that of St. Anthony (which became Minneapolis), but in 1890 Minneapolis overtook the capital and has remained ahead. (In 1950, Minneapolis had 521,718 persons; St. Paul, 311,349.) As far as relative numbers of Finns in the two cities are concerned, the disparity has been even greater: very few Finns have ever lived in St. Paul. Of course, there were less opportunities, too, for it would have been difficult for non-English speaking Finns to seek jobs anywhere but on the railroads or in the factories in St. Paul. The first Finn is believed to have arrived in 1867, one A. E. Mellgren, whose son later owned the St. Paul Stamp Works, located on East Fifth Street.

A graphic picture of what life was like has been preserved in a letter one Finn, "V. S.," wrote on 5 February 1886, "on the St. Paul railroad" to his wife in Finland, which was published in 1946 in Finland in the *Jouluviesti yli Atlannin*: "I approach you here, dear wife, with a few scribblings and thousands of good wishes and greetings, and to let you know that I am well, which is the same I hope you are, and to let you know I am at work



St. Paul's Finnish representatives at the Festival of Nations in 1947: Selma Marjamaa, Elna Sistola, Joan Sistola, Jafet Marjamaa (appearing as Franklin's first Finnish settler, Peter Lahti), Vivian Rodenbaugh, Jennie Fischer, Mamie Jokinen, Ralph Sistola, Martha Kortesmaki, Eunice Mickelson and a visitor.

but that we are having a strike. The strike was begun to gain a wage of one and a half dollars a day. We are more than two hundred men, so no one dares to go to work even if he wants to, and I have no desire to. Here in America during big strikes men have often been killed for going to work. When the pickets look around and find someone working rather than joining the strikers, then it's no great ado to take his life, and no one tries to investigate the death. But it is not bad now, because all we have to do is eat and sleep, and food costs 45c (or 3 Markkas and 45 Penniä) a day. If you remember the Vaasa railroad during slack times, this is even worse; no one works here when it is cold or hot, and not much in between, either. One has to eat oneself poor here, and they say that not even God will help one who has spent his all for food. We would like to leave, but we cannot draw the pay that we have earned. It will continue bad for

another two months, but then I will be able to earn something again.”

Hardships of this kind were overcome, and the pioneer Finns remained dauntless in their hard work and efforts. As a result of their strivings, the next generation was able to aim higher, to get an education, and even to prepare to serve the state in responsible positions.

In the Minnesota legislature, Finns have been present at almost every session. The following chart lists those who are definitely known as Finns:

Representatives:

Session:	Name:	Election District:	Residence:
1905-1909	John Saari	49th	Sparta
1937-1945	John Anttila	59th	Duluth
1937-1939	George Sahlman	54th	Cloquet
1945-1955	Richard H. Silvola	61st	Virginia
1949-1951	R. R. Ryti	51st	Wadena
1949-1951	Henry W. Mattson	54th	Cloquet
1951-1955	J. A. Anderson	50th	New York Mills

In addition to the above, there apparently have been several others of Finnish descent with Swedish or Americanized names. The same can be said to be true for the upper house list which follows:

Senators:

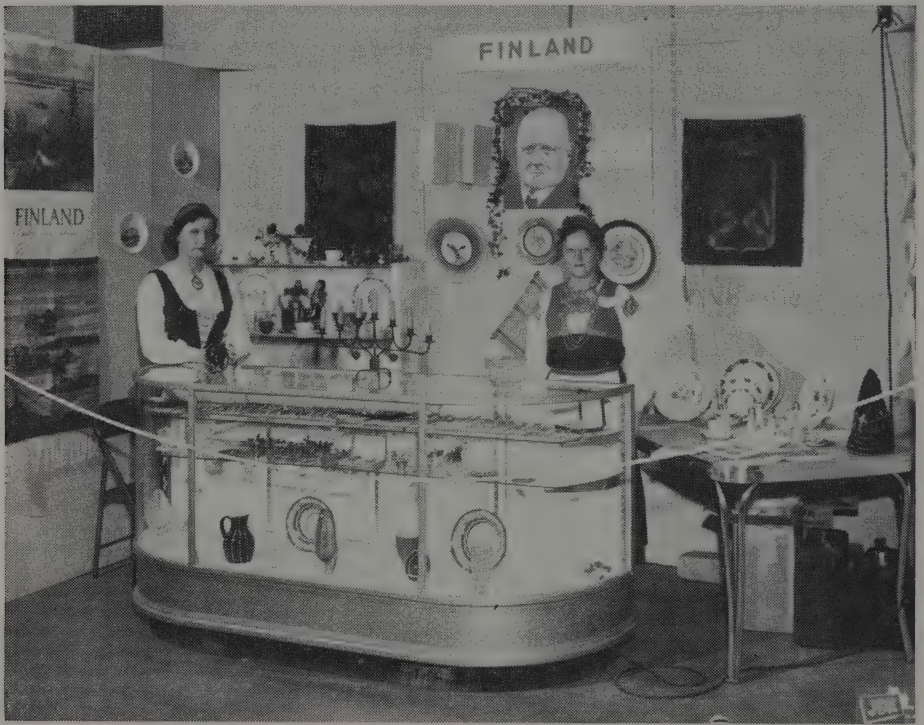
1935-1939	Arvid Ruotsinoja	26th	Kimball
1939-1947	J. William Huhtala	61st	Virginia
1951-1955	Henry W. Matson	54th	Cloquet (32)

As is apparent from the election districts listed and the home towns given, all (with the exception of Senator Ruotsinoja) have come from those areas of northern Minnesota where the Finnish population has been most numerous.

Finns have also definitely appeared in other positions: at least William Brukman, head of the tax bureau, and Paul Pesonen, a tax commissioner, were definitely Finns. During World War II, and up to 1954, Victor H. Gran served as assistant to the Minnesota attorney general, and after him came R. Mattson. Approximately at the same time Jafet Marjamaa became an official of the Economic Division and Väinö Kortesmäki became assistant director of the Agricultural Education Division. Alexander Oja is a technical advisor to the Natural History Museum of St. Paul. Taimi Ranta is serving as assistant professor at Hamline College in St. Paul.

32. The Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota. St. Paul, Minn., 1905-1909, 1935-1955.

The only active Finnish organization in the capital has been the local chapter of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society, founded in 1949, with Väinö Kortesmäki as chairman, Jafet Marjamaa as vice-chairman, Harold Lehto as secretary, and Mrs. Herman Fischer as treasurer. A part of the program of this chapter has been to make Finland and the Finnish contribution to Minnesota better known during the Minnesota Centennial and during several "Festival of the Nations" events. The chairman of the chapter has served for years as a member of the board of directors of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society and has worked to make possible a translation into English of the history of the Finns in Minnesota. The St. Paul local chapter



Presentation of the Minneapolis Finns at the Festival of Nations in 1955. Hamline University professor Taimi Ranta at left and Irene Halonen.

also sponsored a study, completed in 1955, to show land ownership of the Finns in Minnesota, based on material in the Minnesota State Archives.

During Finland's Winter War, there was a Finnish Relief Committee in St. Paul, with Harold Hood and Dan Turula as co-chairmen.

In 1950, there were 68 Finns living in St. Paul. In addition to those, there were a few others living in Falcon Heights.

Washington County

There are a few Finns living in Bayport, Lake Elmo and Stillwater; in the last mentioned town there was a Finnish Relief Committee, with A. I. Lehmicke as chairman. Stillwater also has a State Prison, which occasionally has served as a long-term residence for Finns; in 1955, out of a prison population of 1,100 there were 26 Finns.

Anoka County

According to the 1950 census, there were 26 Finns in Anoka, 3 in Columbia Heights, and one in Fridley.

Chisago County

In 1900 there were two Finns; in 1910, five; in 1940 and 1950, four. In Lindstrom there was a Finnish Relief Committee with A. T. Victor as chairman.

Isanti County

In 1900 there were four Finns; in 1950, six.

Sherburne County

In 1900, four Finns were living in the county; in 1910 there were seven; 11 in 1920; 3 in 1940; 2 in 1950.

Benton County

One Finn lived here in 1900; five in 1910; thirteen in 1920; ten in 1930; five in 1940; four in 1950. Sauk Rapids had a Finnish Relief Committee, with Robert P. Howe as chairman.

Mille Lacs County

At the turn of the century there were 22 Finns; in 1910, there were 40, but after that a decline began and 1950 had but 8 Finns listed. Milaca has been the home of several Swedish-speaking Finns, and there, too, a Finnish Relief Committee was active, with the Reverend Soderberg as chairman.

Morrison County

The year 1900 saw the maximum number of Finns listed for this county — 52 — but the 1950 census shows but 6. The Finns living in Little Falls apparently had two churches at one time, with an Evangelical Lutheran Church established in 1894 and served by Heikki Sarvela as pastor, and a Lutheran National Church. In 1895 a Finnish Women's Club was founded; like the one in Minneapolis, it was set up along the lines of the Calumet

Women's Club. At one time the club supported a lending library and ran a Sunday school. All along, however, the small number of Finns present affected community action negatively, and the end result was the same that even larger Finnish communities have experienced: the older generation has grown tired, the younger generation has lacked interest and the organizations have died.

Kanabec County

One Finn was listed, once, in 1900.

Chapter VI

The Pioneers of Northwest Minnesota

Finnish settlement in southern and central Minnesota, considered in the two previous chapters, began in the 1860s. It was not until a decade later that the first Finns began to move into Northern Minnesota, which was to become the area of heaviest Finnish concentration in Minnesota as well as in the whole United States.

There were two avenues of approach, the railroads heading north from Minneapolis and the Fargo railroad heading westward from Duluth. For the Finns these railroads were not only the avenues of approach but also the source of work. That the Finns spoke little or no English did not hinder their getting jobs on the railroads, and so they moved along with the section gangs and reached the northern regions of the state, before the big mining operations were to begin and thus a decade later to form the vital center of life for thousands of Finns.

As soon as a Finn had put aside a little money from his work on the section gangs, the desire to acquire some land usually became overpowering. The seasonal character of the railroad jobs and the difficulties that the periods of unemployment brought these Finns only added to their desire for land. Year after year, then, increasing numbers of Finns on these section gangs went to the land offices and put down their names for Homestead lands. Land was the innermost cry in their hearts; land awakened new hopes. But the lands available in Northern Minnesota at the time were almost all wilderness areas with vast outcropping of stone, covered with tree stumps. The giant pines had been felled by the loggers, and occasional forest fires had completed the picture of devastation. In her book entitled *Lake Superior*, Grace Lee Nute suggested that no other people but the Finns would have

taken on the task of clearing that hopeless stump land, and in his book, *Americanization of the Finnish People in Houghton County, Michigan*, Clemens Niemi cited the words of L. M. Geismar, County Agriculture Agent, to the effect that the French were content to stay on the farm as long as there were woods, the children of Central European farmers simply refused to stay on the farms, the Dutch and the Belgians were not accustomed to clearing land, so that the Finns were the only hope that it would ever be done. And the Finns proved equal to the task: "From a burned over stump land the Finns have created a paradise," wrote the *New York Times* (22 August 1944); "the people from that far north of Europe seem to thrive best where life most severely tries man," wrote the *Survey* (1912). "They were of the opinion that in wanting to make man happy, God gave him a piece of land," said J. H. Jasberg, writing of the advantages of a farming life. It was in this fashion, then, that the Finnish settlement spread throughout the northern portions of Minnesota, areas which, once cleared, were to prove a fertile, rich region.

Crow Wing County

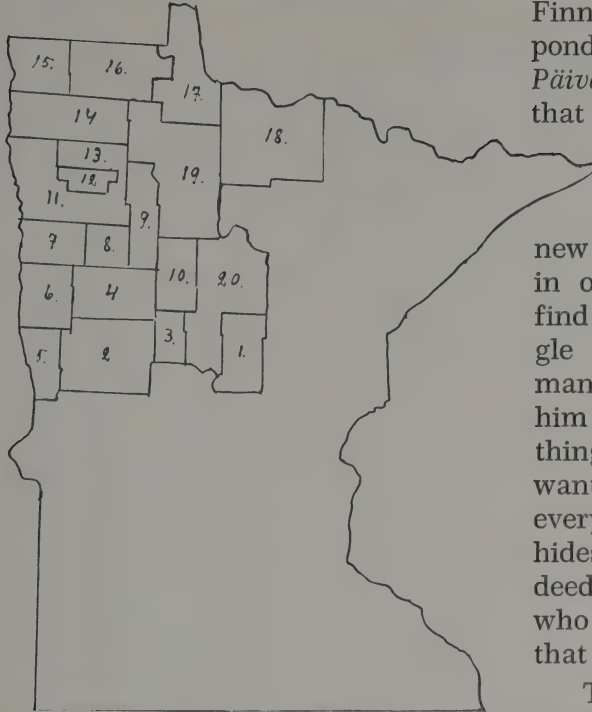
Crow Wing County lies in the center of the state north of Morrison County. In the vicinity of Brainerd, exploitation of the forests was extensive in the 1870s, in the decade which also saw the completion of the railroad from Duluth to Fargo. When the line was completed in 1874, maintenance facilities for rolling stock and repair sheds for locomotives were set up in Brainerd, offering work to many immigrant laborers. A few factories also appeared, and then sawmills and a big chemical plant.

Brainerd: By 1880, the population of Brainerd had reached 2,000, and a decade later, 5,700 (1950: 12,637.) In his 1923 study, Ilmonen¹ wrote that "it will probably be impossible to determine who was Brainerd's first Finn, but in 1873 there were already several there: Tuomas Autio, Matti Pikkarainen, Alex Nykänen, Antti Tuomela, Antti Puuperä, Johan Vapola — who all moved on to become pioneers in New York Mills later in the same decade. It was not until the 1880s that Finns came to Brainerd to stay permanently." Ilmonen also estimated that the Finnish population of Brainerd never exceeded five hundred² and a more realistic maximum would probably be no more than half of that.

1. Ilmonen, S. *op.cit.* II, p. 219

2. Ilmonen, S. *op.cit.* III, p. 191

In fact, moreover, it might have been difficult to find any Finns at all, for a correspondent for the Duluth *Päivälehti* wrote in 1914 that “here in Brainerd



Northwestern Minnesota Counties: 1. Crow Wing; 2. Otter Tail; 3. Wadena; 4. Becker; 5. Wilkin; 6. Clay; 7. Norman; 8. Mahanomen; 9. Clearwater; 10. Hubbard; 11. Polk; 12. Red Lake; 13. Pennington; 14. Marshall; 15. Kittson; 16. Roseau; 17. Lake of the Woods; 18. Kochiching; 19. Beltrami; 20. Cass.

live several hundred Finns, but I have observed that if a

new Finn were to appear in our city he would not find it easy to locate a single Finn, no matter how many of them might pass him on the street. The thing is that no one here wants to speak Finnish — everyone who possibly can hides that language. Indeed there are even many who will most firmly deny that they are Finns.”

This phenomenon was a very general one at that time. Kaarina Leino-Olli gave her explanation for it in an article in the *Päivälehti* in 1938:

“Why did we Finns who were growing up around 1915 feel ourselves so inferior? First of all, because we belonged to a small nationality group, which in addition to everything else had come from a country of which nobody knew anything at all or only so much, perhaps, that it was some north Russian province. If the name of Finland meant anything at all to an average American, it brought to mind images of a frozen wilderness, of reindeer and of Lapps peering out of their leather hoods with slanting eyes. If someone said, ‘My parents were born in Finland’, he usually was asked, ‘Where’s that?’ And although we children were born in America, we were usually called foreigners just the same. The irony of it was that those who accused us of being foreigners or worse were frequently foreigners themselves, but from England or Ireland, and since they spoke the language of the country they considered themselves very superior, even though they were often very simple people.

“Yes, they called us foreigners, and in less charitable moments they called us bums or dirty Finns. Geography books, encyclopedias and social studies always used to state that the Finns were Mongolians. It is difficult to describe to you who have been able to avoid these libels, how it froze the heart and how it could crush a child. I shall never forget what happened to me once when I was about ten years old. Near us lived an Irish family, with a daughter named Kathleen — who also had a nickname, Sunny. One afternoon we had been playing together with our dolls, and when supertime approached

I said, 'Goodbye, Sunny, I guess I have to go home now.' To my horror she replied to me angrily, 'Don't you call me Sunny. You're a dirty Finn, you must call me Kathleen.'

"I was left speechless with humiliation after this unexpected retort. I went home, bitter and depressed, wondering what really was the matter with Finns and why I had been born one . . .

"I remember how a Finnish girl, whose name was Sirkka, used to be teased in school. Somehow or other the rest of the children had found out that sirkka derived from *heinäsirkka*, meaning grasshopper, and so that is what they sarcastically called her from that time on, Grasshopper. Impi became Imp, Tyne became Tiny, Tellervo became Telephone. You may be smiling, as I am now, at these childish cruelties, but to those children whose names were twisted about and laughed at it was no joking matter. Some were so hurt by it that they anglicized their names whenever possible. It must be noted that these same Finnish children, growing up and becoming parents, gave their own children English names. Among their children you will not find any named Toivo, Impi or Lempi. And considering the situation, they can hardly be blamed for it."

However, there were Finns in Brainerd, of course, and their communal activities began with their churches. The Evangelical Lutheran congregation of St. John was established in 1889, with 28 members. The highest membership was reached in 1915, with 136 members, and after a drop to 34 in 1945 there was a slight increase to 37 in 1953. For twenty years the services were held at the homes of members, in various halls, or at the Norwegian Lutheran church, until the congregation got a building of its own. Pastors have been J. K. Nikander, H. Sarvela, K. Varmavuori (Kustaa Sahlberg), D. Samanen, A. Karhu, O. Mäki, A. Karlin, T. Kantonen, V. Ranta, F. Koski, E. Tuori, J. F. Saari-nen, Jalkanen, Hagelberg and A. Korhonen. The settlements of Finlayson and Kettle River, which formerly belonged to the Brainerd pastorate, established independent churches in 1940. Soon after the founding of the first congregation in Brainerd, a National Lutheran Church was established in 1891. In this church, which J. Huuskonen and E. V. Niemi have served as pastors, there were 50 members in 1935, and 21 in 1947. There has also been an Apostolic Lutheran Church in the city, closely allied with its opposite number in New York Mills. A temperance society was established in 1889, and a Finnish Socialist group in 1906, with 40 members at the end of its first year.

During the Finnish Winter War there was a Finnish relief committee active in Brainerd, with Otto Heikkinen as chairman.

Cuyuna Iron Range

At first it had seemed as if Crow Wing County had played its role to an end as far as the Finns were concerned when work on the railroads was finished and when the farming lands of

New York Mills began to attract the Finns. Not much later, however, Crow Wing was to play another role with its mining activities, and in that, too, the Finns had their frustrating share.

In the Cuyuna Iron Range, which begins some 15 miles northeast of Brainerd, mining operations on a large scale were started shortly before World War I, with as many as 44 mines being opened. On the basis of the first shipments of ore that were made, the resources were estimated at some 300,000,000 tons, and in three decades of operations 50,000,000 tons of ore were actually shipped out. In 1940 it was estimated that there were still 1,000,000,000 tons of ore in the Range. Gust Aakula, in an article in the *Duluth Industrialist* of 27 January 1956, summarizes the early history of this find and the Finnish role in it:

"In 1876 a forest 'cruiser', George W. Jenkins, came from Canada to this area. He continued his profession of estimating forestry operation potentials for lumber companies for some years, after which he bought land in Crow Wing County, built a home and started farming.

"In 1893, while he was looking for one of the boundary points of his land, where sections 28, 29, 32 and 33 join, he saw several deep pits in the area. They had obviously been dug a long time previously, for they had crumbled and the wooden props had rotted. In one pit he found a pile of strange-looking rock, parts of a windlass, and an old bucket. He took the bucket home, and he used parts of the windlass to make a handle for his grindingwheel.

"He often wondered why the pits had been dug, and a decade later the puzzle began to clear up. According to Jenkins himself, a man named Henry Pajari appeared at his farm one day in 1903 and stayed the night. He said he had come to look at the land he owned in sections 28-32, where he had for several years looked for iron ore and where he had even dug some exploratory pits with some helpers. He said that he had lost his expensive magnetic dip needle in 1882 and had given up digging when water seeped into the pits and his comrades, who had loaned him funds, began to doubt his explorations.

"According to the Crow Wing County Registry of Deeds, Pajari had in 1883 bought 160 acres of land in sections 28 and 32. Not much was known about him, however, until he visited Deerwood in 1930 and went to the offices of the *Deerwood Enterprise*, where he was interviewed by the editor. According to that interview, (published on May 9th) Pajari, the first man to believe that there was iron ore in the region, had been 25 years old in 1882 and had been riding a slow train from the mines where he had been working in Michigan to his homestead in Otter Tail County. When the train stopped near Deerwood, the last car was halted in a section of line cut through rock, and Pajari's attention was attracted to this rock formation. He picked up some and saw that it was precisely the same kind as the rich iron-bearing kind he had learned to identify in Marquette County, Michigan. West of Deerwood, Pajari saw more of the same kind of rock, and he began to believe that the area had to contain iron.

"When he returned to his job in Michigan, Pajari told his comrades of his discovery and urged them to join him in exploring the region for a few months. They loaned him some money, on the condition that if he succeeded in finding what he was looking for, they would share in the profits. He bought a compass, a winch, a tent, the necessary tools and food supplies, and persuaded one Herman Bjorklund to go with him for a daily pay of \$1.50. So the men went to Deerwood, in 1882, and began to work in the area which later received the name Cuyuna Range.

"Pajari began to dig in three separate places, but when water always began to seep into them he was unable to dig further. Bjorklund wanted to quit, and besides, it was getting difficult to borrow more money, so Pajari decided

to give up after some three months of trying. He left some of his tools in one of the pits, thinking that he would return one day and continue digging until he actually found an iron lode. In addition to these tries on the land he had bought, he also looked about in Klondike, with his magnetic needle, and also in Section 6, in Norway Township, south of Lake Reno. In 1887 Pajari returned to Deerwood and tried again, but still in vain.

"Years passed, and fate decreed that it should be Cuyler Adams and not Henry Pajari who would find the Cuyuna Range. Actually, it was not fate, or chance, which kept Pajari from making the discovery, but merely the lack of capital, for all the layers of ore in the Cuyuna Range were buried at a depth of 60 to 80 feet."

Crosby

The town, named at the turn of the century for George H. Crosby, had no Finns until mining operations were begun, at which point many of them did arrive on the scene. Up through the first World War the demand for labor remained brisk, but after that, with the introduction of heavy machinery and the changeover from closed mines to open pits, the demand began to decrease steadily. Nevertheless, in 1950 there were still 104 Finns in Crosby, out of a population of 2,777. Many of the Finns have long since been living on their pensions, having spent their working years in the deep mines, not without some risk.

Minnesota's worst mining disaster took place here on 5 February 1924 at the Ida May mine, owned by the White Marsh Mining Company, some four miles north of Crosby, dug into a ridge between two lakes. There were two tunnels, one at a depth of 125 feet, the other at 200 feet. This deeper one also had a shorter branch tunnel, rich with ore, extending out under the lake. For several days water and mud had been slowly oozing into this branch tunnel, and 42 men were at work on this lower level when the end of the branch tunnel suddenly caved in and the whole tunnel was filled with water in a flash. One man, Eemeli Kainu, manning the shaft pump, was the only one to escape. Holding on to the stairs, he saw rocks, mine props and men hurled past him with the rush of 4,000,000 cubic feet of water. Huge pumps had to be used to empty the whole lake, pouring water into the other lake across the ridge, but it was nine months before the last body had been recovered. Among the victims were 8 Finns: Emil Carlson, Johan Hendrickson, William Johnson, Alex Jylhä, Victor Ketola, Arvid Lehti, Henry Mäki and Henry Palomäki.

In a mining town like this, religion was not the first concern of the Finns: on the contrary, their first organization here was a local branch of the Socialist party, established in 1911. Within a year there were 70 members (61 of them men) and the erection of a workers' hall was begun. Before the building was



Crosby's Independent Band. The following have been identified: August Ulvinen, second in the back row; William Laine, fourth in back; Matti Suvanto, fifth; Arne Pelto, first in middle row; Isaac Talvitie, fifth in middle row; Frank Lehto, drummer; young boy is foster son of Frank Lehto; Eero Matara, center, director.

finished, however, there was a split within the group, and the majority resigned, set up a Workmen's Hall Company, and took over the unfinished building and other assets. This majority group also refused to follow orders from the Finnish Socialist central body and was refused the right to vote in regional conventions. Instead of coming to terms, the Crosby group, leaning more and more to the support of the IWW industrial union movement, declared itself in 1917 the Workers' Club. It developed into the strongest organization in the Cuyuna region and did not come to an end until 1952. Within the Club, there was an active program of dramatics, with plays being produced regularly over a 25-year period, its own brass band (the instruments were owned by the Club), and its athletic teams. When the society finally terminated its existence, the hall was sold to the Masons, and the

money received from the sale was donated to the *Industrialisti* newspaper in Duluth.³

Association, established in 1919. As an independent businessman in Crosby, Adolf Ollila deserves mention for his participation in community affairs, and mention must also be made of Hanna and Väinö Ollila, who achieved fame as circus stars.

There have also been several Swedish-speaking Finns in Crosby, enough of them — 35 — to establish a local branch of the Runeberg Order in 1913. Its membership reached a peak of 44, and in 1917 a low of 9, when the society's cash assets were \$5.00 and its other property was inventoried at \$15.00.

Religion, however, also played a role, although it usually required assistance from the outside. Sometimes preachers came on a visit from Brainerd, or from New York Mills, and held services in Crosby's Swedish or German Lutheran churches. In 1920, there were 21 members in the Evangelical Lutheran congregation, and that was the first year when there seems to have been a record of such a congregation being in existence. But after that the figure was consistently smaller each time there was a count, with only 13 members left in 1945. The Apostolic Lutherans never numbered more than a few people, and their meetings were held in private homes. The National Lutherans tried to get a start, even to the point of buying land on two occasions for the building of a church, but beyond that their attempts never went.

Radicalism was more rewarding in Crosby, and it might be noted that it was here that the first Communist mayor in the United States, Emil Nygard, was elected in 1933.

Cuyuna, Ironton, etc.: Next door to Crosby is Cuyuna, which had a population of 112 in 1950. The first Finns arrived there in 1909, and there, too, they formed a Socialist organization, of which it was said (in 1916) that "it had to be poked in the ribs to keep it awake." Its membership in 1914 had been 23, so much could really not have been expected of the group under any circumstances, and it seems to have gone out of existence altogether in short order.

Ironton, too, is a close neighbor to Crosby. Its population in 1950 was 828, and two of them were listed as being Finns. Another two were listed in Manganese, out of a total population of 41. Similarly, Jenkins, with a population of 365, also had a few Finns.

3. Aakula, Gust. Data collected about Crosby. Archives of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society

In Crow Wing County as a whole, there were 237 Finns in 1900. After mining operations began, their number rose to 356 in 1910, and to 530 in 1920, but after that the figure began to drop, leaving a total of 244 in 1950, out of a county total of 30,875.

Otter Tail County

The northern part of Otter Tail County lies in the Red River valley, and in the eastern part of the county the Red Eye, Leaf and Crow Wing rivers have their sources. The county as a whole has 1,006 lakes. The treaties with the Indians, and the periods of unrest which followed the treaties, played an important role in the history of settlement in this region. According to the 1860 census, there were but 240 people in Otter Tail County, and this figure included not only white men but also those Indians "who had adopted civilized ways and manners." Of the white population, 37 had been born outside the United States: there were 14 Canadians, 8 Germans, 6 Irish, 2 English and 2 Scots. The county's richest man was the government land official in charge, who owned about \$30,000 worth of lands himself. All put together, these early settlers owned 40 oxen, 24 head of cattle, 14 pigs and 9 horses.

Originally, the county seat was to have been Otter Tail City, on the northeast shore of Otter Tail Lake, but since the Northern Pacific refused to build its railroad through that location — supposedly because one farmer stubbornly refused to give up any of his land for such a purpose — the City never grew beyond the log cabin village stage and in time disappeared altogether. A lawyer who in 1870 had not previously seen the place but had intended to open his law practice in Otter Tail City has described his visit there: "All my expectations came to nothing, for my possible clients were limited to the following residents: the only merchant in the village, who kept the Indian trading post; two old Scots, McDonald and McDougall, who both had married Indian squaws and had children by these women, and at least one of these Scots earned his living by illegally selling whisky to the Indians; and lastly, the operator of the new sawmill and a few of the workers. This, then, was the county seat, but there were not even traces of a courthouse or any county officials."⁴

Actually, Fergus Falls, which lies southwest of Otter Tail Lake, and which was established in 1871, became the county seat

4. Mason, John W. *History of Otter Tail County*. 1916.

the following year. Because a railroad was built through here — a line from Wadena, another from Pelican Rapids — the town and the county were in a position to grow rapidly. In addition to homestead lands, the railroads also offered lands (which they had received from the Government) to settlers at reasonable prices, from five to fifteen dollars per acre. Possession was granted after a down payment, and a part of the price was refunded if a settler began to clear his land promptly for farming. It could happen that a settler who managed to clear 10 acres of his 80 acre purchase within the first year could get a refund of \$2.50 per acre on his purchase price.

In 1950, Otter Tail County had 61 townships. About 10 of them, in the northeastern portion, form an area of Finnish concentration, and they will be considered here individually.

Newton Township and New York Mills

Newton Township, provisionally established in 1872-1873, submitted in 1877 a formal petition of establishment, with the signatures of several Finns — Thomas Autio, Alex Pekeinen (Pikkarainen), Andrew Puuperä, Mats Ronkainen — appearing among the 16 signers.

The name first given to the township, which has become one of the most populous regions of the county, was New York Mills, which was changed in 1883 to Woodland and then, because there already was another town of that name in the state, was changed again, to Newton, with New York Mills retained as the name of that part of the township served by one of its railroad stops (the other stop being named Topelius.) The first chartered village in the township was Borman, but that was later absorbed into New York Mills.

The New York Mills name first appeared in 1872, when a firm from Oleans, New York, moved to the spot, bought land and started to build a sawmill, which it named New York Mills. After the sawmill came the post office, which was set up in the railroad depot, and so the whole village received the name of New York Mills. Most of the village was originally homestead land owned by one R. L. Frazee, who sold it to the New York Mills Lumber Company, which wasted no time in beginning logging operations. For the first few years, then, the village was essentially made up of loggers and sawmill workers, and farming was almost unknown. Butter, eggs, and other produce came to

New York Mills from Minneapolis and were sold to the sawmill workers at high prices.⁵

The forestry operations continued for about 15 years, but by this time the village had been mapped out and formal incorporation had been sought (in 1884), but in the list of 33 men signing the petition there was only one Finnish name included, that of O. Pary. He was, however, not the first nor the only Finn to appear early in the history of New York Mills. Names of Finns which appeared in connection with the early history of Brainerd began to re-appear here in connection with New York Mills. While he had still been in Crow Wing County, Thomas Autio (Tuomas Maalinautio) had heard from some Swedes with whom he had been working that homesteads were to be had — in the deep forests some 50 miles west of Brainerd — if one dared to risk living as neighbors with the Indians.

With slack times making for meager earnings, Autio decided to investigate these deep forests. He set out on foot, walking along the Northern Pacific tracks, to the New York Mills area. Reaching a natural clearing, he quickly made up his mind, made note of the landmarks, and returned to Brainerd, where he put down his name for that site on the land office map. He persuaded his brother-in-law, Andrew (Anders) Puuperä to reserve some land, also, and in the spring these two Finnish pioneers, and their families, began the Finnish settlement in the New York Mills area.

Each of the two had 80 acres of land. In their first, small houses everything was homemade. In Puuperä's two-room cabin, for example, everything was made on the scene: the tables and chairs, the buckets and pails, spoons and ladles, the churn; the wagons and sleigh, the rakes and shovels; textiles and rugs were woven on the homemade loom, although the spinning wheel and the carding combs had been brought along from Finland. Evenings, the men used to make fishing nets, or tanned leather, or made gloves and harness.⁶

Autio and Puuperä began to write to their relatives and friends, urging them to become their neighbors in New York Mills. In 1876, two families from Brainerd did join them, Alex Nykänen and Matti Ronkainen and their families. Then a couple of years later, came Alexander Pikkarainen with his family. With five

5. Smith, H. R. *A Sociological Survey of the Finnish Settlement of New York Mills, Minn. and its Adjacent Territory*. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Southern California, 1933. Cf also, *New York Mills Herald*, 22 July 1915.

6. *Siirtokansan Kalenteri*. 1932. p. 63.

families already there, life began to seem more agreeable and in a way less menacing — up to that time, the Autio and Puuperä families had seen no other human beings but Indians.

The Indians, of whom there were many, had actually proved to be good and friendly neighbors who lived in their nearby wigwams through the winters. Early each spring, however, they would move away to a lakeshore, where fishing was good and the forests were rich with fruits and berries. As the white population gradually increased, the Indians began to go farther and farther to the north, and soon they failed to come back even for the winters.

By the end of 1881, according to the *Uusi Kotimaa*, there were already 64 Finnish farmers in New York Mills, a significant figure when compared with the 1884 incorporation petition which claimed 300 inhabitants for New York Mills, and which surely was exaggerated, since the 1890 census revealed but 260, the 1900 census 353, and 474 a decade later. The reputation of New York Mills was spread among Finns by word of mouth, letters written by individuals, and finally, even the printed page. To a miner, living through one financial crisis after another, the advertisement which appeared in a Finnish yearbook for 1890⁷ must have sounded enticing: “I have the privilege of announcing to my fellow citizens that I have acquired thousands of acres of land, both farms ready for tilling and uncleared acreage. Since I am not a farmer but a businessman, I would like to dispose of these lands in order to devote my full time to my business. I am therefore prepared to sell these lands at very low prices and on favorable terms. Those honorable fellow-citizens who desire a quiet and peaceful home to which to retire should turn to me. New York Mills is the biggest Finnish farming region in America. There are hundreds of Finnish homes here, where happy lives are being led. You will be surrounded by peaceful, accommodating, friendly and kind Finnish neighbors — in a word, you will be living as if you were at home in Finland.”

Many took the decisive step and moved to New York Mills to become farmers. The local correspondent of the *Päivälehti* was justified in writing that “here in the New York Mills area there are many such Finns who first worked in the mines but have then moved here, have bought land for themselves, have cleared it for farming, and have begun to earn their living from the soil and are happy even at such times when all mining operations

7. Amerikan Suomalaisen Kansanvalistus-Seuran Kalenteri, 1890. New York Mills, 1889

have ceased. To be sure, farming at such times does not bring in much money, either, but a farmer is happier even than a miner or a factory worker.”⁸

However, farming also had its ups and downs. Sometimes the harvest would be very meager; sometimes the harvest was so good that prices fell with a crash to cause other crises. “A new boom came and the price of wheat rose to \$1.40 the bushel,” Josefiina Kästämä recalled,⁹ “and everyone rushed to get more land into cultivation, and new threshers were needed. Some lived on credit, others used their credit to furnish bond for their neighbors. Those who lived that way were soon ruined and dragged others into ruin with them. My parents had been able to save \$700 in three years from their modest earnings, but then my father gave \$115 to an old neighbor to clear 20 acres more land for us. When that was done we had to get horses to plow this land, and the horses were bought. The next year we harvested 1,100 bushels of wheat, and if the prices had remained firm there would have been a good return, but the price fell to 40c, and my father suffered nothing but setback. It meant complete bankruptcy for this homestead, with a \$300 mortgage due. I was 20 years old and had to leave home to find some kind of work; I left with a heavy heart, leaving behind my parents, who had worked so hard on this half-finished, debt-ridden property, to live out a year of grace.”

And when war came, the Finns had to play their role, too, and in the Spanish-American War three young Finns from New York Mills saw service: William Koski, Ludwig Peterson and Gust Siira. According to the newspaper, the *Siirtolainen*, about 300 Finns took part in that war, “and more would have gone but couldn’t, because they didn’t speak English.” They were included in all branches of the armed services, and a few even became officers; some lost their lives in the landings in Cuba: three died in the explosion of the *Maine*, three died of fever in camp. When World War I came, 120 Finns of New York Mills were called in the draft.

Religious activities: As soon as there were four Finnish families living in New York Mills, they, staunch Laestadian Lutherans as they all were with one exception, began to hold prayer meetings in each other’s homes, and in 1877 Israel Hagel, a preacher of the Apostolic Lutheran church, came to hold a formal service. A good

8. *Päivälehti*, 10 September 1921

9. *Esiraivaajien Muisto*. Commemorative program for festival in New York Mills, 20 August 1939. New York Mills, 1939

fifty years later, in 1930, when Hagel was 84 and pastor of the congregation, there was a huge service in New York Mills, with 8,000 worshippers, with representatives present from the Church of Finland, the Suomi Synod and the government of Finland.

When the congregation was legalized in 1898, there were 85 families as members; a half century later, the membership was 952. The first church, built in 1882, had to be replaced in 1902 by a larger one, big enough for 800 worshippers. And when that building was moved from the forest glade where it had been built, and relocated nearer the center of the village, to be more readily accessible, the building was enlarged once more.



New York Mills Apostolic Lutheran Church.

Pastors of the Apostolic Lutheran church have been Matti Ronkainen, one of the earliest settlers in the region; John Mursu, who in his pastorate of almost 20 years baptized 536 children, married 78 couples, buried 236 dead; Israel Hagel, who had first preached in New York Mills in 1877 and who served

as pastor from 1911 to 1932; A. Wirkkala; Walter Mursu and George Wilson. There were many visiting pastors, of course, and lay preachers as well, the latter including Peter Raattamaa, son of a famous Laestadian preacher of Northern Finland.

If the Apostolic Lutherans were the first to be in New York Mills, adherents of the Evangelical Lutheran church were not far behind. Their numbers grew rapidly, too, and a visiting pastor held the first service for them in 1883. From the organizational point of view, they did not establish their congregation, the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran church, until 1892, when a church was also built. A new church was built after World War II, with voluntary labor by the parishioners playing a major role in the construction. In 1954, the congregation had 375 members, including families and their children.

The Trinity congregation remained independent until 1924, when it joined the National Church. Almost thirty years before

this, however, some of its members resigned and established the St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran church, which joined the Suomi Synod. Holding its services first at the Trinity church, then in the hall of the farmers' association, and finally in the Congregational church, plans were made to build a church, and land had already been purchased for it, when it had the opportunity to purchase the local Catholic church, which had become private property through a mortgage foreclosure. This church was remodelled and dedicated in 1916. In 1953, St. Peter's had 253 members, in a large parish embracing New York Mills, Brainerd, Paddock, Crosby and Aitkin, although earlier even more territory had been included.

Temperance work: The earliest temperance society, given the name Kilpi (Shield) had August and Felix Nylund as its founding members. It joined the Scandinavian league of temperance societies, but a second local society, Miekka (Sword) joined the Finnish league in 1892. At a later period, New York Mills has not had private liquor stores or bars but has had a community-controlled liquor store.

Finnish newspapers: If temperance societies in New York Mills remained rather sketchy in history, there was a further contribution to the cause, however, in the form of a temperance newspaper. The *Raittiuslehti* began its career in New York Mills in 1892, appearing initially once a month, with the Latin motto *mens sana in corpore sano* altered to "a sober mind in a sober body," followed by the admonition, "Keep your vow sacred!" Before the year was out, its owners (I. Sillberg and J. H. Jasberg) had given the paper as a gift to the Finnish Veljeys (Brotherhood) Temperance League, and the paper was transferred to West Superior, Wisconsin, where it proceeded to appear twice a month. In 1893 the paper was moved back to New York Mills, and then back to West Superior once more. There the *Siirtolainen* presses printed it, and a young editor, Adolf Riippa, just arrived from Finland, took charge of it. In 1894 the *Siirtolainen* moved to New York, New York, and with it went the *Raittiuslehti*, which settled down in Brooklyn the following year and was henceforth edited by Adolf and Antero Riippa.

With all this roving history in its youth, the *Raittiuslehti* was not the first Finnish paper to appear in New York Mills, for it had been preceded by the *Uusi Kotimaa*, which came there from Minneapolis in 1884. The editor of this paper also began the publication that same year in New York Mills of a monthly literary magazine, *Aamu Rusko*, which continued to appear until

1889. However, the *Uusi Kotimaa* was not immune to further geographical changes, either, for owner-publisher August Nylund moved it in 1888 to Astoria, Oregon, hoping to find there an even more populous Finnish community and with it greater economic support for his paper. His editor, J. W. Lähde, purchased the type and the hand press on which the paper had been printed for \$200 and started a new, weekly paper in New York Mills, the *Amerikan Suometar*. In 1890, however, Nylund brought the *Uusi Kotimaa* back to New York Mills, and the *Amerikan Suometar* was absorbed by the older paper, which Lähde continued to edit and which Nylund continued to publish until his death in 1892, when Felix Nylund assumed the responsibility. Just before Lähde moved off to Ironwood, Michigan in 1894, he had also edited, together with John Heino, a monthly entitled *Valoa Kansalle*, which the temperance *Raittiuslehti* considered a rival. Lähde was later involved, in 1900, in establishing the *Amerikan Työmies* newspaper in New York City with A. F. Tanner, but that same year he also returned permanently to New York Mills.

While Lähde's ventures into journalism exerted their influence in the founding of other Finnish-American newspapers throughout the land, his own newspapers always seemed doomed to brief life and sudden death. There was, however, one exception: the *Uusi Kotimaa*, to which Lähde returned again. In his absence, it had been edited by John Heino, then Väinö Andelin, and finally even by its publisher, Felix Nylund. While working as its editor in 1898, Andelin had also started a monthly literary paper, *Kansan Toveri*, which he sold to *Uusi Kotimaa* and which Nylund and Lähde kept alive for years.

Finally, in 1919, Nylund sold the *Uusi Kotimaa* to the People's Voice Cooperative Publishing company, subsidized by the Non-partisan League. The paper became an extremely radical organ now, and Lähde left it in 1921, to take over editorial assignments with the *Päivälehti* and the *Siirtolainen*. He died in 1927. When Lähde had originally become editor of the *Uusi Kotimaa*, he had expressed his editorial views as follows: "You can be assured that from now on the *Uusi Kotimaa* will not be a party organ, that it will not be disputatious, but that it will impartially explain the parties and will bring its subscribers good and improving reading." Later, in an advertisement the *Uusi Kotimaa* was described as a newspaper of the Farm League, looking out for the interests of farmers and workers, a paper opposed by monied interests and the kind of speculators who went in for profiteering in their desire to get rich quickly.

After Lähde quit the altered *Uusi Kotimaa*, he was succeeded on the paper by John A. Mursu, Jalmari Karvonen, Toivo Siren and Antti Koskela. However, due to financial difficulties soon facing it, the paper moved to Superior, Wisconsin in 1931 and there soon ceased publication altogether. In an obituary, the *Minnesotan Uutiset*, the only successor in New York Mills of any significant duration, wrote that "the service which the *Uusi Kotimaa* performed by its work over several decades to this community and at the same time to all the Finns in America must be recognized as far reaching and of great value."

The first issue of the *Minnesotan Uutiset* appeared on Sept. 23, 1932, and was published by the Northwestern Publishing Co., consisting principally of Carl A. Parta, business manager, and Adolph Lundquist, editor. Shortly thereafter they also purchased the *Keski Länsi* which Frans Tuomi had published in New York Mills for a short time. The *Minnesotan Uutiset* first appeared twice a week, but soon was published three times a week.

"It seems encouraging to begin work in surroundings such as New York Mills which, with the region around it, forms America's largest Finnish agricultural area," wrote the paper, "as an independent newspaper supporting our fellow Finns' fine ideals and economic endeavors, the *Minnesotan Uutiset* will attempt to continue that valuable work which has previously been accomplished here in the newspaper field. Believing that the days of a Finnish-language newspaper in America are not yet numbered, but that such a newspaper will continue to be needed for a long time to come, the *Minnesotan Uutiset* ventures to publish."

Lundquist continued to edit the paper until his death in 1948. At a commemorative event sponsored by the Hibbing chapter of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society in 1955, Finnish Consul Alex Kyyhkynen said of Adolf Lundquist that he had a noteworthy career not only as a newspaperman, poet and public servant but also as the initiator and leader of organized activities in his community. In the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* his colleague of long standing, Lauri Lemberg, wrote that "as a newspaperman Adolf Lundquist was able and hard-working. He was no writer of fiery or strongly tendential articles but composed lines full of warm feeling, conciliatory and uniting in feeling. Discord and dissension were foreign and abhorrent to his spirit."

With the death of Lundquist, financial interest in the *Minnesotan Uutiset* was completely in the hands of the Parta family, Carl Parta and his son, Russell O. Parta, and the editorship was given to Carl E. Davidson. In 1956, Davidson left to become editor

of the *Osuustoimintalehti* of Superior, Wisconsin, and was replaced by Edward I. Riippa, who had edited the now defunct *Columbia Press* in Astoria, Oregon, whose subscription list was taken over by the *Minnesotan Uutiset*, as was the subscription list of the *Keskilännen Sanomat*, a Minnesota newspaper. In the 1950s, the circulation of the *Minnesotan Uutiset* was greater than that of any other Finnish-language newspaper in the United States. A survey conducted by Carl Parta and Hans R. Wasastjerna in 1954 indicated that this newspaper played an important role in molding public opinion not only within the state but among Finnish-Americans throughout the Middle West. Carl Parta died in 1955. The firm also published the English-language weekly *New York Mills Herald*, which it had purchased from Wm. F. Ost in 1932. In 1960 the name of the *Minnesotan Uutiset* was changed to *Amerikan Uutiset* and is published twice weekly. Publisher since 1955 has been Russell O. Parta.

Another English language weekly had been published in New York Mills, the *New York Mills Journal*, by Matti Telin. Established in 1899, it operated for several years until the printing plant was destroyed by fire. Telin then sold his mailing list to the *Perham Bulletin* in the neighboring town to the west.

Promotion of enlightenment and literature: At the turn of the century, journalism offered the only possibility for publication among the Finns of Minnesota. Gradually, however, modest pamphlets began to appear, then even a few books. If they were at times faulty grammatically and lacking in literary style, they were nevertheless evidence of the creative urge among the immigrants.

The earlier Finnish arrivals in the United States had an advantage over some other national groups insofar as in the 19th century most, and in the 20th century all, Finnish immigrants knew how to read and write their mother tongue. The Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1896, stated that in 1895-96 there had been 5,576 Finnish immigrants and that among them there were only 274 persons unable to read Finnish with ease. This factor certainly influenced the demand among Finns in Minnesota, too, for reading materials in their own language. How this need was met by the colorful array of newspapers has already been discussed in these chapters. Books, however, presented problems, for they cost money, and miners and farmers never had much money in their pockets. Furthermore, what books were available were so variable in quality that some sort of guidance seemed in order to indicate which books were worth

reading. To meet these requirements, a Finnish-American Literature Society had been established in Calumet, Michigan, in 1878, and the Finns in New York Mills used this a model to establish their Cultural and Literary Society in 1886. With its own lending library, the society served a useful purpose for decades.

In 1887 another society was founded in New York Mills, the Finnish-American Society for the Enlightenment of the People. Here, too, Calumet had served as a prototype with a similar society, which distributed Finnish literature among its members, but which was unable to be of any but local influence. The New York Mills society (with Hugo Almquist, K. A. Jurva, August Ny-lund, Kustaa Venälä, Isaac Westola and Pekka Westerinen as its first board of directors), independent of any similar organization, had ambitious plans from the very beginning: to publish and distribute instructive and morally constructive literature. In its first year the Society published K. G. Leinberg's *Biblian historiaa kansakouluille*, (Bible history for the grammar schools), and after that came a history of the Christian martyrs, several pamphlets and four annual calendars, 1887-1890, edited by J. W. Lähde, which contained an almanac section followed by articles on various topics. Although the society welcomed the establishment of subsidiaries, local chapters, not many were formed, and they, together with the New York Mills headquarters, died within a few years.

Finnish presses in New York Mills, however, continued to produce Finnish-language books and pamphlets year after year. The *Uusi Kotimaa*, for example, published a long list of books in the 1890s, beginning with a handbook for temperance societies, a collection of sermons by Lars Levi Laestadius, hymnals, and going on to a shelf of fiction translated from the English, with such titles as "The Victims of Jealousy, or the Secrets of an Insane Asylum", "King Solomon's Treasure", to detective stories, adventure, romances, "An Adventuress, or Love and Betrayal", "The Poorhouse Princess", "The Prairie Bride" and many more.

In 1935 the presses of the *Minnesotan Uutiset* brought out J. A. Mattinen's history of the Thomson farming region. Their presses, have, of course, also printed many books, calendars, brochures, etc., that have had no connection with New York Mills as such.

Schools: Very early in their New York Mills days, the Finns even wanted to establish Finnish schools for their children. In 1881, for example, the New York Mills correspondent of the *Uusi Kotimaa* wrote: "Much has been said about Finnish-language

schools here, a matter in which steps should be taken promptly. In no foreign language, however carefully it may have been learned, can one develop as well as in one's mother tongue. Besides that, in learning English the result is that one spends half one's time learning to read it, that is, to master ordinary speech, which still does not contain anything which could be called educational or factually important, just stories about cats and dogs, such as most readers contain."

The plans for a Finnish-language school advanced, then, but here, too, there was a lack of suitable materials for teaching that language. J. W. Lähde therefore wrote and in 1889 published a brief primer and reader for children. Actually, one earlier, similar work had been published in Hancock, Michigan in 1877, but Lähde's book was far superior and served as the model for a score of subsequent primers of the same kind.

The school in New York Mills actually materialized, but it was not a success. It lacked sufficient support; it lacked qualified teachers, for English was to be the main item in the curriculum, and most of the immigrant teachers did not speak it adequately themselves. English was dropped, and what was left was but religious instruction and the teaching of Finnish.

Similar attempts were made in many other communities, and similar results followed. To explain these attempts, Jokinen's thesis¹⁰ suggests that various suspicions prevailed among the Finns regarding the adequacy of the American schools: the Socialists considered that the American schools gave false ideas about the classes of society; religious circles were dismayed at the lack of religious instruction; some ardent Finns were worried about the fate of the Finnish language. Nevertheless, no Finnish school managed to exist for many years. Had they succeeded, they might have made the transition period even more difficult for the children of the immigrants. Most of them were spared this, for when they reached school age they went to the American schools and their Americanization was speeded up.

Language difficulties: That the first Finns in America had language difficulties is easy to believe, when their complete ignorance of the language upon their arrival in America is taken into consideration, together with the attitude of many that it was even unnecessary to learn English at all. Interview forms prepared by the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society contain the question, "Do you speak any other language besides Finnish?" Answers to this question have been revealing, with

10. Jokinen. *op. cit.*

a high percentage of negative answers, sometimes with a reason added, "I don't speak English, because I have always dreamed of returning to Finland, for which I am homesick."

Many, however, did manage to learn that mixture of Finnish and English which H. L. Mencklen in *The American Language* has labelled 'Finglish.' The term does not denote an anglicization of Finnish words but the reverse, with English words being given Finnish declensions and conjugations. Kolehmainen, in the *American Sociological Review*, has listed this new vocabulary extensively. Originally, there were many new expressions peculiar to the miners, for example, and later came adaptations of terms for which Finnish equivalents did not exist.

The 1940 U. S. Census indicated that there were 50,240 persons in the United States whose language in the home was Finnish. Of this figure, 17,300 were Finnish-born, 27,840 were those with one Finnish parent, and 5,100 were born in the United States. In the same year, 117,210 were listed as first generation Finns, so that the figures indicate that among them only 1 in 10 spoke Finnish in the home regularly. Among the Finns in Minnesota, however, and particularly in such Finnish areas as Otter Tail County, the percentage even a decade later was considerably higher, although the necessity of learning English, too, had been recognized. For adults the evening schools and sometimes other institutions of learning opened the road to a new world, with Valparaiso University playing an important role on the road to learning for many Finns. But the important factor in sparking the desire to learn English has been the presence of children in the family. Once the children began attending school, their language of learning was of course English, and it did not take long before they spoke the new language better than they did the Finnish of their parents and finally even refused to speak Finnish at all. There was not much the parents could do but try to learn, too, especially since the schools had their "Speak English" campaigns, with the aim of forcing the children of immigrants to speak English exclusively, so as to create a linguistically unified, American generation of these children. It was in fortunate cases where the program went as smoothly as it did in the home of Ina Taipale, pupil in a rural school, who one day brought her teacher a composition she had written: "I have taught my father and mother to speak and read English. Father already knew a little before we started, but now he knows it a great deal better. I give the names of everything to my parents in English so that they will learn the

PARY'S HALL!

THURSDAY EVE., MAY 12, 1887.

GRAND CONCERT

In Finnish

By The

H. H. Chorus,

COMPOSED OF

PETER WESTERINEN, Leader,

And 25 Trained Voices,

Assisted by

Prof. Ormsby's ORCHESTRA.

PROGRAMME.

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1. Lion Knights March, | Full Choir |
| 2. A Longing (Finnish Folk-Song), | Full Choir |
| 3. The Power of Song, | Male Choir |
| 4. Finnish Cavaliers March in the 30 Year War, | Male Choir |
| 5. Seed-time Approacheth, | Full Choir |
| 6. The Home Over There, | Full Choir |
| 7. Suomis Song, | Male Choir |
| Intermission. (Filled by Prof. Ormsby's Orchestra) | |
| 8. Spring March, | Full Choir |
| 9. Serenade: "Bright Star," | Full Choir |
| 10. Finnish Military March, | Male Choir |
| 11. Hold the Fort, | Full Choir |
| 12. Song of Praise, | Full Choir |
| 13. Serenade: "My Sigh," | Male Choir |
| 14. Song of the Savolax, | Full Choir |
| 15. Finnish National Song, "Our Land," | Male Choir |

ADMISSION 25 Cents; Children 15 Cents.

Doors Open at 7:30; Concert Begins at 8:30 Sharp.

words. I am teaching my mother to read. When I am at school, my mother looks up the meanings of the words in a Finnish dictionary, so that she sees the words in both languages and learns to pronounce them. I have tried to do my part to make the 'Speak English' campaign a success."¹¹

Other activities: The first interest in music became apparent in the 1880s. A former cantor-organist, Pekka Westerinen from Kiuruvesi in Finland, had organized the first Finnish chorus in America in Calumet, Michigan in 1884 and had moved on to New York Mills in 1886 to start both a mixed chorus and a male chorus there. By May 1887 his groups were ready to present, as the posters claimed, "A Grand Concert in Finnish by the K. K. Chorus, composed of Peter Westerinen, Leader, and 25 Trained Voices, Assisted by Prof. Ormsby's Orchestra," and by July Westerinen was ready to leave the community because Astoria, Oregon offered him more money. In more recent years there was another chorus, the "Aalto", which Frans Tuomi conducted in the 1920s. Finns were members of the New York Mills brass band, of course, and John Castren was its conductor at one time.

Cultural activity in the area was also fostered by the Order of Kaleva chapters. The Ladies', Katajatar chapter was founded in 1914, including as its earliest members Lyidia Ahola (Haarala), Elizabeth Hyry, Tekla Lake (Kela), Maria Lind, Olga Nylund, Anna Peterson (Matala) and Ida Piilola. However, the order ceased activity in 1919, and the Knights' chapter in New York Mills had an even briefer period of activity.

However, New York Mills has also been the scene of Finnish midsummer festivals for all Northern Minnesota, both in 1920 and 1924, with both occasions attracting thousands of participants. Further, in 1942, a festival was held under the initiative of a group which later participated in the work of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society. Even before this, however, it had become clear that the younger generation of Finnish-Americans was aware of the contribution their elders had made and was prepared to acknowledge its debt: a sturdy granite slab erected in the Central Park has a bronze plaque, giving in Finnish and English the text written by Adolf Lundquist:

"To the memory of the Finnish pioneers who arrived in this region in 1874 and the years following, and whose courage, perseverance and faith led to the settlement of New York Mills and its vicinity.

11. *Duluth and St. Louis County, Minnesota, Their Story and People*. By American Historical Society. Vol. I, Chicago and New York, 1921. p. 334

"Dedicated, in gratitude, by their descendants,
2 June 1940."

The New York Mills chapter of the Historical Society was organized following an address on 5 January 1947 by E. A. Pulli, who served as an organizer for the Society. The first chairman of this chapter, the 13th of the Society, was Oscar Paavola.

Amid their own problems and difficulties, the Finns of New York Mills have frequently been engaged in aiding others, and the old fatherland has always been close to their hearts. In the previously cited "Greeting to Finland" brochure of 1920, the following appeared: "Free and independent and beloved Finland, accept the congratulations of all Finnish Americans for what you have achieved. These greetings come to you, dear Fatherland, from the oldest Finnish-American newspaper editor, J. W. Lähde, of New York Mills." It was this spirit which led to relief work, too, and after World War I most such work was directed toward Finland, with newspapers reporting that "to aid the Carelians, assistance is at present being sought everywhere, and New York Mills does not want to show itself more backward than other communities when it is a question of helping one's fellowmen. A benefit program to aid Carelia will take place."¹² The benefit evening was successful beyond anticipation, and relief work was continued for several months.

During Finland's Winter War, the chairman of the Finnish relief committee was Carl A. Parta.

Finally, in speaking of Finnish organized activity, mention must be made of the Townsend Club established in 1936, which remained active for two or three years, and active Finnish participation in local organizations like the Garden Club, Lions Club, Conservative Club, Civic and Commerce Club, VFW and Candlelight Study Club.

According to some sources, a chapter of the Socialist party was also active at one time in New York Mills. Lacking further details, it is possible that this refers to the organization once active in Heinola, near New York Mills, which will be discussed subsequently.

The left-wing *Työmies* newspaper had 14 subscribers in New York Mills in 1911, and 19 in 1945. In the latter year, there was only one subscriber to the leftist women's paper, *Naisten Viiri*.

12. *Päivälehti*, 15 March 1922

Cooperatives and business activity: The cooperative movement in New York Mills was greatly influenced by the fact that Otter Tail County was one of the outstanding farming areas of the Minnesota Finns. The region was once richly forested, thus providing work opportunities in the winter months, but when the forests receded and finally gave way altogether to cultivation, dairy farming became the mainstay: "Dairy farming must be maintained and promoted as much as possible. The dairies are the money mills from which the farmer gets his cash. Their expansion would be a blessed step forward," declared the *Uusi Kotimaa*.

As a first joint venture, a farmers' dry goods store was established in 1893 (possibly 1894). In Finnish-American business life enterprises of this kind formed a remarkable intermediate step, for they did not represent either individual initiative nor cooperatives in the full sense of the word. F. Tolonen has described them in the following fashion: "In 1895 a peculiar form of joint enterprise was in mode among Finnish-Americans. Although they spread through all areas of Finnish settlement and even though there were often more than one of them in some communities, very few of them have remained alive. Their lack of success was due to the fact that inexperienced men, completely unaware of business methods, were at their head. Men who were totally ignorant of business were frequently appointed to their directorates. It followed that such boards did not want to appoint business managers who had more experience than did the board members themselves. And if the business managers did happen to have the proper qualifications, it did not help either, since the boards wanted to manage the managers. Bearing this in mind, it is no wonder that one after another of these enterprises went into bankruptcy. Many who had subscribed funds to such businesses lost what they had invested and even remained responsible for substantial additional sums to liquidate indebtedness incurred."¹³

The joint venture in New York Mills seemed to have some success in the beginning. It was first located south of the railroad, where later rose the apartment house and building block owned by Jack Kampsula. A few years later the business was moved across the tracks to what was then the Blowers block, where the city hall now stands. As the business flourished and expanded, the premises grew too small, and so the big brick

13. Liikemiesten ja Laujalajien Suomimatka 1921. Hancock, Mich. 1921. p. 100

building owned by Olli Pajari was purchased. The first business manager was T. Flinkman, and he was followed by John P. Raattama, who served for many years. Then began the decline, which led to the liquidation of the enterprise in 1910 (or 1911) and the selling of the building back to Mr. Pajari.

To continue joint activity, however, a cooperative proper was established in 1910 — the New York Mills Cooperative Company. It set up business in what was formerly the Hugo Almquist building. Its first board of directors included three men born in Finland, two Finns born in Minnesota, and two others. On 23 June 1915, the cooperative placed the following large advertisement in the *Päivälehti*:

“The New York Mills Cooperative Company is the only store in New York Mills from which to buy goods at their true value, since we distribute all possible profits back to our purchasers, and no individual can profit at the expense of the rest. Our business overhead is no higher than that of private firms. That being so, whatever is purchased from our cooperative store represents an advantage to the purchaser. And the more the cooperative is supported so much the greater is the buyer’s advantage and financial gain. Joining the cooperative as a member and customer will help make our prices lower — slowly, to be sure, but surely. Note that we sell everything that anybody could need to feed and clothe himself, and all kinds of tools and implements for daily work. In a word, we carry everything that can be had in a modern-day store. The same quality, the same weight and measure for everyone; no one gets special consideration. We also purchase farm products at the day’s highest quotations. We are at your service, and you at ours.”

In 1931, fire destroyed the entire business premises, and the cooperative was declared bankrupt at about the same time.

The present cooperative, the Cooperative Services, Incorporated, did not have a single board member in 1952 who had been born in the ‘old country’, but it did include four members of Finnish descent.

The New York Mills cooperative dairy was established and incorporated in 1901. The first board of directors consisted of Johan P. Arni, Henry Blomberg, S. J. Haarala, Israel Hagel, Matti Jaakkola, Abe Johnson, Matti Lohi, Matti Niemelä, Jacob Ojala, Jacob Pelto and E. A. Rousu. The dairy was first located south of the railroad, at the edge of town, but later a big new dairy was built on the other side of the tracks, on the eastern edge of

town. It has been very successful, and in 1916, for example, there was a net profit of some \$8,000 which was distributed to the producers of butter, at the rate of 3 and $\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pound.¹⁴ Later, a communist organization, the Farmers Club, was also active in the community.¹⁵

A Finnish cooperative fire insurance company was established and incorporated in 1907, and its first board of directors included Jacob Ojala, President, Henry Anderson (Karhu), Vice-President, Olaf Kunnari, Secretary, Isaack Mäki, Treasurer, as well as J. V. Jacobson, Matti Lohi, Jacob Pelto, E. A. Rousu and Erik Tolkkinen. The *Uusi Kotimaa* issue of 22 August 1918 reported that at the end of 1917 the company had 628 members, whose property was insured for a total of \$732,802. Under the name of the Finnish Township Mutual Fire Insurance Company, the firm still maintains its headquarters in New York Mills and is authorized to cover Becker, Cass, Hubbard, Otter Tail and Todd counties.

The New York Mills Farmers Elevator Company was established in September 1913, and its first board members were Henry Blomberg, Matt Erkkilä, S. J. Haarala, Jacob Hietala, C. G. Hry, J. W. Jacobson, M. H. Korkalo, Matt Lohi, Matti Niemelä, J. M. Ojala, John Perälä and Fred Vapola. This cooperative mill has developed into a truly major enterprise, in contrast to the New York Mills Farmers Grain Company, which was founded in 1919, set up its business south of the railroad in the C. B. Hultquist block, but soon faced bankruptcy.

The State Bank, established just before World War I, extended the cooperative philosophy to the banking field, but lack of support led to its demise in 1926. A second bank along the same lines was established in 1915, with its founding members including A. E. Blomberg, I. K. Mäki, Jonas M. Ojala, John Perälä and A. J. Sitz. This bank, the Farmers and Merchants State Bank, began its activity in premises of its own.

The previously cited Peoples Voice Cooperative Publishing Company, to which the *Uusi Kotimaa* was sold, was established in 1919, and it joined the Cooperative Central in 1925. The first board of directors included Jannes Keto, Kalle Kuha, August Laitinen and Matti Lohi.

Of Finnish cooperative enterprises started in the following decade, the cattle shipping group, the Farmers Central Cooperative

14. *Päivälehti*, 25 January 1917

15. *Työmies*, 2 April 1937

Shipping Association, originally started in Heinola, should be mentioned. The New York Mills Cooperative Oil Service was begun in 1930, with its first board consisting of William Halme-kangas, Matt Heikkinen, Aale Höyhtyä, Walter Kuivinen, Charles Mäki, Sander Porkkonen, Victor Putikka, Jack Vainionpää and Otto Walliin; to this was joined the Farmers Cooperative Association, another oil business, founded in the mid-1930s and operating independently only about two years.

Businessmen operating on their own have existed in New York Mills, of course, even before the cooperative got their start. The first merchant in town was Jerry Winslow, to be followed by A. S. Blowers, and the first Finn to join their ranks was Olof Pary (Olli Pajari) who opened a store in June 1881. This firm expanded and soon included even a lumberyard annex. In 1886 the firm moved into the first brick building erected in the town. Pary kept his store for fourteen years, after which he moved to North Dakota. Returning later to New York Mills, he bought out the Farmers Mercantile Association, which he later sold to Carl Matala, while he himself continued to keep a seed and fish store until his death in 1933.

Hugo Almquist, who had been a clerk in Pary's store, set up his own store in 1893, but later sold it to the farmers' cooperative. Later dry goods merchants have included C. A. Anderson, J. L. Karvonen, V. S. Komulainen, Erick Koski, Einar E. Lauley, Kalle Matala, Edward Nylund, Edwin Sillanpää and William Trupukka. The latter also owned a big lumberyard, and Jack Muckala owned a glove factory. The hardware store owned by A. J. Sitz and August Newman in the 1880s was bought and continued under Finnish owners A. Lind and Antti Piilola, and the firm is currently known as the Piilola, Kela, Mattson and Company. With the advent of automobiles, Finns entered this field, too, and both Frank Lake and J. H. Mursu owned their own agencies; the firm founded by Oman and Stinar was continued by Väinö and Edwin Kela. In the petroleum field, the Mills Oil Company and the Stierna Webb Station have been Finnish enterprises. Yalmer Karvonen owns a furniture store, and Rudy Kangas and W. O. Muckala have owned a soft drink plant, the New York Bottling Company. There has been a jeweler, C. J. Kulla, and undertakers, including Y. Karvonen, A. C. Anderson and Jack Kampsula. Hotel and restaurant keepers have included Otto Karjala, H. Laiho (Merchants Hotel), John Marjamaa (Northland Restaurant), Carl Henry Perle (restaurant and bowling alley, 1912-1919) and Henry Puuperä.

Finnish professional men and officials: Torsten Ohrbom, a Finnish doctor, was active for several years in New York Mills. Finnish members of boards of directors of banks have included Hugo Almquist, Adolf Anderson, Hjalmar Karvonen, J. K. Mäki, Felix Nylund, William Oman, O. Pary and Andrew Piilola; of them all, Hugo Almquist was probably the first Finnish-born president of a Minnesota bank, the First State Bank. At least the following Finns have served as Postmasters of New York Mills: Andreas Emil Anderson, Salomon Haarala (1889-1894), Andrew Lind, Walter Peltoniemi (for 20 years), Mamie Sondergaard and J. A. Anderson (1954-). The *Chautauqua Monthly* reported in its January 1908 issue that New York Mills had a Finnish-born Justice of the Peace. The first Finnish mayor of New York Mills was John William Trupukka, first elected in 1919 and again in 1924; others have been A. Anderson (1922-1932), Oscar A. Anderson, John A. Mark, Reino Heino and Edward Riippa. Mssrs. A. Anderson, J. W. Trupukka, Russell Parta, Fritz Carlund, George Wilson, and many other Finns have also been members of the School Board.

As early as 1897 the Finns realized that it was to their advantage to have officials of their own nationality. The *Uusi Kotimaa* wrote: "Formerly, when others were in office, the township and school district were badly in debt, but now that Finns have been able to serve in positions of responsibility for a few years, things have changed: the town debt has been completely paid and the school district debt reduced, and this year's School Committee has come up with the amazing fact that for the first time in the memory of man there are a few dollars surplus on hand." Ralph H. Smith has served as principal of the high school, and August C. Anderson and J. W. Trupukka as chiefs of the fire department. The 1948 roster of town officials listed John A. Mark, Mayor; Jack Kampsula, Secretary; Walter Tikkanen, Treasurer; Melvin Jacobson, August Johnson, and Rudy Kangas, members of the Council; M. S. Barnard and William Nikkari, Justices of the Peace; Fred Vapola, Assessor; and William Guelzow, police officer.

Topelius:

The farming community of Topelius (Dobelius), first known as Amboy, lies about four miles east of New York Mills. A major fire in the 1890s had levelled the entire area, but gradually the forest began to grow again and simultaneously the population. Having become a station on the Northern Pacific railroad line,

and thereby gaining a post office, Heikki Hendrickson (Kantomaa) in 1901 gave it its new name, honoring the Finnish writer beloved of Finnish children. Quite a few Finns moved there early in the century, as well as a few Swedes.

The Apostolic Lutheran congregation of Topelius was founded by A. Kinnunen, Henry Koivuranta, Anders P. Koljonen, Charles Laakso, Erik Laurila, Erik Lumberg, Jacob Lund, Charles Mattson (Sulasalmi), Erik Miekkala, John Edward Niemelä and Herman Päätaalo. Prayer meetings were first held at members' homes, until a former school in the town was converted into a church. Another church, the National Congregation group, was started in 1911, under the auspices of Victor Mäki, Gust Porkkonen, Charles Wick and Jacob Wormanen. At first this was an independent church, with John Huuskonen as its first pastor, but in 1917 it joined the National Synod. One of its later pastors was S. A. Krankkala. In 1934, the membership of the church was 37, rising ten years later to 68. The church has its own cemetery.

A Finnish dairy in the community has been incorporated into the New York Mills Cooperative Creamery, and the buildings in Topelius have been sold. A dry goods store was kept in Topelius by Heikki Muckala, of New York Mills.

* * *

The total population of Newton Township was 353 in 1890, and 726 in 1900, and 972 in 1910. The proportion of Finns in these figures will be considered later, when the New York Mills region as a whole is discussed.

Heinola

Deer Creek Township was organized on 1 July 1873. There were no Finnish signatures on the petition requesting incorporation, and it was several years before the first Finns arrived, to begin to make the village of Heinola an almost purely Finnish farming community. Among the first, moving in from Michigan in 1877-79, were Isak Halkrona, John H. Partanen and John Wähätalo (Grumberg), as well as Ivar Telin, who came from Holmes City. Several of the Finns already had families, and the Telins, for example, had a son, John Henry, born 4 July 1879, the first Finnish child born not only in Deer Creek Township but in all Otter Tail County. The first girl was born a few weeks later, 17 August, to the Partanens.

The history of Heinola must be begun by speaking of its businessmen. About five miles south of New York Mills, at the point where four townships met — Newton, Deer Creek, Otto and Leaf Lake — the farmers of the region established a joint dairy in 1908. Across from the dairy two Finns, Herman Arola and Jacob Turnberg, set up a general store in Matti Heinonen's home. Taking its name from the store, the whole village got the name Heinola.

Almost at the same time, J. Mursu opened another store in Heinola, and a third followed, that of Erik Feldt and Henry Kauppi,



Road being built in the year 1910 across a small lake on the Aatu Kela farm just north of Heinola.

which later became the Jetenberg cafeteria. Still later, this cafeteria was owned by John J. Hagel, from whom the local Workers' Society bought the property for use as their hall, urged on by Matti Johnson, Charles Lahnala, Matti Pelkola, Wille Puronen and Emil Virnala.

In addition to a dairy, the farmers of the area also established a joint store, whose first business manager was John Mursu Jr., and who was followed in turn by Jacob Jacobson, Aale Höyhtyä,

and Andrew Hervi. Other business enterprises in Heinola were



The Clover Leaf Creamery in Heinola.

Charles J. Palo and John Sumi as members. Its first dairy manager was Carl Enberg. Following its absorption into the New York Mills dairy association, the Heinola buildings were torn down.

That the New York Mills dairy helped increase the farmers' prosperity has already been mentioned. The Heinola dairy, in turn, served to shorten the trip to market for many farmers, and the stores close by



Erick Feldt's and Henry Kauppi's store at Heinola in the year 1910.

made it easy for them to do their shopping at the same time. With a ready market for milk, it was profitable to increase the size of herds. This led to expansion of pasture lands, and to increase the quantity of milk, clover and corn were planted. Then, to maintain the fertility of the soil, rotation of crops was introduced, with clover and hay in some fields, corn and potatoes in others. Harvesting was no longer a simple question of reaping and threshing but began to involve the building of silos. Barns grew larger, farmhouses bigger. In this fashion the dairy affected the

daily lives of Heinola's farmers and made the region a prospering Finnish farming community.

The Heinola Farmers Cooperative Mercantile Association was founded in 1911, with the first board including Henry Anderson, John Carlund, Charles Käsmä, Gust Kästämä, Charles Lakso, Charles Palo and Peter Toppi. Two years before that the Heinola Telephone Company had been started, with J. P. Aarni as its first president; Henry Anderson, vice-president; John Carlund, secretary; M. H. Korkalo, treasurer; and William Anttila, F. O. Haapa-saari, Jonas Ojala, Fred Vapola and J. J. Välimaa as board members. At first the company served only the immediate area of Heinola, but in 1921 it purchased from James Dooley the New York Mills Telephone Company, which became the headquarters of the larger company.

Religious activity in Deer Creek has been so closely associated with that of New York Mills that it has already been discussed in connection with that community. But the Finns of Heinola did have their own, independent baseball team, as far back as 1902. The earliest players included Midian and William Fräki, William Kaisalahti, John Pernula, Henry and Oscar Piippo, and Alfred, Nicolai and Richard Pudas.

The population of Deer Creek was 474 in 1890, then 510 at the turn of the century, and 658 in 1910.

Leaf Lake Township

Leaf Lake (Lehtijärvi) Township, which lies west of Deer Creek, was incorporated in 1879, following a petition signed chiefly by Norwegian immigrants. Later many Finns settled in the township, and the northern part of it, together with the 'prairie country' southern part of Otto Township form a preponderantly Finnish settlement into which the first Finns arrived in 1878-79.

Lehtijärvi was visited during the years 1885-87 by two Finnish pastors, K. Nikander and William Williamson, who began religious work in the area. The Evangelical Lutheran congregation was founded on the last day of the year 1888, with founding members including John Gunnari, Gustaf Kauppi and John and Sakris Pajunpää. The congregation built its own church in 1903, and in 1906 it joined the National Church, becoming the oldest member of that church in Minnesota. Three church congresses have



Leaf Lake — "Väli-Jaakko" point.

been held at the Lehtijärvi church, in 1909, 1922 and 1934. The church counted 100 members in 1911; 153 in 1923; 135 in 1934; and 89 in 1946. Eight years later, however, its Sunday school still had 70 pupils, meeting with 11 teachers. Pastors have included J. Nissilä, G. Pauruus, J. Huuskonen, M. Anttonen, J.



Siffert and Anna Kauppi's farm at Leaf Lake.

Haakana, P. Miettinen, S. A. Krankkala, A. E. Kokkonen, H. P. Esala and R. J. L. Aho.

Even before the church had been established, the Lehtijärvi Finns already had their own cemetery, started in 1882. The first

Finns to be buried there were the two children of Matti and Kristiina Koller: Johannes and Theodore, who died in 1882 and 1883 respectively. Subsequently more than a hundred other Finns have been buried there.

At one time Lehtijärvi had its own temperance society, the Taimi, founded in 1900. One J. W. Lähde wrote the society's first by-laws, including the statement: "Frequenting saloons, playing cards and gambling, going to saloons to dance, are forbidden the members of this society, and whosoever breaks these rules has broken his pledge to this society. Similarly, if any member by any immoral or demeaning conduct damages his own and the society's reputation, he shall be expelled from the society for having broken his pledge."



Leaf River school in 1910.

The first president of the society was William Fraki, while William Matti was elected vice-president and Anna Björnström (Maikke) was secretary. The temperance society even built its own clubhouse, with a lending library and a hall where many plays were performed. Even after the temperance society ceased to exist, its building was used for various meetings.

In 1890, the total population of Leaf Lake was 640, in 1900 it was 713, and in 1910 it was 694.

Otto Township

This township lies due north of Leaf Lake and west of Newton. The area was originally a part of Rush Lake Township but was separated from it in 1883. Finns had begun to arrive in

the area toward the end of the 1870s, and so the petition for forming the new township was signed by at least the following Finns: Jacob Anderson (Pernula), Isaac Carlund, John Fräki, Nils Johnson, Gustav Wakkinen and Isaac West.

The first Finns found paying jobs in the forests, and even at a later date there was still money to be earned from timbering: hewing ties for the railroads and hauling them out of their woods to New York Mills used to bring 25c per tie. (In 1953 such ties cost \$2.75 each.)

Otto Township has two Apostolic Lutheran cemeteries: the Woodland and Prairie cemeteries, in the forest and prairie country respectively. The former lies three miles south of New York Mills and a half mile to the west of the Newton Township border, between what used to be the farms of Matti Litous and William Anttila. Litous used to sell the cemetery lots and take care of the maintenance of Woodland. The first to be buried there was Gustaf Wiik, and after him more than fifteen hundred Finns are estimated to have been buried there. The Prairie Cemetery was established in 1886, near Rush Lake, some eight miles southwest of New York Mills. The first to be buried there were Pekka Pohjonen and Pekka Määttä, and after them more than a hundred Finns have been interred there.

The total population of the township amounted to 465 in 1890, climbed to 557 in 1900, and then dropped to 522 in 1910.

Homestead Township

Due north of Newton, this was established in 1880. The first Finns here, constituting the first Finns north of New York Mills, were (in 1882) Andrew Kuukas, Peter Nevala, Gustaf Savi and John Tolppi. The township's total population in 1890 was 174, then 426 in 1900, but only 381 in 1910. These statistics reveal clearly the development in all the New York Mills region townships: up to the turn of the century the population kept increasing, and Finns played a significant part in that increase, but by then all available lands were occupied and the families raised; and when the farm youth failed to find sufficient work at home, they moved away to towns. After the first ones left and prospered in their new environments, a real flight from the land ensued, a phenomenon familiar in all farm families, Finnish as well as other.

Butler Township

Butler lies north of Homestead. The number of Finns there never began to approach the numbers in the more immediate vicinity of New York Mills. Nevertheless, there was for example an active temperance society, Yritys by name: on the occasion of its founding in 1904, newspaperman J. W. Lähde gave an inspiring speech, and the first officers of the society were elected: Henry and Kristiina Immonen, Henry and John Jaakkola, and Jacob Kojonen. At first meetings were held in members' homes, but in 1905 the society built its own hall.

Heinäjoki

Blowers Township lies at the edge of the county, east of Homestead. It was established in 1882 and named after businessman A. S. Blowers, presumably because John Tolppi, who arrived there that same year, turned down a proposal that it be named Tolppi. During 1883-84 several more Finns settled here, and since Tolppi's house was on the road leading from New York Mills to Sebeka and Menahga, it was a frequent stopping place for travellers. It is said that even oxen turned into Tolppi's yard from sheer habit, so that a driver could doze off on his wagon and know that he would wake up at Tolppi's. Most of the original settlers of Menahga and Sebeka moved in by this road in their push to extend the boundary of Finnish areas of settlement northward.

Blowers began to be called Heinäjoki (Hay River) by the Finns because good hay fields along the river banks lured cattle farmers. The hay is said to have grown to man's height, and these hay fields became so famous that farmers from as far away as Lehtijärvi used to come here for a week or two to make hay, which they would then haul away to their barns.

One of the pioneers of this farthest outpost was Sakri Nikkari, who bought a piece of land from Matti Renlund, some three miles south of Heinäjoki. His land was swamp and bog, and nothing even resembling a road led into his property. His first task was to make a narrow path, as wide as a pair of parallel, squared logs would allow. For that first growing season, about three acres of land were cleared, and seed was bought on credit from John Suomela and carried on Nikkari's back over the swamp. The ground still had to be plowed, of course, and to do this Nikkari set off to get a pair of oxen from Bluffton.

Coming home, the oxen almost sank into the morass, but he managed to get them through, plow his land and sow his seed.

In time Sakri Nikkari began to possess a modest property, and the assessor came to estimate his holdings: a tax bill for all of 47c arrived in due course, but Sakri, who knew not a word of



Blowers baseball team in 1915: Ivar Putikka, John Roiko, Harry Anderson, Arthur Mattie, Emil Mattie and Frank Anderson.

English, understood nothing of the demand. The delinquency was noted in due time, and the sheriff was dispatched from the county seat to collect the money. The sheriff travelled 70 miles by train to New York Mills, and there he hired a span of horses to take him on to his destination. When he arrived in Blowers the road came to an end, and the sheriff had to stop at Henry Pelto's farm to ask the way. Upon learning what had brought the sheriff so far, to a land beyond God's back, and to a destination still 5 miles beyond, at the end of a swampland path, Pelto assured the sheriff that Nikkari would surely have paid his taxes if he had understood that he owed them, and to save the sheriff a 10-mile walk through the swamps, Pelto paid his neighbor's tax bill.

In Blowers, too, the Finns gradually assumed positions of responsibility in the community, and soon it was possible to note,

as one Finn stated in an article in the *Työväen Osuustoimintalehti* of 16 March 1946, that “prosperity, honesty and concern for the general welfare have been characteristic of the Blowers Township government ever since the Finns have been in power there.”

Paddock Township

Paddock, north of Blowers and at the extreme northeast corner of Otter Tail County, was established in 1882 and was named after one L. A. Paddock, who had moved into the area in 1880, settling up a sawmill, 13 miles north of New York Mills. The Red Eye River, which flows through the township, supplied power for the mill. Logging operations led to the construction of the first road in the township, for the big sleigh, drawn by 13 span of oxen, which brought in the sawmill's steam boilers, could not have reached the site otherwise. The mill was already in operation before any Finns arrived on the scene, but the year the township was established, however, several Finns did move in, spearheaded by one John Kuukas. The arrival of many of them must have resembled that of one group which moved from the New York Mills region to the Paddock wilderness in May 1882: five people, a team of horses pulling a wagon, two cows and two calves, made up the expedition. There were no roads but only a suggestion of a trail through the forest, and in some swampy places the wagon wheels sank perilously, often down to the axles in mire. At last the party reached the banks of the Red Eye, but still had a trek of several miles ahead of them. The river was so deep that even the calves had to be put on top of the wagon to haul them across, but once over the river, the party was near its destination, a 160-acre homestead site. This party was made up of Gustav Saari, his wife, their 10-month old son Andrew, and one Anna Kaisa Nevala and her son John. Here in Paddock they began the hard lives of pioneers, which did not lack in work or adventure.

For example, one Finn, Jacob Lalli, told E. A. Pulli in an interview (1945) of the mutual relationships of two peoples, the Finns and the Indians, the one so different from the other, in the Minnesota wilderness: “Once, on a winter evening some sixty years ago our neighbor John Maunu fell into the icy river on his way home from a hunting trip, and he would have drowned if the Indians had not heard his cries and come to his aid. They took him to their camp, wrapped him in furs and fed him hot drinks all night long. In the morning they gave him his dry

clothes — but not his gun — and made signs to show that he could leave now. He was escorted from the Indian camp by a group led by the old chief, with Maunu behind him, followed by a group of Indian youths with guns and dogs. I happened to be on the path near his house when the party appeared, and Maunu hastened to shout to me to get out of the way, to avoid any



The Benjamin Pantsari family. In front: Kuopus Andrew, Benjamin Pantsari and his wife Edla, Hilma (Siirila). Back row: Esther (Kilbo), Fred, Henry, Albert and Aino (Simi).

incident. Well, it ended by their all trooping into my house, and Maunu fetched fresh-baked bread from home, and some butter, which the Indians proceeded to gobble down, busily gesturing to one another as they took huge gulps of bread and then swallowed mouthfuls of butter. And to the day of his death Maunu insisted that there was nothing to the talk that the Indians were eager for scalps.”

The first Finnish children born in Paddock were twin boys, August and John Kuha, born on 3 February 1883.

Paddock had a general store and a post office, and a half mile to the east of them Andrew and Isak Koski built a flour mill along the rapids of the Red Eye in 1887, but a fire destroyed the mill two years later. There were also sawmills in the area, and it was thanks to them that the forest disappeared rapidly from the pioneers’ lands. Before their disappearance, however, the forests helped contribute to a certain notoriety achieved by the Paddock

Finns: there was more than an abundance of wild rabbits in these forests, but only the Finns seemed to use them for food. Their hunting of rabbits assumed major proportions when a New York Mills shopkeeper, Olli Pajari, offered to pay 5¢ per rabbit, for within a few days Pajari had a whole wagon full of them from Paddock. For a long time after that, others than Finns used to say, when they saw a rabbit in the woods, "Go to Red Eye, there you'll get eaten up."

For these pioneers the procurement of a team of oxen meant a big step forward: "They were strong, even if they were slow, and they got their orders in English: when you hollered *sii*, they turned slowly to the right, and when you yelled *haa*, they turned to the left. Plowing with oxen was slow work, but they did their work well. Later, when horses replaced them, the oxen were slaughtered and eaten, and their hides were tanned and made into shoes," related Benjamin Pantsari, one of the early pioneers, who for almost half a century kept a lending library of books eagerly read by his fellow Finns.

Another account, by Anni Vappu Siltala, tells that a Finnish school was built in Paddock to teach the children the language of their fathers. At one time one of the teachers was a man named Sandström, who had received a good academic education in Finland and who also knew Swedish. At another time the Finnish Sunday school was taught by one Antti Ruotsala, a former soldier, and if he had stayed on he would probably have turned even the girls into soldiers, shouting out military commands in Russian as he did. There was then, at least a mixture of languages if not much solid learning.

However, conditions have changed. A new generation, modern demands, different tastes, all were signs of the changes which the old pioneers marveled at and secretly feared because, with the younger generation seeking its livelihood in bigger towns, the lands cleared with such sweat of the brow threatened to revert to forest. "On the other hand, who knows?" said Benjamin Pantsari; "perhaps none of it will prove to have been fruitless, at least none of the communal projects, which in the hands of the younger generation far exceed any of the hopes and expectations of us old ones."

Religious activity in this area north of New York Mills, in the townships of Blowers, Butler and Paddock in Otter Tail County, is so closely tied with that in Red Eye Township in Wadena County and Runeberg in Becker County that it must all be considered as a part of one picture. Of the churches built, the first one was the Apostolic Lutheran in Runeberg (in 1895?) a building

still in use following renovations made in 1939. The next to be built was the Apostolic church in Red Eye in 1896. Predating this, Evangelical Lutheran activity had begun in the 1880s when visiting pastors began to come to the region, although some church functions, such as baptism rites, remained for laymen to perform. The first confirmation classes were held at Blowers, in November 1893, at the home of Henry Saviniemi: Israel Komppa gave instruction at that time to two boys and one girl. In the years following, classes were held as needed, under various teachers.

The meeting which established the Paddock congregation was held at the home of Perttu Siltala in February 1898, and a slate of officers was elected: John Michelson, chairman; Jacob Kojola, vice-chairman; Peter Raatikka, secretary; Adam Komppa, treasurer; August Aho, Adam and Israel Komppa, and Jacob Aho, deacons. Incorporation followed in July 1899, but in the previous year the decision had already been made to purchase land for a church and cemetery site. The church was built, then, in 1898, and served the parish for half a century. Discussions were begun in 1908 for this independent group to join the National Synod, but no decision was reached, and as late as 1917 a majority still opposed union. In 1919, however, there were 18 votes for affiliation and only 8 opposed, and union was effected, with the congregation falling within the New York Mills regional structure. Among its pastors have been Israel Komppa, Gust Paurus, John Huuskonen, Matti Anttonen, John Haakana, Peter Miettinen and S. A. Krankkala. With a membership of about 100 in 1911, the figure rose to 148 in 1922, and then to 261 in 1935.

In 1918 a sewing circle was established as an auxiliary, and in the fashion of other similar circles, it aided the congregation to a considerable extent. Up to 1938, it had given the church \$3,195 from its net profits and had used \$1,092 for its own activities. Closely allied, also, have been summer schools and youth activities. A summer school session attracted 56 pupils. Youth work dates back to 1913, with Paddock and Red Eye having a joint organization but a casual program. A more official "Paddock Christian Youth Association" was set up in 1922 at a meeting held at the home of August Aho. In 1928 this association had 43 members. Here, as elsewhere, the youth association was a significant factor in preserving the heritage of Finnish tradition

and keeping it meaningful among the younger generation. Finnish-language schools naturally played a very limited role, but



Sebekä's (Paddock) Finnish church.

together with youth organizations, sports groups and other activities it has brought about the preservation of Finnish folk music, folk dances, games, customs, even language. In an agricultural region such as Paddock it has been easier, of course, to preserve the Finnish language than in more urban areas, but without organized youth activities this would scarcely have been possible.

The church above, together with its auxiliaries, later became the Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sebekä, in Wadena County. Its membership grew when the Red Eye congregation (which had been

established in 1898) joined it in 1945. A new church building was dedicated in 1948.

The Paddock Bethania (Suomi Synod) Church was established in 1903, at a meeting held at the home of Antti Ruotsala. Its first officers included Matti Santa, chairman; Israel Komppa, vice-chairman; Simon Niemelä, secretary, and Erik Reini, treasurer. With H. Sarvela as pastor, services were at first held in private homes and later in an American church, until a church of its own was built in 1916. Shortly after its founding, the parish had 30 members, but only 12 in 1915, with a rise again to 38 in 1945 and up to 49 in 1953.

A temperance society for this 'north country' was established in 1902 under the name of 'The Plowman'. Its first officers were John Kotila, Peter Peterson, Albert Wierimaa, and Joseph and Lydia Wilson. The society first had a hall of its own in Red

Eye (Wadena) but after a storm destroyed it in 1908 a new hall was built in Paddock Township. A second temperance society, 'Endeavor', was founded in Butler in 1904. Both societies, however, remained active for only a few years.

In all these townships north of New York Mills, numerous Finns have held responsible positions and local administrative posts. So, for example, in Paddock in 1915, Leander Niska and John Tontti served as supervisors, Matti Raatikka was treasurer, Charles Beldoniemi as assessor, and J. P. Nevala as police officer. In Blowers, August Aho served as postmaster.

* * *

Above have been cited the more significant Finnish townships in Otter Tail County. In Bluffton, east of New York Mills, and at Rush Lake, east of Otto Township, there were also several Finns. It is, however, difficult to state exactly how many Finns have lived in the region around New York Mills, in the so-called 'Mills country.' S. Ilmonen estimates that the Finnish figures of some 40 families in 1879 grew in ten years to "about two hundred families or about one thousand persons."¹⁶ Population growth during the same period is implicit in Mason's statement that during the years 1874-1906, there were 4,710 persons in Otter Tail County to apply for U. S. citizenship.¹⁷ In 1954, Niilo Tuomenoksa claimed that some 90% of the region's population was Finnish,¹⁸ but since the 1950 census gives the area a population of over 30,000 these figures of Finnish percentages are obviously exaggerated. Local place names like Czopienski, Friberg, Kantowski, Norwegia, Grove and Schatschneider also indicate a different national background in the present population. The only reliable statistics apply to all Otter Tail County, and according to the official statistics there were 942 Finns in 1900 and 1,165 in 1910; 1,145 in 1920; 955 in 1930; 646 in 1940, and only 369 in 1950. The steady decline since 1910 has been caused by various factors, in which a flight to cities has not been the least significant. Otter Tail is, nevertheless, an important agricultural county even now: in 1954 there were more people living there on farms than in any other Minnesota county: 21,995 persons out of a total population of 51,320. There were 5,520 farms in all, with 98% of them owned by the farmers who were living on them. On these farms 1,104,151 acres were under cultivation, with 209,215 acres in oats, 159,275 in hay

16. Ilmonen, S. *op.cit.* II, p. 195

17. Mason. *op.cit.*

18. Tuomenoksa, Niilo. *Amerikkaa pitkin ja poikin*. Tampere, Finland, 1955. p. 187

and 103,751 in fodder, figures indicating that dairy farming was still important. Actually, statistics also showed that there were 52,818 head of cattle and more than a half-million chickens: more cattle than people and ten times as many chickens as cattle.

Several competent studies and surveys have been made of Otter Tail County and especially the New York Mills area, showing conclusively that agriculture has been the main occupation. In all, 62% of the Finns have lived on farms, and of them 84% have earned their income mainly from farming. Six percent of these farmers did not own their own properties. In second place comes the group gaining its livelihood from industry, in spite of the fact that there has been no extensive mining or other similar activity in this area. The number of persons employed in sawmills leads the list, employing 14% of this group. Another 9% are artisans, while about 8% have been in business and trade. Other occupations have even smaller figures: 3% as 'white collar' workers, a scant 2% in professions (law, medicine, etc.), 2% engineers, about 1% industrialists.

Wadena County

Wadena County is situated to the east of Otter Tail, and its Finnish population came there spreading out from the New York Mills region, first to the townships along the county border and then later throughout the rest of the county. Here, too, the influx of Finns was caused by the railroads, of which the first, the Northern Pacific's line through the county seat was completed in 1871, to be followed by the Wadena-Park Rapids branch line, completed in 1891. Of these, the latter in particular contributed to the growth of Sebeka and Menahga.

Eero A. Pulli has written of his trips through these regions that, "when a traveller gets off a Northern Pacific train in the heart of Minnesota and continues his travels northward in a bus crammed with people and crates of new-born chicks, he notices that the road leads to an undulating plain where the eye seeks in vain a distant forest to frame the green fields. In the sparkling sun the landscape reminds one of the prairies, which should not begin until over a hundred miles farther westward. The trip takes one along the western edge of the Great Forests, but the forests no longer exist. Two reasons have led to man's felling the forest: first, only thus could man get at the rocky but fruitful soil; second, only the forest offered the pioneer who could harvest it a ready source of cash. For centuries those

forests had covered an area now known as Paddock and Red Eye townships, which once were camping sites for the Indians who used to gather every six months under Sebekä's pines 'at the waters flowing through the plain.' The Indian needed forests, too, but in a different way from his successor, the white man, who, armed with his axe, brought into these forest regions a totally new and different civilization, with new and demanding requirements. He put up his log cabins, but in addition to them, also sawmills and railroads. He brought with him his oxen and the fire-spewing iron horse. And he wanted to get his hands into the earth, over which ancient pines whispered in the breeze. It meant a death knell for the forests, and with that doom the disappearance of an ancient, nomadic way of life. Even before the beginning of our century, the age of the forest had come to an end, and the axe was replaced by the mattock, in the hands of men sparse of speech, independent, broad-shouldered and strong, who, when they spoke, spoke a strange musical tongue, the language of the Finns."

Sebekä

Along the border of Otter Tail County, east of Paddock, lies Red Eye Township, of whose religious activity mention has already been made. It was here that Sebekä was established in the 1880s. It was first a place where logs were stored: in the winter they were hauled to the shores of the Red Eye River, and in the spring they were floated down to the Crow Wing River. Their final destination, the Motley sawmill, lay in the neighboring county. Sebekä, in 1891, had one single general store, which also housed the post office. The completion of the railroad brought a big expansion to the lumbering industry, and Sebekä in turn began to grow.

In Sebekä, as elsewhere, business fluctuations caused grave problems among the Finns, and recurring hard times remained as dark memories: the 'Cleveland era', particularly, is remembered because the price of butter is said to have fallen to 9c the pound, eggs to 5c the dozen, while the market for meat disappeared altogether, and if one offered it to a store the store-keeper laughed, 'who could afford to buy it?' It was impossible to borrow money. Professor Kolehmainen wrote in the *Työväen Osuustoimintalehti* (16 March 1946) that among the Finns had grown the firm conviction that a Democratic party government meant bad times, unemployment, dangerous flirtation with

Populism, the Free Silver movement and Catholicism. Back in 1880 one Finnish journalist argued that many Finns had let the Republicans frighten them into the belief that any non-Republican administration would lead the country to disaster: he concluded that, "in their ignorance the majority of Finns considered the Democratic party as the devil's or the pope's own party." One miner wrote: "Work is still going on in the Democratic party tempo, that is to say, one earns enough for a bowl of soup." Another Finn complained that "the wages were Democratic."

Times soon improved in Sebeke, however. During World War I, for example, there was already such a shortage of meat that a local correspondent wrote in terms of wonder: "How can there be any livestock left at all in our area when a week ago another 12 carloads went to the stockyards? One would think them on the point of extinction." During those war years, too, a flight from the land was in full progress, and in the newspapers there were advertisements of farms for sale, as many as one hundred of them in one single issue of a paper.

To return to the early period of Finnish settlement, one of the gravest predicaments of the Sebeke area pioneers was the question of money: how could farm produce be turned into cash? Dairy farming seemed to offer the answer, and if it was not on a large scale at first, every farmer kept at least a few cows. In the first years butter was churned on the farm and taken to the New York Mills stores, 30 miles away, where it brought the producer 16c a pound. This money, in turn, was spent for supplies and staples and carried back to the farms. Later, when the village of Sebeke was founded, the market was closer, and it became easier to exchange butter for other needed supplies, without money having to change hands at all.

When herds continued to grow and the production of cream increased, a middleman appeared in town, a man who purchased the cream and shipped it off to be churned elsewhere. However, if a middleman could profit from such an enterprise, the farmers began to think of joint effort which would permit them to keep the profits themselves. The meeting which started the cooperative dairy was held in 1908, and a first, temporary board of directors was elected: Matti Lindula became chairman; Abram Matti, vice-chairman; Benjamin Pantsari, secretary; Arvid Lantto, alternate. Other members included Fred Mattila, Gust Kuukas and Antti Luukkonen, all Finns. A month later a formal organization took place, and Jacob Blom became chairman; Fred Mattila, vice-chairman; Matt Pinoniemi, secretary; John Weappa, treasurer;

and as other board members, Alex Mattson, Abram Siirilä, Abram Pajari and Matti Lindula, all of them Finns. Business was started with a modest capital and with Finnish determination, and much free work was donated to get the business going.

During the first six months of operations, 53,000 pounds of butter were produced, although many difficulties had to be overcome. The enterprise already seemed to be a success when further difficulties appeared, so grave that they threatened a complete standstill. However, there was no lack of determination, and additional support was forthcoming from certain individuals, and so the dairy was saved, even though its business turnover remained very limited for a time.

In 1916, Otto Kela was appointed business manager, a post he held for more than four decades. In 1920 there was pro-



Sebekä Co-operative store in 1920.

duced a total of 504,191 pounds of butter, which brought \$301,702 to the producers; in 1930, the total was 1,273,156 pounds, with \$463,655 earned; 1,717,353 pounds were made and \$554,451 distributed in 1940; production decreased in 1950 to 1,483,096 pounds, but that brought in \$1,150,696, while 1956 figures give 2,161,851 pounds and payments of \$1,419,719. These figures indicate that this cooperative dairy has become the economic mainstay of the Sebekä region. It is one of the biggest enterprises of its kind in Minnesota. In recent years the following Finns have belonged to its board of directors: Riikkula, Nikkari, Lillquist, Kyrölä, Saarela, Wirkkala, Komula, Raatikka and Loija.

Another joint enterprise, the Sebekä Cooperative Company, was established in 1919. Its early phases are described in a brochure published in 1944, *Of the People, By the People and For the People*, which recalls that "on a certain day in February 1919 there appeared an advertisement in the Finnish newspapers reaching the community, and also in English in the *Sebekä Review*, urging interested persons to meet at the farm of William Hyrkkä to discuss the significance of cooperatives and the possibility of establishing one locally. The advertisement had been written by Benjamin Pantsari, at the request of Alex Kumpula." Some 10 persons appeared for the meeting, and after long discussion it was decided to start a cooperative whose name "would be short but whose business would be large." It was incorporated with L. S. Riikkula as president; Emil Hietala, secretary; Abram Pajari, vice-president; Benjamin Pantsari, treasurer; and William J. Salmela, Abram Siirilä, John Lilquist and Nestor Roiko as further members. There was opposition, of course, and one local businessman forecast that "such a business would die within three months," to which Pastor Matt Tauriainen replied laconically, "How can it die when it hasn't been born yet?"

In October 1919 the cooperative bought a building site from one Lincoln McCormick, at a cost of \$950, of which \$100 was paid in cash. Temporarily, however, a store was opened at the Cash Stores building, purchased from D. Palmer. A business inventory was purchased from William Leinonen, who became the first business manager of the cooperative. When Leinonen had to resign a few months later, his position was filled by John Jaakola. The new enterprise served its farmer members in numerous ways: in addition to the usual general goods and supplies, the cooperative was able to market wood pulp, railroad ties, hay, eggs, potatoes, veal, flax, and straw for packing, during its first year of business.

The initial difficulties were by no means insignificant. Business managers had to be changed time and again, and during the first three years of activity debts rose to \$12,198, and discord began to disrupt the initial harmony among the members. In 1923, it became necessary to seek a loan for \$1,500 from the Wilson Investment Company, with the business premises as lien, and at an interest rate of 10%. In the same year a 17-year old boy, Edward E. Aho, was hired as bookkeeper; he later became business manager, and under his direction the business began to stabilize, grow and flourish. Sales of \$56,417 in 1922 grew to \$140,927 in 1927. The growth required bigger premises,

and in 1928 the present building was erected at a cost of about \$20,000. A few years later an addition had to be built and in 1935, another new wing. More space permitted more diversified activity, and in 1944 the annual turnover had gone over the half-million dollar mark. In one of its announcements the cooperative stated that in the years 1933-1939 it had distributed among its customers more than \$60,000 as bonus.

On the other hand, a leftist Workers' Society had also been established in Sebeka in 1909, but it never received much support. With 14 members at the beginning, the number rose in 1912 to 26, of whom 18 were men. In the first year of its existence, 22 business meetings were held, as well as 12 entertainment evenings and 3 socials; one party speaker visited the community. Although the group owned its own hall, when one considers that there were about 800 Finns in the community the support the organization received seems relatively insignificant. The reasons which were valid for New York Mills also explain the situation here: there were no mines or similar enterprises in the community, and the Finns here earned their living chiefly by independent farming. This also explains why the IWW movement, which was the main workers' organization among the Finnish settlements in St. Louis County after the schism of 1914, never received much support in the New York Mills or Cokato areas, both chiefly agricultural settlements. Later a small organization supporting the *Työmies* (Worker) paper was active for a time, but it soon collapsed due to a lack of support; the number of subscribers to the *Työmies*, however, has remained fairly constant, being 10 in 1911 and remaining the same in 1945. In the latter year, 9 copies of the *Naisten Viiri*, the leftist women's paper, were posted regularly into the community.

Under the auspices of the Workers' Society a dramatics group was also active, under the direction of amateur directors. A lending library was also present, sponsored chiefly by Benjamin Pantsari, and for decades it managed to satisfy the demand for books among the Finns.

The first Finnish temperance society in Red Eye Township functioned for some time in close cooperation with the local Socialist organization. It had been established years earlier, however, for its constitution was adopted in 1902. A look at that document and at the minutes of the society's meetings reveal it to have been a temperance society pure and simple, and reprimands to members who had broken their vows of abstinence played a significant role at meetings. One of the

unusual features of its by-laws was the obligation of members to take turns caring for any member who fell ill, and the minutes of meetings indicate that this was carried out faithfully, and that even members' medicine bills were paid by the society.

The temperance society soon built its own hall, but fire destroyed it in August 1908. An attempt to build anew was first attempted with voluntary help by the members and a year later with the help of the newly founded Workers' Society. The project was never completed, with the interest of the 10 to 20 members who faithfully attended meetings gradually weakening and finally dying out altogether. The last attempt to keep the society alive was in the form of a Speakers' Club under its sponsorship, in which every member was supposed to take his turn at providing an evening's program.

A few years later, in December 1914, a meeting was held establishing a new temperance society, the *New Plowman*. Eleven persons attended this meeting: William Bankord, A. Hyry, J. Kärkelä, L. A. Lohe, W. Mausiainen, O. Nevala, J. Raatikka, W. Raatikka, August Siltala, J. T. Siltala, Arthur Wierima and N. J. Wierima. The aim of the society was stated to be the achieve-



Sebeka Finnish Historical Society executive committee. Seated, left to right: Ed Aho, M. L. Wirkkala, Hilma Siirila, secretary. Standing: Viola Hietala, treasurer, Florine Nevala, membership secretary, Wm. Paurus and Frank Tolppi.

ment of unconditional abstinence among men and women, demanding their voicing their vow to this effect in the presence of the other members of the society. It was decided to hold dances to raise money for the society, and several young people joined the society immediately after the first dance. However, since the society's business meetings failed to attract

a quorum of 8 members, the society was disbanded in January 1916: it was decided to sell the society's club building and to divide the proceeds between the two Finnish Lutheran congregations in the community.

In speaking of organized Finnish activities, mention must also be made of the founding of a chapter of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society in 1947, following a visit of E. A. Pulli to Sebekä. The chapter has participated enthusiastically in its historical mission, in gathering source materials and funds. Hilma Siirilä, daughter of Sebekä's pioneer Benjamin Pantsari, has represented the chapter in many annual meetings of the society, and Matt L. Wirkkala has served as a member of the society's Board of Directors. One result of the chapter's work has been the erection



Sebekä Pioneer Memorial.



Sebekä Historical Society's Museum.

of a monument in Sebeka's municipal park, near State Highway 71, to the memory of the community's pioneers:

"This monument is erected and dedicated to the memory of the early pioneers and settlers who came to this community in 1882 and later.

"The courage, perseverance and faith of these early pioneers was instrumental in opening this community to agricultural development.

"Their memory lives forever.

"Dedicated by the Finnish American Historical Society, Chapter 38, Sebeka, Minnesota. Erected October 1956."

Menahga

North of Red Eye Township lies Blueberry Township, in the extreme northwestern corner of Wadena County. Between Spirit Lake and Blueberry River once lay the Indian village of Menahga, the word for blueberry in their language, and a berry which grew profusely there. That Indian place name was preserved by the first whites who came to the area shortly after 1880.

Once covered extensively with great pines, these had been chopped down, and around their rotting stumps alders, birches and aspens had taken root. It was to such an area that an emaciated horse pulling a wagon, followed by a couple of cows, drew up one day. On the wagon rode a frail woman with her children, while the man walked beside the horse and, in difficult spots, even helped the horse forward. A few pieces of simple furniture, and a few pots and pans, made up the load on the wagon.

They had turned from the highway into a side road, barely recognizable as such, where the last wagon tracks were already covered by the summer's grass. The wagon swayed, the cows stumbled along, the horse was reluctant to proceed and had to be urged on by the pleading of a big, giant figure of a man. The woman stared at the landscape with fright, but the man consoled her: "We will soon be there. Only two miles more and we will be home. This isn't a real road, but we'll make it a real road when we have the time.' And the woman smiled. She was small and trim, and still pale from having given birth to her youngest child, but she looked with pride at the giant walking at her side, the man who would most certainly carry her safely through life's storms. And at last the goal was in sight: in the middle of this forest of pine stumps and rank second growth was the old log hut of the lumberjacks, and this was home: "Forty acres of land, and one acre of it cleared." The Finns had arrived.¹⁹

The first white man to arrive was Jacob Lalli, followed by Tapani Erkkilä, and then Aatami Timonen, in the years 1883-84.

19. Rissanen, Kalle. *Amerikan Suomalaisia*. Superior, Wisconsin, 1924. pp 90-99

After them, within a short space of time, came W. Grangruth, Antti Kuukas, Paavo Kuukas, J. Kynsijärvi, L. Lohi, P. Maaninga, M. Marjamaa, J. Maunu, A. Mursu, T. Ollila, M. Pietilä, K. Sarvi and J. Särkiaho. All of them had started out from New York Mills, 30 miles distant. If one left that town on foot to go through the roadless forest, "with a cookstove on his back, a sack of flour under his arm, a two-month old child in his other," as Henry Mattila had done in 1885, one knew that one had left behind him the last outpost of civilization. Even the mails did not go beyond New York Mills, and so the Menahga Finns were literally on the frontier of civilization. In this primeval forest there prevailed a merciless law: kill or be killed, and to secure peace for their families and security for their livestock the Finns had to kill huge wolf packs, the scourge of the region.

The first home built in Menahga was apparently that of Riiko Karjalainen. The incorporation of Menahga came in 1890, and it was served by a railroad the following year.

The Finnish temperance society Tammi was established here in 1893, with the names of Anton Järvinen, Leander Marjamaa and Matti Rousti mentioned as its founders. The society's first functions were held in rented quarters, but a clubhouse was soon built, a building which was destroyed by fire in 1938. At its most flourishing period the society had between 50 and 60 members, and activity was directed chiefly toward the menfolk, since but very few women, looked upon askance, ever frequented the saloons.

Organized religion actually preceded the temperance society, with the Apostolic Lutheran group appearing first on the scene.



John Erick Luukkonen's first home in the Menahga area. Built in 1885. Photographed in 1954.

Their parish was established in 1891, and began to build a chapel in 1894, but the building was destroyed by fire even before its completion. Later services were held at the temperance hall; later still, the parish was served by the nearest church, the

Runeberg church in Becker County. As one of its regular pastors, the name of W. Alajoki appears in records.

When Pastor J. Huuskonen moved into the community in 1903, another congregation was established, with Huuskonen being succeeded by S. A. Krankkala, E. A. Heino, R. W. Heikkinen and F. A. Maunula. Activity has remained brisk, and in 1934 the membership was 93, and in 1944-45 it was 55. It was not until 1945 that this congregation officially joined the National Synod.

The Methodist church in Menahga has been served since 1937 by Pastor Matti Pitkänen.



Sampo Co-operative store in Menahga, established in 1904.

On the economic front, David Jones had opened the first general store in Menahga, and Hans Peterson had his butcher shop on the site which later was taken over by the dairy. To a considerable extent business was carried out with chits and tokens serving as currency, for the customers were frequently without money. Naturally, to mail a letter did require hard cash, but frequently even sending off a letter had to be postponed, for even the few pennies required were not always at hand. For those in such straitened circumstances life was often difficult: when a new settler managed to produce a pound or two of butter, it was taken to the store, not for money but for goods wanted in exchange or for a few chits which could be used later for purchases, in that store but nowhere else.

As conditions improved and producers and consumers became more demanding and aware that elsewhere there were stores owned by the consumers themselves, a long series of meetings and conferences led to the founding of the Farmers Co-op Sampo in 1903, when 13 persons purchased the first 17 ten-dollar shares

offered to potential members: Knut J. Breider, John S. Hepokoski, Andrew Hutander, Henry Jacobson, Anton Järvinen, John Kastren, Peter Kinnunen, K. Koski, Jacob Lalli, John Lalli, Jacob Latvala, Matti Leinonen and Emil Matson.

That first capital of \$170 was not enough to open a business, but with a few additional shares sold here and there throughout the winter, the Sampo was ready to open its doors in April 1904. The store was small and unpretentious, its stocks were very limited, but in any case activity had begun. Herman Louko was elected the first business manager, with a salary of \$40 per month, and the board of directors was made up of Knut Breider, Henry Jacobson, John Kastren, Isaac Keksi, Jacob Lalli, John Lalli and Andrew Wesa. Six of these men were born in Finland; one was a third generation American of Finnish ancestry.



Sampo Co-op garage and service station in Menahga.

The financial situation of the enterprise was often extremely critical. It was not enough that the members of the board of directors had to devote all their free time to affairs of the co-op, they also had to serve as warrantors, and there were even times when they had to sell home-made butter or blueberries they had picked to supply the enterprise with necessary cash. Since all concerned — custodians, sales personnel and members — were without any experience, they were faced with many critical years. One of the main reasons for the co-op's economic weakness was the practise of selling for credit, and it was not until a meeting in 1928 abolished the credit system and insisted on strictly cash sales that improvement became apparent. In 1930, the gross rose over the \$300,000 figure, 1942 saw it rise over \$400,000, and 1953 brought \$900,000 — a far cry from the gross of \$16,000 in the first year of business. And surely the thirteen

founding members would have found it difficult to imagine a time when 270 automobiles brought the members to vote at an annual meeting, and when the board of directors no longer had a single Finnish-born member but only second and third generation Finns serving as a majority on it.

Business managers succeeding Herman Louko have been V. S. Komulainen, Anna Mattson, William Bimberg, Matt Hepokoski, Charles Lohi, William Niska, Henry Muuttonen, Arvo Mandelin, J. W. Halmekangas, William Könnö, Henry Koivisto and Arne Wisuri. The business has been expanded cautiously, to include branch stores in Wolf Lake (1929) and Park Rapids (1952), ownership of a grain elevator, a garage and a filling station, a deep-freeze locker plant and fuel oil supply service.²⁰

One can say of Menahga's business men what has been said of those of Sebeka: almost all of them were Finns. One enterprise deserving mention for its uniqueness was the Menahga Health Home, on the shores of Stocking Lake, operated by O. O. Jurva, but it was in banking that the Finns played a prominent role. The first bank in the community, the Bank of Menahga, opened its doors in 1898, and among its first clients appeared the names of several Finns: Leonard Carjala, A. Kallunki, Don Kuusi and Henry Tomperi. After the bank changed its name (to State Bank of Menahga) and its ownership in 1904, there were two Finns on its board of directors, Frank Nelson and Matti Ristinen, and the latter became a vice-president and in 1911 president of the bank. When the bank changed its name again (in 1920, to First National Bank of Menahga) another Finn, Wäinö Järvinen, became its president. Also, the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank has had Finnish presidents, Matti Jacob Hepokoski and J. H. Mattson.

In civic life, there have been Richard Haarala as mayor of Menahga and Leonard Carjala and Matti Ristinen as postmasters. Even the Townsend movement club established in the 1930s seems to have been a Finnish organization. Finally, after Eero A. Pulli addressed a meeting of 51 Finns at the City Hall in 1947, stressing the importance of historical activity, Chapter 12 of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society was founded, with Matti Hepokoski as chairman, Henry Himanga as secretary and Aksel Hepola as treasurer.

20. *Forty Years of Community Building with Farmer's Co-op Sampo, Menahga, Minn. Superior, Wisconsin, 1943.* Esiraivaajien Muisto, op. cit., p. 26. and *Minnesotan Uutiset*, 3 December 1953

Finnish settlement gradually spread to other Wadena County townships. Thus Huntersville, lying east of Menahga, has had several Finns, as has the village of Finn, which was a real Finnish farming community, with a Finn, H. Fredrickson, serving as its postmaster.

If all the communities cited up to now have been located in the northern part of Wadena County, the city of Wadena itself, located considerably farther to the south, has also had its share of Finns, although in 1950 only four were left. Nevertheless, the Wadena radio station KWAD has for years transmitted Finnish-language programs into the wide area around New York Mills. And of Finnish business life in Wadena, mention should be made of the Wadena Co-op Creamery Association, which joined the Cooperative Central in 1938, at a time when its gross annual income was \$117,000.

In 1870, all Wadena County had but six inhabitants. In 1900, however, there were already 7,921 persons, of whom 480 were Finns. The corresponding figures in 1910 were 8,652 and 550; in 1920, up to 10,699 and 625; in 1930, a total of 10,990, with 491 Finns; 1940, up to 12,772, of whom 369 were Finns; and finally in 1950, up to 12,806, and down to 256 Finns.

Becker County

In the southern part of Becker County lies the three or four-mile long Wolf Lake, deep in wilderness. In 1888 there moved into this area Johan and Minie Wirkkanen, with their two sons, Carl and David. It is said that it took them six weeks to reach this area from New York Mills, where they had been living previously. The first stages of their trip were along trails cleared by the earliest pioneers, but after that they had to clear a trail themselves, wide enough for their span of oxen to go on through the forest to the homestead site staked out on the southern shore of Wolf Lake. That same year they were followed by Aapeli and Kerttu Kinnunen, who also had two sons, Kalle and Gabriel, and who also came from New York Mills. After them came Jeremias Soronen in 1889, and two years after that came Henry Hemminki with his family. It was in 1893 that the Hemminkis had a daughter, Ida Alina, who was the first white child born in the Wolf Lake region. The first white boy born there, in 1894, was Ivar, son of John and Maria Wirtanen.

As soon as two or three pioneers came, others soon followed, and new neighbors in turn received even newer neighbors, and

the amount of land cleared from forest began to expand. But there also came settlers who wanted to go so far "that they wouldn't be in anyone's way." Those words were spoken by Jacob Aho, born in Alahärmä, Finland. He arrived on the scene in 1894, and with a 50-lb. sack of flour on his back, and a gun and a sharp axe in his hands, he set out on the winding footpath along Wolf Lake, making his way slowly to the 70-acre plot of shore land he had bought. In the time since he settled down there, there



Peter and Kaisa Jokela's new home in Spruce Grove township, Becker county, built in 1896.

have been four different 'homes' on the same spot: first, a shelter of pine and fir boughs; then a log cabin, a little bigger and offering better shelter; then a house rebuilt and expanded as the family grew; and finally a house so big that when a neighbor once came to admire it, Aho could say that he had wanted it big enough to even hold meetings in, should the church be too small. This latest house was built in 1929, sixty feet long and forty wide and three stories high, with hallways at either end extending through the width of the building, with 23 rooms, as well as a sauna, storerooms, utility rooms. The barn, built across the yard, is a cement building 100 x 70 feet, its upper

floors of wood, with running water, milk rooms, silos, lofts, etc. Machines are used for milking, tractors sweep the barn clean twice a day, and the farmer's own trucks deliver the morning milk straight to the dairy, while separators take care of the evening milk, with the calves and pigs getting the skim. When interviewed, the family stated they had 40 milch cows, 50 head grazing, no one knew how many pigs, a couple of hundred or so sheep, plus lambs which had not been counted at all.

The feed for all this livestock was grown on the farm, and the grain was ground at the farm. Five tractors did all the work in the fields, although there were a few horses left "for old time's sake," but they were never harnessed except occasionally in winter to pull a sleigh over deep snow.

The outstanding feature of the Aho farm, however, is the family itself. Although Jacob Aho had died, in 1954 his wife was still living on the farm, together with seven sons, four daughters, three daughters-in-law, two adopted children, twelve grandchildren and one hired man. All of these 30 persons lived under the same roof, ate at the same table, took part in all the farm work, with no distinctions of individual privileges or property rights. Nobody gave orders, for everyone knew what he had to do, had in a sense grown up to whatever had become his responsibility. The young men in the family did not leave home, any more than did the daughters when they married. The sense of unity was so strong that all took part in raising the children, who were looked after by anyone who happened to be on the spot, without asking whose child it was.

They were all deeply religious, with a solid love for home and family, and political and economic differences of opinion of the outside world had not penetrated into the heart of the home. Everyone lived in harmony. There has never been discord about working conditions or in the sharing of the profits. Customs and usage are taught the children at home, and inherited tradition is strong and well-preserved, with the 19th century spirit still strong, and the Finnish dialect of Alahärmä preserved in speech.

When the Finns began to settle around Wolf Lake, it was a part of Green Valley Township, and it was not until 1896 that it received an identity of its own. However, when that was achieved, the first local elections reflected the Finnish dominance

in the area: Jacob Aho, Henry Hemming, Henry Hendrickson, William Isola, John Kangas, Carl Komulainen, Erick Sullivan, Leander Suomala and Carl Wirkkanen were all elected into office. For years the township's meetings were even conducted in Finnish.



John Niiles Ylitalo's new home built in Green Valley township in 1886, when John and his wife Liisa moved there with their seven children in 1886. Photographed in 1954.

Kalle Isaacson (Seppä-Kalle.) A cooperative dairy was established in 1911, and later a branch of the Farmers Co-op Sampo was opened there.

The first businessmen active in Wolf Lake were Frank Johnson and



Wolf Lake Co-operative store.

Religious activity began within the Apostolic Lutheran framework, with their church being erected in 1898; Johan Hjort (Jurti), its famous pastor, was son-in-law of the famous Lars Levi Laestadius. An independent church was established in 1900 (and joined the National Synod in 1912) with Mssrs. Huuskonen, Anttonen, Haakana, Urpiainen, Krankkala, Kokkonen and Esala serving as pastors. In 1950, at the golden jubilee of this Evangelical Lutheran National Church, it was related that the church work was very weak, owing to the drop in membership: there had been 37 members in 1935, but only 12 were left in 1950. It was a

reflection, in part, of the contrast between the early days — when the forest was cleared and wolf packs were not yet unknown, when school and church and postoffice (Lönrot, opened in 1898, with William Isola as the first postmaster) were the town's buildings — and the later age when a new generation could build a dance hall for its pleasure, a dance hall to which one old woman, unable to forget the stern old days, set fire which completely gutted the building. However, the younger generation could still remember the founding generation and commemorate it with a monument, a millstone once hewn by hand by one of those pioneers, John Wirkkunen, unveiled on 28 June 1953 in front of the Wolf Lake Finnish church, and bearing on its broad granite base the inscription:



**Wolf Lake Apostolic Lutheran
Church built in 1898.**

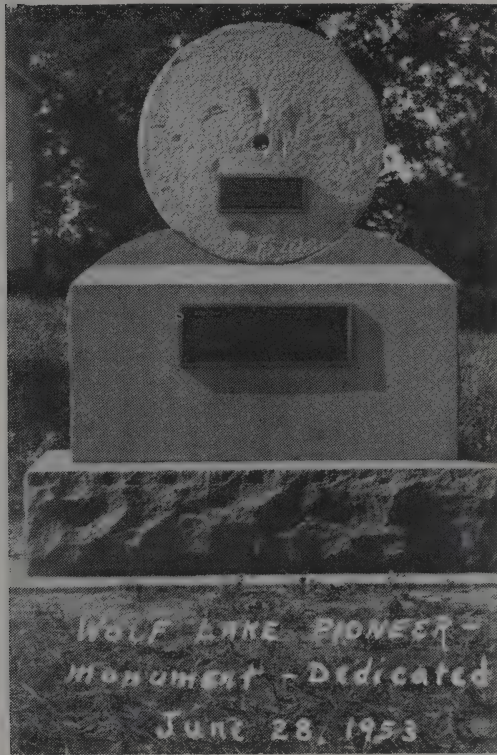
"In memory of the Finnish pioneers who arrived in eastern Becker County in 1882 and the years following, whose bravery, perseverance and faith opened the Wolf Lake region to settlement. Erected, to do them honor, by their descendants."

Snellman - Osage - Runeberg - Detroit Lakes

Somewhat to the north of Wolf Lake lies the railroad station of Snellman where, according to S. Ilmonen, Finnish settlement began in 1888. In church affiliation it belonged at first to the Wolf Lake parish, but in 1912 there was established a congregation belonging to the National Church, and which already had its own church and cemetery by the following year. Mssrs. Huuskonen, Anttonen, Haakana, Heino, Heikkinen and Miettinen have served as pastors. The church had 58 members in 1935 and 42 in 1951. One Rauha Korpi served as postmistress of Snellman for several years.

Along the railroad, a bit to the east of Snellman, is a railroad stop named Osage. Originally the mail for Snellman was picked up there, and a few Finns have always lived in the vicinity.

The southeastern corner of Becker County was opened to settlement in 1882 and became a township five years later. The few Finns, and there has even been a cooperative there, the Strawberry Lake Co-op Society.



Wolf Lake Pioneer monument erected in 1953.

Becker County amounted to only 308 persons in 1870. In 1900 the figure had risen to 14,375, which included 357 Finns. In 1910 the number of Finns rose to 440, in 1920 to 526. Subsequent figures reflect a gradual decline, to 426 in 1930, to 335 in 1940, and down to 191 in 1950, when the total population of the county was 24,836.

* * *

Wilkin County

The boundary between Minnesota and North Dakota, which for a time parallels the Bois de Sioux River, follows the Red River of the North from the area of Wilkin County northward toward the Canadian border. The Red River flows almost due north-south, and its valley is a fertile one. Although settlement there began approximately at the same time as in neighboring

The population of all Swedish Finns living there chose to name the township Runeberg (in honor of the Finnish poet of the same name) and it has retained that name to the present time. One of its early postmasters was a Finn, Olli Karttunen.

The town of Detroit Lakes, in the western part of the county, has been the home of several Finns, and during Finland's Winter War a Finnish relief committee was organized there with B. L. Benshoof as chairman.

A bit to the north, in Richwood, there have been a

counties, there were never more than one or two Finns there. In 1900, when its total population was 8,880, and again in 1910, there was but one Finn among them, while in 1920 there were two, and in 1930 only one once again.

Clay County

North of Wilkin County lies Clay County. In 1900, when the population was 17,942, that figure included but one Finn, while in 1910 and 1920 there were six, in 1930 there were ten, and then five in 1940 and but four in 1950. During Finland's Winter War there was a Finnish relief committee in Moorhead, with J. M. Deems as chairman.

Norman County

On the eve of World War II, Finnish bankers learned that in the small community of Halstad the local bank was for sale, due to the grave illness of the owner. Having evaluated the property, these Finns bought the bank and changed the name to Red River State Bank. The board of directors was made up of George A. Johnson, president; John J. Asiala and Walter Johnson, vice-presidents; Norman N. Aamont, treasurer; and A. W. Havela, Jacob L. Pete and Oscar Schaenkey, directors.

In the community of Twin Valley the same group of Finns also took over the local bank, changing its name to the First National Bank.

In the communities of Ada and Lockhart, Finnish relief committees were active during the war, with Al Remark and A. J. Anderson as chairmen, respectively.

The total population of Norman County was 15,045 in 1900, with only three Finns. The Finnish figure rose to six in 1920, but later statistics show none at all.

Mahnomen County

This county in its entirety belonged to the original White Earth Indian Reservation. There was area enough there for 32 townships, and it was estimated that it could be divided into 9,216 farms, each of 80 acres extent. During World War I the government gave the Indians permission to sell land to non-Indians, and a group of big realtors immediately began extensive sales campaigns, including large, enticing advertisements in the Finnish-language newspapers during November 1917, in which the Aura

Land Company and the Northern Minnesota Trading Company offered 'fine black earth, rich loam land' for as little as \$16 the acre. Keeping up its campaign in the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* for 1918, the Aura Land Company claimed that the land, which was still selling for the same low price, would rise in value to \$40-50 the acre within the year. However, at least among the Finns this advertising brought meager results, for in 1920 only three Finns were listed as living in all Mahnomen County, five in 1930, three again in 1940, and only one in 1950.

Clearwater County

Here there were 36 Finns in 1910, but only 3 in 1920, then 5 in 1930 and 1940, and in 1950 only 3 again.

Hubbard County

There were 38 Finns in the county in 1910, and 22 in 1920 as well as 1930, then 17 in 1940 and but 7 in 1950. There was a Finnish relief committee in Akeley during the war, with D. C. Miller as chairman.

Polk County

In 1900 the county listed 15 Finns, with the figure dropping to 7 in 1910, to 4 in 1920, to none at all in 1930. After 1940, however, there have been 5 Finns listed again. During the Finnish war there was a Finnish relief committee in East Grand Forks, with H. M. Mackenzie as chairman.

Red Lake County

In the town of Red Lake Falls there has been located the Red Lake State Bank, since 1933, already mentioned in connection with Norman County. The group of Finnish directors was later augmented by three local businessmen: George W. Christie, E. G. Robertson and F. Skala.

In the community of Oklee, there was established in 1934 the River Valley Co-op Association, which joined the Cooperative Central in 1936. In 1938, the gross receipts of the Oklee organization amounted to \$26,000.

Finns have been fairly numerous in Plummer where the first Finns arrived in 1912: Johan Nurmi, Erick and Nick Eskeli, and Juso and Tuomas Määttä. In 1921 the *Uusi Kotimaa* suggested

that the maximum number of Finns may have been about 30, but they had no organized activities, aside from occasional visits by pastors of the Suomi Synod to hold services. Later, however, in 1927, there was established the Plummer Co-op Store, which joined the Cooperative Central in 1938, when its gross sales amounted to \$4,000. For years the postmaster of Plummer was one Eli Joki.

The Finnish population of Red Lake County was 50 in 1920; 51 in 1930; 22 in subsequent census statistics.

Pennington County

A few Finns have lived in Thief River Falls, where there was also a People's Co-op Store, Inc. In the whole county, however, there were but 5 Finns in 1950.

Marshall County

Marshall, considerably larger than Pennington, lies directly north of the latter and extends to the North Dakota boundary. Almost in the direct center of the county lies Middle River, where the first Finns arrived in 1910 to settle lands they had purchased. This Finnish influx was begun by William Talkkari, who had procured almost a full section of land through the Pellervo Land Agency in Duluth. Others also held extensive lands: the Rantala family had almost a thousand acres, the Maijala family over five hundred, etc. The local correspondent of the *Päivälehti* (16 October 1914) described Finnish farming methods here as follows: "There is a great deal of smoke in the air again, for several Finns once more are burning fields which have peat in them. They have found the simplest way to be to set fire to the bogs and let the peat burn away. This kind of burned land seems to grow well, giving particularly good crops of oats, barley and rye, as those who burned their fields last summer have found out. The Finns will insist on clearing their fields, whether it be by fire or whatever other means."

On 8 November 1914 the *Päivälehti* borrowed items from the Middle River newspapers, which claimed that "there was no faster growing community in all Minnesota than Middle River, and that the Finns have been a big factor in that growth." Regular postal service was established that same year, and Knute Olson "sold 12 automobiles, a fact which is being reported promptly,

lest people believe that only teams of oxen chew their cud in Middle River.”

As soon as greater numbers of Finns appeared, joint activities were called for. Evert Peltola has written in his recollections that the first joint meeting of Finns was a get-acquainted meeting at midsummer 1912, at the invitation of William Talkkari. The following winter the Reverend Heikki Sarvela came a few times to hold religious services, and he was followed by Pekka Käränen during the following summer. With the children of the Finns reaching school age, it was deemed necessary to start a Sunday school in the autumn of 1913, and classes were held at Evert Peltola's home, with Samuel Kauppila and Antti and John Tuura as teachers. The logical outcome was the establishment of a congregation in 1914, as a member of the Suomi Synod. Matti Kortesmäki, its first pastor, served for several decades, to be succeeded in the 1950s by A. Korhonen. With a membership of 143 in 1915, there has been a gradual decline, to 94 in 1955.

In Middle River was established the first of the Red River valley Finnish banks, previously cited. However, the bank was transferred to Red Lake Falls in 1933. The local cooperative was called the Farmers' Co-op Store, and when it joined the Cooperative Central, its gross annual income was \$16,000.

In April 1949 Matti Erkkilä came to Middle River to address a group of some 40 Finns, who proceeded to establish a local chapter of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society, with 12 members at the start. Evert Peltola was elected chairman; Jacob Matero, vice-chairman; Mrs. Kortesmäki, secretary; Jacob Karvonen, treasurer, and Evert Peltola, archivist. The chapter was very active for several years.

In Holt, situated south of Middle River, a few Finns have lived since the period of World War I. And in Grygla there was a cooperative, the Grygla Co-op Co., whose annual gross income in 1938, when it joined¹ the Cooperative Central, was \$61,000.

Kittson County

At the turn of the century there were 2 Finns here, after that only one up to 1930, then 5 in 1940, and in 1950 only one again.

Roseau County

In 1910, there were 6 Finns here, in 1920 there were 2, in 1940 there were 3, and in 1950 again 2.

Lake of the Woods County

The name has been received from the large lake on the border between the United States and Canada. There have been a few Finns there, at least temporarily, although census figures do not indicate their presence until 1930. However, Ilmonen suggested in his book, published in 1926, that "the northernmost part of Minnesota, along the Canadian border, is still almost undisturbed wilderness, where only hunting and fishing are carried on. This area includes Lake of the Woods County, which has very few inhabitants. However, even in those distant wildernesses Finns have built their homes, having received free lands through the Homestead Act."²¹ The Census statistics indicate 10 Finns in 1930, but only 8 in 1950. The cooperative in Spooner, the Co-op Ass'n, which joined the central organization in 1928, had in that year a gross income of \$122,000.

Koochiching County

East of Lake of the Woods, and still along the Canadian border, lies Koochiching County, where the first white settler was a Scottish bachelor, Alexander Baker, who arrived in 1870, and who lived by trapping and trading with the Indians. He had no white neighbors until 1881, when Joseph Baker built himself a cabin nearby.

Alexander Baker sold his holdings to two Minneapolis businessmen, who contemplated the building of a power plant along the Koochiching Falls. As far back as 1889, lumber firms had tried to buy this area, which the government had reserved for the Indians, who still owned 3,000,000 acres of it in 1902. Half a million acres had been set aside for homesteads, but only 160,000 acres had been sold. General opinion seemed to indicate, however, that this forest wealth had to be exploited, and special legislation in 1902 opened the area to lumbering on a gigantic scale: in 1894, for example, the *Rainy Lake Journal* had estimated that in the northeast corner alone there were some 700,000,000 feet of lumber ready to be cut. In 1900, two men, W. Backus and W. F. Brooks, appeared in International Falls and procured rights to the falls; due to their initiative it became an important sawmilling center, which offered work to many Finns. With the completion of a dam, the place began to grow into a community; even the railroad made its way here, with the first train arriving in Inter-

21. Ilmonen, *op.cit.* III, pp 195-196

national Falls in 1907. Even so, when the first Finns arrived, about 1910, the town still consisted of nothing more than a single 'street', edged with sidewalks made of planks.

The seasonal nature of lumbering operations made the position of unskilled Finns difficult at first, but the paper mill started in 1909 changed the picture: Finns went to work in the factory, where their pay at first was \$1.75 per day, and their life began to be more stable. Thus the Finns have been associated with the growth of this, perhaps the world's largest, paper mill and with the subsequent growth of International Falls. Ilmonen reported "a considerable number" of Finns there in the 1920s, and in interviews made by the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society in 1954 with Finns still living there it was concluded that 59 Finnish families had at one time lived there, making a total, when their children are counted, of somewhat more than 200



Minnesota Lumber Camp.

Finns. At the time of the interviews, there were still 36 families present, with only one or two members left in each. The official 1950 Census confirms these figures, for they indicate 59 Finns living in the community. At this period the paper mill, known as the Minnesota and Ontario Paper Company, employed more than 1800 persons; during the 1930s, it even had a branch in Finland, the Karhula Company.

In International Falls the Finns had a local Socialist party organization, established in 1911 (with at least 44 members in 1912) and remaining alive until 1932. Almost from the beginning, they had their own hall, which housed an active amateur theatrical group.

In 1934, a Finnish Club was organized, and this club has sponsored various functions and has kept up a Finnish *sauna* on the outskirts of town. In 1954 the club president was Andrew Koski, its secretary Anna Koski, and its treasurer Mrs. John Koski. Although there had been some discussion in 1949 of establishing a local chapter of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society, the people of the community considered it more feasible to extend the activity of their already existing organization to include this field, too. Contacted by the Historical Society's representative Tom Hiltunen, they shared in preparations for Finnish participation in the Minnesota Centenary. The chairman of the wartime Finnish relief committee was Harriet Lloyd.

One Finn named Ollila is said to have operated the first hotel in International Falls. In addition, there was Alex Kyyhkynen's store Dove Clothing, the Ketola Company department store, and in the 1920s, a cooperative. Arthur Oja was a dentist in International Falls for several years.

Other communities where there have been Finns include Rainier, somewhat to the east, and Ray, the 'lumberjack center' to the south of Rainier, as well as Little Fork and Big Falls. With the exception of Little Fork, the number of Finns has been limited to a few families at the most, but in Little Fork there have been Swedish-Finnish families since Jack Johnson arrived there as the first one in 1910.

The first census statistics for Koochiching County, in 1910, show 6,431 persons, of whom 21 were Finns. A decade later the number of Finns had climbed to 394, then showed a decline to 191 in 1930, to 162 in 1940, and to 136 in 1950.

Big Beltrami County

The county is one of Minnesota's largest in area, and here, too, there have been several Finns. The majority of them seem to have lived in Malcolm, in the northern part of the county. As early as 1900 there were already 6 Finns, and a decade later 94. In 1940 there were 95, and in 1950 still 30. Of the latter, 6 lived in Bemidji, and one of them, Nels Hervi, served as teacher of music at the State Teachers College.

Cass County

In the 1920s Ilmonen reported that in the area of big Leech Lake there were living a few Finns who had come there as lumberjacks. Other centers have been Boy River, as well as Hallock and Pine River, both of which had Finnish relief committees during the war, with the Reverend W. E. Erickson chairman in Hallock, and Oscar Dahl chairman in Pine River. At the turn of the century there were 34 Finns in Cass County, 86 in 1910, and 29 in 1950.

Chapter VII

St. Louis County: Duluth

Duluth

In its astonishing liberality, nature has put into one single region the sources of the river of rivers, the Mississippi, and the world's greatest lakes, a vast richness of forest and fantastic mineral wealth, a splendid wilderness, now transformed in part into fields, cleared by the hand of man, with a soil promising success to his endeavors. White man arrived in this region — the western end of Lake Superior — on the heels of the earliest explorers, and as fur traders they got a glimpse of the wealth awaiting them. The area extending from Lake Superior to the Canadian border, which was established as St. Louis County in 1855, embraces 6,661 square miles, or more than the combined area of Rhode Island and Connecticut. In this largest county in Minnesota are 774 square miles of lakes, and the landscape is even more reminiscent of Finland than is that of any other part of the state. In 1860 there were only 406 persons living in the entire county, and there is reason to believe that this figure included many Indians and half-breeds.¹ At that time the county was divided into but four townships: Carp River, Duluth, Fond du Lac and Oneota; sixty years later there were 69, and in 1950, about ten more than that. For immigrants from the distant north of Europe, the whole area was like a Promised Land, and it became the center of heaviest Finnish settlement in the United States.

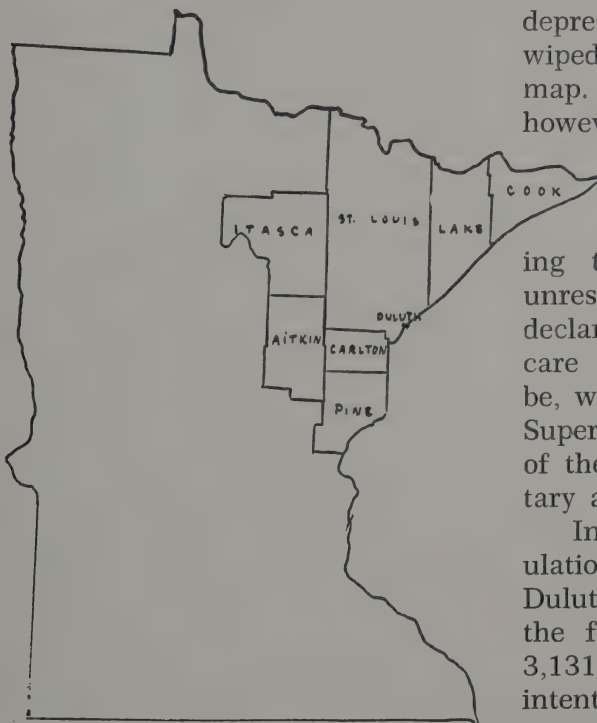
At all times of the year the sun rises above Duluth over the blue water or gray ice of the world's biggest fresh water lake. At times this lake rages with oceanic force, at times it is like an alluring, sparkling mirror. Its surface is 603 feet above sea

1. Duluth and St. Louis County, I. p. 153

level, and into its waters pours the iron-rich flow of the St. Louis River. The steep ridge formed by the ice ages rises sharply from the shore line, almost as if to discourage any sane person from setting himself down to live there, but often man taunts the laws of nature and wants to materialize the impossible. In 1852 there arrived on "the wrong side of the river" a white man named George R. Stuntz, who in the following year settled down as a permanent resident on the site. He was followed by others. In 1856 the Reverend Joseph G. Wilson was offered some land gratis in this city of the future in return for giving the place an appropriate name. Searching for old books which might help he found at last a work which described the trips of the first explorers into Minnesota. That book mentioned the name of Daniel Grey-solon, Sieur du Lluth, and it was after him that the area was named Duluth. In 1857 Duluth was recognized as a post office

address, but an economic depression that same year wiped the village off the map. A few years later, however, there were a few settlers there again, and they felt themselves so strong during the threat of Indian unrest in 1862 that they declared they would take care of themselves if need be, while the inhabitants of Superior, on the other side of the river, requested military aid from the state.²

In 1860 there was a population of 80 persons in Duluth, and a decade later the figure had climbed to 3,131. It had then, to all intents and purposes, become a city, although nobody



was able to predict then that this was but the beginning of the period of growth. Least of all was it imagined by Congressman J. P. Knott of Kentucky, who ironically addressed Congress in

2. op. cit. p. 161

January 1871: "Duluth is so precisely at the center of the world that in every direction around it the horizon appears equally distant."³ Duluth, however, defied its detractors. It absorbed six neighboring villages, started its climb up hillsides, and expanded along the lake shore. On 1 August 1870 the first train arrived there amid cheering, direct from St. Paul, covering the 154 miles in 16 hours and 20 minutes. Further progress seemed assured, which made the rebound in 1873 all the more surprising and which kept Duluth from becoming a city for a long time. By 1880 the population had shown but a minimum of growth: 10% in 10 years. But in 1884 Charlemagne Tower financed a new railroad line to Duluth, and what with prospecting for gold and copper at the same time, and becoming a shipping center for iron ore, a fantastic growth was heralded.

The first transportation by water along Lake Superior had probably taken place some two centuries ago, when 60 canoes loaded with furs made their way to the markets in the east. Those canoes must have been large ones, manned by four or six oars, but their total capacity can hardly have been as much as two tons. In 1871, however, 92,820 tons of goods were being loaded in the twin harbors of Duluth-Superior. But before the opening of Sault Ste. Marie Canal, all transport on Lake Superior was on a fleet of 12 ships. In 1883, the twin harbors shipping had climbed over the one million ton figure, and in 1886 there arrived 665 steam-propelled vessels and 232 barges: 86 came from foreign ports, and 119 ships were of foreign registry. In 1898 the tonnage had reached ten million tons, climbed to fifty million in 1916, and reached over seventy-five million in 1953. Based on tonnage, then, Duluth-Superior is second only to the port of New York in importance. Any world port accounting for more than sixty million tons freight per year can be called a major one, but Duluth does all that in eight months of every year, spending four winter months in icebound inactivity. As soon as spring returns, long trainloads of ore come down from the hills, straight to the harbor, to be loaded on 600-foot long ships carrying some 20,000 tons each, direct to the steel mills. During World War II, for example, more than 80% of the ore used by the United States was shipped via Duluth. It is, then, to the constant demand for iron and steel that Duluth owes its own incredible growth. And how it has grown! Across the river there would have been an ideal site for a city, a nine-mile stretch of level, sandy shore

3. *Saturday Evening Post*. 16 April 1949.

which would have been easy to develop. Actually, of course, there is a city there, but it is not Duluth but its small sister city of Superior, of which greater things were once expected than ever were expected of Duluth. But an easy way out was not for the settlers of Duluth: they demanded challenge and obstacles to overcome to make their victory more glorious. Officially, Duluth is 26 miles long, 2 miles wide, having grown up and back along the hillsides. In terms of area, since World War II it has been larger than Boston or Pittsburgh. The natives describe it simply: 26 miles long, 2 miles wide, and 1 mile high. And yet, one of the fascinations of the city is that one never knows when a bear will come by for breakfast: in the 1950s, 84% of St. Louis County was still in its natural virgin state, and that natural state extended up to the very boundaries of the city.

In this city of Duluth, 50% of the more than 100,000 inhabitants are of Scandinavian descent, and the 1950 statistics list more than 20% of them as having been born in Norway, Sweden or Finland. For the Finns, Duluth was originally a gateway — like Red Wing, and at a later period Minneapolis — through which they arrived in Minnesota; however, Duluth was a place where they stayed no longer than necessary before moving on to whatever their real destinations were: construction work on the Crow Wing railroad, farming in the New York Mills area and the Dakotas, or lumberjacking in the camps of northern Minnesota.

Reports of the first Finns to have used Duluth simply as a gateway are not precise. Ilmonen mentions that a few Finns came to Duluth as early as 1868, “but they did not settle down to stay in that unruly town,” while John A. Mattinen, on the basis of interviews made for a study, claims that the first Finn to come to Duluth was one Matti Moilanen, from Puolanka, in 1869. An unpublished WPA study, on the other hand, claims that the Finns arrived in Duluth in 1870, when a few fishermen first came to “Minnesota Point,” the natural breakwater within Duluth’s present harbor area, and that only after that event did the Finns of whom Ilmonen and Mattinen make mention arrive at Duluth from Midway. Regardless of who was first, in very short order large numbers of Finns began to move through the Duluth gateway. Mention has already been made of the group of some 200 Finns who came in 1873, direct from Finland to Duluth, where they then dispersed. And that same year, it was reported from the London office of the Northern Pacific Railroad that another

group had been recruited, made up of 242 adults and a great number of children.⁴

These first arrivals were compelled to live in miserable lodgings in the oldest part of town, and the morale of some suffered accordingly. "The city's oldest court records reveal several black marks from the time of the earliest arrival of the Finns," Ilmonen wrote; "Johan Socklund (John Norlund?), whose bellicose temperament earned him the nickname of 'Hallin-Janne,' was arrested on suspicion of murder, and while awaiting trial he committed suicide in his cell. Kassu Kojala (also known as Isotalo) and Samuli Heikkilä were both in the Duluth jail in the winter of 1872-73, serving time for brawling. In general, however, the Duluth Finns were decent, industrious folk." It must be added that not all of the men cited above by Ilmonen belong to the permanent settlers in Duluth, and also that some of them had committed their crimes elsewhere.

The first Swedish-speaking Finn is believed to have come to Duluth in 1880. His name, according to the WPA study, was Alfred Johnson, and Kokkola, Finland, was his birthplace. The name of Hanna Hynell also belongs among the first in this category.

Incidentally, the first Finns did not arrive at Superior, across the river from Duluth, on any permanent basis until the year 1889; according to Kolehmainen and Hill.

In Duluth, the Finns who first arrived settled down in that part of town subsequently known as the West End, where they had several boardinghouses, and a little later they began to settle down in the worst part of town, along St. Croix Avenue, which became an extension of First Avenue East in 1912, when the name was changed to South First Avenue East. The Finns themselves, however, called their street "the Point" when they did not call it "Rat Avenue" for the innumerable rats infesting the backyard outhouses along Lake Superior. The houses on the south side of the street were constructed on fill hauled to the site, and they were without cellars. The street itself, before it was hard-topped, was of hard-packed gravel and clay, and in rainy weather it was dotted with big puddles. On beautiful summer evenings, however, the Finns lived practically in the street, calling out from their doorsteps to passing friends, running out to see if their cows were still grazing along the shore meadows, and sometimes leading the cows down the street to greener pasture. Garfield Avenue and a few cross streets were actually not streets at all at the

4. *Rural Michigan*. 1229. pp 165-169

time but sandbanks over which one made one's way as best one could to reach Superior Street. At that time Duluth was but a small, insignificant town, and houses were built at random, where outcroppings of rock and brush permitted, and the houses were surrounded by simple wooden fences.

The water problem was an acute one in those early days. All the household water had to be carried up from the lake, and for

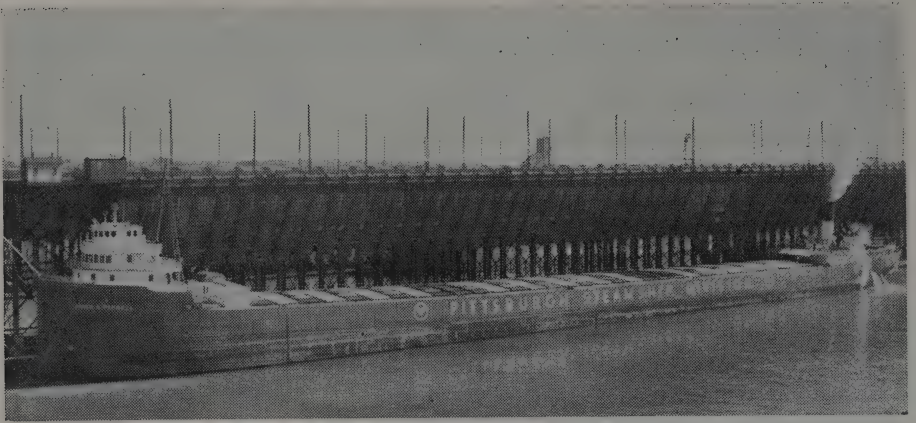


Early Finns in Duluth: Charles Kauppi, father Matthew Kauppi and brother Matthew

some houses that meant a considerable distance. It was not long before water carts appeared, ready to sell water for a consideration. In this business the city seems to remember best one "Water August," as he was called. There were several Swedish-Finns living by this time on Grass Island and on Garfield Avenue and "Water August", whose real name was August Signer (or Siggner) was one of them. He had originally been a bartender, but later on he had an ox-drawn cart from which he sold water at five cents the pail. Later still he acquired a horse to pull his cart, and he had a real

tap on the water barrel for drawing the precious water.

Uusi Kotimaa reported on 19 November, 1881 that "the Finns have ten houses full of boarders. Ten couples have gotten married during the summer, and more weddings are expected." Keeping a boardinghouse in those days was profitable, for Finnish boarders were easily satisfied. The rooms were almost always filled with men, and inside doors were removed altogether so that in the winter heat from the one coal stove could circulate freely through all the rooms. Some houses, of course, had no heat at all. A few houses were piped for illuminating gas, but most of the time the systems were out of order, so that oil lamps generally supplied light. In time, of course, electricity came, but it was impossible to ever install central heating into those old houses.



U. S. Steel subsidiary's Pittsburgh Steamship Division's 13,000 ton ore carrier James A. Farrell in the Duluth harbor loaded to transport ore to the eastern smelters.

Across the street from these boardinghouses there seemed to be an altogether different world. There the houses were much more elegant, although there were no doors on the street side and the windows were heavily curtained. During the daytime there was no sign of life or movement to be seen in those houses, but as soon as it grew dark, bright lights shone from their windows. In those houses of joy, the various nationalities all met each other, and met in peace.

But to the chronicle of the day to day life, however, there occasionally were added reports of someone in trouble with the police for cheating at cards, or stories of some having become incurable drunkards and being on the road to ruin, or news of some getting involved in a brawl, which might even appear in one of the Finnish newspapers, as did the following story: "*Finns on the warpath*: Around midnight, Leonard Manninen and Aatami Laukkanen, both armed with knives, were involved in a fight, and both men were wounded. Nick Christopher, in front of whose house the fight took place, informed the police. When the police arrived they found Laukkanen lying unconscious on the street."⁵

The Finnish Lumberjacks: The southern end of Lake Avenue was the street of Finnish saloons. It ran parallel to St. Croix Avenue, which did not have more than one or two saloons but did have a few *saunas* and several boardinghouses. The Finnish lumberjacks used to show up at "*the Point*" with several months' pay in their pockets, and they came to spend their money and to relax after the strenuous work in the forests and the quiet

5. Päivälehti. 4 April 1914

and the monotony of life in the smelly and flea-ridden camps deep in the gloom of the wilderness. Once they were in the city, life smiled broadly for these men: the days passed quickly in the Lake Avenue saloons, the nights in the St. Croix Avenue boardinghouses.

To be sure not all the men who came out of the forests spent their money in the saloons. Many had been forced to become lumberjacks when they arrived from Finland and found no other work available. Most of the men who were lumberjacks during the 1900-1914 period saved their money, married and settled down along St. Croix Avenue or "on the hillside" and found themselves steady jobs on the docks, in building construction, as skilled or unskilled laborers in factories, etc. But another group formed that army of lumberjacks who remained just that, went back to the forests regularly, and emerged again just as regularly to spend their holidays and their earnings in the Finnish saloons and boardinghouses in Duluth, Virginia, Ely and International Falls.

With the end of World War I and the coming of Prohibition, the Finnish saloons on Lake Avenue and St. Croix Avenue of course had to close their doors, and the Finns gradually began to move away from "the Point." Finnish businesses now began to appear at the western end of Sixth Avenue and later on Superior Street in the block between Fifth and Sixth Avenues. The Finns called the latter "Sikst Avenue", but the Americans began to call it "the Bowery". The first Finnish business to open there was Alex Kyyhkynen's Dove Clothing Company, and it was soon followed by Finnish hotels, saunas, restaurants, barbershops, etc. After 1933, when Repeal came, Finnish saloons appeared on the Bowery, too, and the vacationing lumberjacks welcomed them again after the long and depressing "moonshine" period. Even in the 1950s it was still possible to see Finnish lumberjacks there, looking exactly as their counterparts of fifty years earlier had looked, but dressed now in brighter and better clothing. With new clothes bought and supplies purchased, the mandatory climax was still the same: dozing off in some Bowery cafe, after some barroom scuffle or before it.

The Finnish merchants on the Bowery knew what to stock for these woodsmen. They had well-padded coats to offer, and heavy trousers and warm mittens and shoepacks, and a woodsman dressed in them could well have looked just like any woodsman one could meet on some forest trail in Finland, except for one feature which would have seemed strange: the hat, which hinted the man to be much more Americanized than he could be in reality.

And of course there were other differences, too, between the "real" lumberjacks of old and their successors: the old timer did not have the big money to spend that those who came later spent in the saloons, not to speak of their big bills which those of some decades later still carried in their pockets.

The police of Duluth are well-acquainted with the Finnish lumberjacks, the old as well as the young, not because they might have been deliberate law breakers but because they often had to sober up overnight in the jails. On the whole the lumberjacks were honest folk, and if a strange Finn came not once but twice to Duluth he probably became so friendly with the Bowery crowd that one or another might say, "Look, you're here again, do you want to borrow a dollar or two?" And if the loan was accepted, it was almost certain that it would be repaid, come what may.

The old-time lumberjacks still living after World War II in Duluth in the vicinity of the Bowery were simple folk: the state paid them some \$60-70 a month in welfare funds, and out of that they spent some \$15-20 for rent, a dollar or so a day for food, a little bit now and then for clothes, and the rest for drink.

Duluth, Gateway to the West: The employment offices located near the Northern Pacific's Union Depot, on Michigan Street, probably have found more jobs for workers than any equivalent employment agencies anywhere else in the world. And their clients were, in significant numbers, the Finns. Indeed, some of the agencies were even operated by them, by men like Emil Junttila and Arthur Mandelin and the Finnish-Swede, Carlson, a strange character who spoke poor Finnish, who was surly and peevish and whom the Finnish lumberjacks looking for jobs liked to tease. These agencies recruited men for lumbering, farming, harvesting, mining, bridge building, and for many other jobs all over the middle western and western states. In the autumn of 1905, for example, one of these agencies advertised in a Duluth Finnish newspaper, offering jobs on the railroads: five hundred Finns were needed, \$2.25 per day wages were offered, with a deduction of \$4.00 the week for food and quarters. Some accepted the offer, others went the rounds in the harbor, from one pier to another if times were bad and the boss said "No, sir, no help needed." But if there was work, a brighter future followed, filled with hard work and often with danger, for accidents were frequent, about two per month in a report of 1883.⁶ The 'salt dock', the

6. Kolehmainen and Hill, *op. cit.* p. 40

sawmills, the grain elevators, construction work, road building, digging trenches for water, gas and sewer mains, and the 'junk dock' were the places where the Finns in Duluth were most likely to be employed.

The Temperance Society Toivon Tähti: Two kinds of organizations began to appear among the Finns during the 1890s, with the temperance societies and the churches coming into existence as the



The first Finnish church built in Duluth at the turn of the century on St. Croix Avenue. When the new church was purchased in 1923 this building became a warehouse for the Walker Jamar Co. This picture was taken in 1957 when the building was being torn down. In the inset Clarence Wesala can be seen starting the demolition work.

citadels of morality. Both were faced with challenging opportunities, with the temperance movement in the forefront. The

history of the Finnish-American temperance movement notes that "in Duluth, if anywhere, drunkenness has been the curse of the Finns and the obstacle to their economic progress." Early in the 1880s, some Finns were members of the Norwegian temperance groups, but in 1886 came the attempt to establish a purely Finnish society, the "Star of Hope, No. 1." However, the support the society received was very weak, and the few who attended meetings were the abstainers and not those who drank. The society did not manage to remain alive for more than a year, and perhaps one of the reasons for its failure was that it did not join any temperance league but tried to work independently. In 1887 came a second attempt, and this time the society was named the "Star of Hope, No. 12", and it promptly joined the Good Templar League. One account claims that this organization was active, without interruption, for several decades, but activity certainly did languish in 1897, when, according to the temperance newspaper *Raittiuslehti* of 20 March, "the dance craze has killed this ten-year old child." This craze produced



Toivontähti Temperance Society members in 1916. In the front row are Saima Salo, Sofia Wickstrom (Hokkanen), Frank Jarvinen (Lake), Saima Gustafson, Betta Rauma, Fiina Kari (Huotari), Ida Kari (Maki). Center row: Aliina Pulkkinen (Harrison), John Heikkinen, Fanny Vehka (Laine), Sofia Filppula (Hill), Fanny Paarni, Hilma Kesanen (Pykäri), Frank Vehka. Back row: Hilja Wuotilainen (Hill), Oscar Johnson, Hilma Rajala, Matti Rajala, Heikki Johnson (Kylmala), Fanny Rankinen, Minnie Kettunen (Salli), Matti Pykari.

a crisis started by the young members' desire to have a good time following their business meetings and the older members' labelling such entertainment "inappropriate." In actuality the breach here was not so much the conflict between the generations as it was the conflict, even within such a society as the temperance

group, between those who supported the church and those who did not. Whatever the true cause, this second temperance society was on its deathbed for some two years but did not die: in January 1898, at a quarterly business meeting, the future was still regarded with some optimism. In 1902 this Duluth society was even host to the annual meeting of the national organization of temperance societies, although records show that the society did not even possess its own quarters at that time. Even later the society did not have such a permanent home but used to meet in the parlors of the Finnish church on St. Croix Avenue, which was soon called the 'temperance box.'

On the eve of World War I, when the Minnesota Temperance League owned the newspaper *Päivälehti*, the activity of the Duluth society grew momentarily brisker and included a dramatics group which, according to Lauri Lemberg, was good enough to put on quite demanding productions. After the war came Prohibition which, in a way, erased the society's very reason for existence. Of course, this epoch did not make the Finns any more abstinent but even managed to bring several Finns into conflict with the law because of their bootlegging activities. When the Repeal came in 1933, the Finnish temperance society was practically non-existent. According to the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* of 1933, "The Star of Hope has been unable to get any popular support and has had to suspend its activities for the time being."

Religious Activity: Although Duluth is one of the few Finnish centers where organized temperance activity was started before the first official congregation was established, it did not take long before religious activity also reached "the Point." The initial impetus, however, seemed to come from the outside, for during the latter part of the 1880s at what was then fairly distant West Duluth there lived the pastor William Williamson, whose name has been mentioned frequently in these pages, and in 1891 there arrived in that same community another pastor, Heikki Sarvela, and it was particularly during the period that Sarvela remained there that even Duluth's religious activity became so firmly established that a congregation was legally established in 1899. It was named the Independent Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, but it did join the Suomi Synod in 1912 and changed its name to the Independent Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Suomi Synod Church. It was not until 1944 that a simpler name — Messiah Evangelical Lutheran Church — was adopted. Sarvela was succeeded by Jacob Määttä in 1906, and later came P. Keränen, F. W. Kava and S. Ilmonen. In 1912 Sarvela returned

to serve another ten years, and after that he was succeeded by Antti Lepistö, John Wargelin (1927-31), Carl J. Tamminen to 1936, Eino M. Tuori (1936-41) and then Evert E. Torkko, Ahti Karjalainen and Alex William Koski. Incidentally, Pastor Torkko began to give radio sermons over Station WEBC in the autumn



Messiah Lutheran Church in Duluth.

of 1939, and radio later developed into an important medium for religious services in Finnish.

In its earlier phases, the congregation had no church of its own but used to hold its services in a Swedish church on Second Street. In the summer of 1899, however, land was purchased on St. Croix Avenue, and the following year the Finnish church was built. It promptly became the center for cultural activity in the area, for the church hall was used from the very beginning by the temperance society and by the young peoples' society Nuija, which used to hold program evenings there, fin-

ishing with folk dancing, since ballroom dancing was not permitted there.

As great as was the need for this spiritual stimulus which the church was able to provide, the time was to come when a Finnish center could no longer be limited to one street and when, furthermore, the members of the church wanted their congregation to be situated elsewhere. In 1923 they bought the old First Presbyterian Church (built in 1869) and renovated it to a considerable extent.

In addition to the church, the congregation also owns a parsonage, purchased in 1942. With 105 members in 1920, the figure climbed to over 300 in 1940, and in 1953 it stood at 428. This figure must be considered surprisingly high in view of the fact that it is not the only Finnish church in Duluth, and that furthermore there is another Suomi Synod church in West Duluth.

Following the practice of most Finnish churches, the Messiah Church has had many varied activities and has sponsored many auxiliary organizations. One of the first undertakings, of course, was a Sunday School, which started about the year 1900. In the beginning, instruction was exclusively Finnish, but after World War II the language has been English just as exclusively. Next, about the year 1910, the women of the church started a sewing circle, the *Auttaja* (Helper), which at first was an independent organization but which became an auxiliary of the church in 1914 and since that time has been working entirely for the good of the church. It has remained a Finnish-language group throughout its existence, and it has been an outstanding source of financial support for the church through its socials, lectures and bazaars. A so-called Mikael Agricola League was founded in 1923; it was originally a Finnish-language organization but later changed over to the English language and adopted a new name, the Luther League. Its purpose has been to make the youth more closely aware of the Bible and the Savior. For a brief period there was also a Bethania Society, and still active is the Brotherhood, a men's organization affiliated with the Duluth Federated Lutheran Brotherhood; its meetings are held in English, although the use of Finnish is also permitted. Finally, there has been a so-called Amicus Society (1935-1945), a group of younger church members, aimed at fostering spiritual values, which terminated its activity because its members were already members of either the Brotherhood or a sister group, the Esther Guild (established in 1939). Sponsored by younger women, the Esther Guild, which holds its meetings in English, has arranged lectures and discussion groups on Christian topics and supports church and missionary activities. Together with all these auxiliary organizations, this Suomi Synod congregation has been able to keep within its fold both the older Finnish generation and simultaneously to attract the younger generation, an achievement which would certainly reflect to the credit of any church.

Among other religious movements, it must be stated, first, that there have also been many Apostolic Lutheran Finns, among

whose ministers must be mentioned Abram Mällinen and Alex Puotinen.

The Pentecostal, Salem congregation considers its history to have begun in 1918, when Matt L. Johnson moved to Duluth. After him, other preachers have been Hilja Väisänen-Niinikorpi, Sophia Swanson, O. Kestilä and Anna Mäki. The church was organized formally in 1932, under the sponsorship of Hilma Savolainen-Wirkkala, with 25 founding members. Meetings were held in rented quarters until 1941, when meeting rooms were purchased at the corner of West Fourth Street and Mesaba Avenue. Its pastors have included Isaac Ojaniemi, Olga Saari, Peter Nuutinen and Anton Salo. In 1941, Liida Myyrä was invited to come to Duluth to be a guest preacher, and while she was there, John Niemi deeded his country home in Palo to the church, and it has become a popular rest home. In January 1947 the church invited Rudolf Worlin to become its pastor, and he remained at the church for 10 years. In January 1952 the church began radio broadcast of its Sunday services, and these have become increasingly popular among aging Finns over a wide area. In 1956, when Mesaba Avenue was widened, the Pentecostal church (called Saalem Temple) had to be torn down, and another home was purchased on East Fifth Street, combining a meeting room and parsonage.

The Finnish Congregational (Mission) Church was established in Duluth in 1919, although Reino Hiironen of that faith had held the first meetings in the city in the summer of 1915. Although Hiironen had been unable to attract but a few Finns to hear him, he returned again the following summer, and the meetings he held then at the YMCA attracted more listeners. Later, Katri Niinikorpi continued to hold regular meetings until 1917, when William Hokkanen arrived on the scene from the Chicago seminary. At the time of his arrival, a Mission committee, composed of three Methodists and three Congregationalists, had kept up the work. In 1919, then, there followed the establishment of the Congregational Church, with 30 members, and Hokkanen was elected its first pastor. In 1921, when its unanimous decision was to join the Duluth Association of Congregational Churches, there were 42 members. Hokkanen was succeeded by A. Muhonen, and among subsequent pastors the name of J. E. Lillback has appeared.

In 1872, when Kalle Kytömäki and Eeva Nyström were married in Duluth, there was not a single Lutheran minister in the town, and the service had to be performed by a Swedish

Methodist pastor. The first important Finnish Methodist in Duluth was Matti Lehtonen, of whom mention has been made previously. He rented a three-story building on Lake Avenue for the congregation: downstairs was a reading room; above that the church and Sunday School rooms; on the third floor, a dining room. (Mention will be made in subsequent pages of Lehtonen's newspaper and publishing activities.)

The Unitarians came into the picture briefly, in connection with Risto Lappala, who came to Duluth in 1908. They were preceded on the scene by the Finnish Baptists, for a Finnish-Swedish group was active as early as 1904 and was known as the Finska Ebenezer Church, and one of its early pastors was H. M. Myhrman (from 1914.) In 1916 the congregation had 79 members, and there were two Sunday Schools, with 80 pupils and 12 teachers. Two years later Finnish-language services were introduced, with F. E. Berglund as pastor: he lived in Poplar, Wisconsin, but visited Duluth to carry on the work among the 95 members credited to it. In later years activity has gradually declined. Duluth was host, in 1910, to the last all-American Finnish Baptist annual meeting.

Although theosophy does not qualify as a religion, it should be mentioned that at one time that movement had some supporters among the Finns in Duluth. Their extensive publications will be cited in future pages.

The Swedish-Finns and their Religious Activity: The religious work of the Swedish-Finns in this area got its start in West Duluth at a meeting held in November 1897. Herman Johnson sat as chairman at the meeting and Andrew Anderson as secretary. Although documents of that first meeting are no longer available, one Matt Simonson who was present at the meeting has stated in an interview that he, together with John Erickson, Erik Johnson, Alfred Ledin and Matt Sven went to see a lawyer, John Jensvold, for help in drawing up a legal document to establish a church. This took place in 1898, much to the satisfaction of these Swedish-Finns who had long wished a church of their own — and who discovered only some time later that Jensvold had drawn up the papers to make them an affiliate of the American Norwegian Lutheran synod!

The newly organized congregation held its services at first in a small wooden church purchased from the Norwegians, and the first pastor of their church was Erik Johnson-Ryes, and the membership totalled 61. However, it was not until after 1905 that activity began to increase, after the church had cleared up

the original affiliation issue and had joined the Augusta Synod. A student of theology, Carl J. Silfversten, was engaged as pastor. He began a Sunday School, put through improvements in the building, including electricity to replace the old kerosene lamps, and put the archives and records in order. The church was moved to a new site on Wadena Avenue in 1907, and in 1912 it adopted as its official name, Evangelical Lutheran Bethel-församling.

For a time there was apparent a certain stagnation, due to a series of temporary and substitute pastors, which lasted until the Reverend G. Oberg was engaged permanently in 1915. Attendance grew, and the old church building grew cramped and inconvenient, and even while a committee was planning a new church the old one burned down in 1916. After this disaster, it was decided to re-locate entirely, and architect E. Berg designed a new building to be erected at the intersection of 53rd Street and Ramsey. By the summer of 1917 the attractive new church, in late Gothic style, was ready for dedication. Before the Reverend Oberg resigned in 1919, membership had grown considerably, and after a year's pastorate by the Reverend Olson, Carl Silfversten, who had completed his divinity studies, was engaged on a permanent basis.

The first auxiliary to be started in connection with the congregation was the Enighet, begun in 1899 by eight women, with Katerina Anderson as president, Brita Johanna Berg as vice-president, Maria Carlson as secretary and Emma Skomars as treasurer. During the war this organization assisted in Red Cross work, and after the Bethany Children's Home was founded, the members of Enighet used to visit that orphanage regularly to mend and look after the children's clothing. After 1905, the Bethany church also had its own Sunday School, with one John Peterson listed as its first teacher, and followed in 1908 by Louis Cole. They have been followed by Isaac Höglund, John A. Forsman, August Gustafson, Alfred Haga, J. J. Qvist, and J. A. Gers. Instruction was first given in the Swedish language, but English was adopted later.

Other youth activities include the Adelfia, started at the same time as the Sunday School. Although some of its members were youths born and brought up in the United States, the meetings were held in Swedish. The group had its own lending library, and it also earned considerable money, used as the start of a fund for the purchase of a parsonage. This organization came to an end officially in 1915, but in actuality continued under a new name, Lutherförbundet. Another group, the Willing Workers,

was a club for girls, and here sewing and embroidery were taught. A small group, it was very active and even raised enough money to buy a new organ for the church. The first leaders of this group were Mrs. John Sundström and Mrs. William Fredrickson.

Also connected with the church was the Lutheran Brotherhood, started in 1915. In general, this group was made up of those men who were active in the life of the church itself as well as its leaders in auxiliary activities.

The youngest auxiliary is the Dorcas Society, started in 1924, with membership limited to young ladies born in the United States. Early membership figures were about 20, but it appears to be the society which will survive and eventually include all the women of Bethel's other women's organizations.

The Worker's Society: An organized labor movement among the Finns of Duluth got its start in June 1902 when Martti Hendrickson changed the Nuija Youth Society (cf. Messiah Lutheran Church activities) into an organization called The Friends. In 1904 this club joined the Finnish-American Labor League and later the Socialist Party and even became a chapter of the Finnish Socialist Party. Among its earliest members were the names of Albert Hendrickson, Ilmari Näppä, Henry Asp, Elmer Stonewall, and Josef and Mandi Ek are remembered, and Sofia Hautala and Anna Eskelinen are noted as its first women members. From the moment of its founding, the organization expanded rapidly, and the following people have all played active roles in it through the years: Matti Herneshuhta, Ida Manninen, Henry Samson, Kalle Laakso, Herman Louko, Heikki Häyrynen, Emilia Heinonen, Hilda Hendrickson, John Hilden, Jacob Kujala, Toivo Virtanen, Henry Puranen, Otto Arlund, Alex Sevo, David Kuuri, John Viita, Matti Kainu, Gust Aakula, Frank Westerlund, Leo Mattson, John G. Helin, Hedvig Arlund, Otto Lahtinen, John J. Kolu, Matt Wahlberg, Hilda and Otto Hagman, and John Korpi, who later was a well-known speaker.

Although there were but eight members when the society was born, membership had climbed to 72 in 1906, and in 1912 there were 332 members. As it grew, it also had to experience the many stormy conflicts which raged within the Finnish-American labor movement. To understand these conflicts one has to review the history of this movement in its major outlines, and since Duluth and St. Louis County have been the centers of the Finnish labor movement in Minnesota, and since the Duluth Workers' Institute has been its leader, it is proper to interrupt here the history of "the Point" to discuss this movement which the Finns brought

with them from their fatherland and which they developed here to suit the altered circumstances of their lives.

The Finnish-American Labor Movement: The history of this movement appears at first glance as a haphazard chronicle of confusing and chance events where the political compass has pointed in every direction. A closer examination serves to convince even an outsider, however, that everything has had its purpose and that the labor movement has had considerable merit.

Many of the labor leaders in the United States have been immigrants, with Samuel Gompers born in London, Matthew Woll coming from Luxembourg, Sidney Hillman from Lithuania, to mention but a few. It is clear that men like these brought with them to the new continent their European labor movement principles and practices.

The Finns, of course, were by no means the first to begin the labor movement in the United States. The Socialist Labor Party had been created under the leadership of Daniel de Leon in 1876, and ten years later the American Federation of Labor was born. In 1881, the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor appeared before the public for the first time, after having functioned as a secret organization since 1869.⁷ And to come specifically to developments in Minnesota, the first symptoms of an organized labor movement can be traced back to 1858, when the printers in St. Paul began a local labor organization.

However, before the turn of the century there were already three Finnish-American labor societies, in Calumet, Michigan; Brooklyn, New York; and Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Of these, the "Saima" in Fitchburg and the "Imatra" in Brooklyn were to play significant roles in the early history of the movement. The leading personalities included Dr. A. F. Tanner, who came to the United States in 1899, who had already made himself a student of the labor movement before his arrival and who became an apostle of this movement the moment he arrived here; Matti Kurikka, who was to found his own idealistic socialist community of Sointula in Canada; Martin Hendrickson, Vihtori Kosonen, Alex Halonen, Kaapro Murros, Moses Hahl and Alfred Hautamäki, as well as Eetu Salin and Taavi Tainio, who were to make themselves known as newspapermen. In the early period of the socialist movement in Minnesota the following names appear: Matti Herneshuhta (Huhta), John Sairio, Ida Pasanen, Axel Öhrn, John Viinikainen, Edward Grondahl and Henry Wuopio.

7. Saposs, David J. *Left Wing Unionism*. New York, 1926. pp 9-32

The first Finnish workers' newspaper appeared in January 1900, when Tanner put out the first issue of the *Amerikan Työmies*, which proved an abortive undertaking but had a successor in July of that same year when the first number of the *Amerikan Suomalainen Työmies* (The Finnish-American Worker) appeared. In its early years this newspaper, which abbreviated its name to *Työmies*, had as its writers Victor Hall, Austin McKela (Mäkelä), John Kiva, Matti Kurikka, S. Laitinen, Hanna Lehtinen, S. E. Luoma, Urho Mäkinen, Veli Nyberg, O. Reini and Tahvo Tohmola (John Hakola). It attracted contributions from various writers in Finland: author Arvid Järnefelt, teacher J. K. Karin, peoples' institute director R. Koljonen, professor J. Mikkola, V. Palomaa, A. B. Sarlin, Maila Talvio, Dr. N. R. af Ursin, among others.

In 1903 representatives of eastern Finnish temperance societies held their annual midsummer festival in Gardner, Massachusetts, and at this festival there was discussion of the Finnish workers' needs and recognition that the temperance societies could not support the Finnish immigrants effectively in this matter. It was decided, then, to establish a Finnish workers' league, which was soon called the Imatra League. The beginning proved auspicious, for by September 1904 the league already had 24 active local chapters, and it was at this time that another league, Finnish-American Workers' League, was formed at Ironwood, Michigan, and which was to establish one of its headquarters in Duluth. It was this second league which, in a meeting of 13 delegates at Cleveland, Ohio, in October 1904, decided that "only by joining the American Socialist Party can our own workers' movement gain any significance and influence in the development of socialism in this country." The Imatra League, on the other hand, was firmly against taking any such step, giving as its reasons the strong Finnish feeling of nationalism, the fact that the American program would be culturally much more restricted and offer less to the Finnish immigrants than they needed in their new environment, the fact that the American party itself was filled with dissension, and finally the fact that to create an organization by states would be a huge undertaking and that the dues collected would not benefit the Finns directly. However, local chapters of the Imatra League were divided on the issue, and in the end only seven local chapters, including the Brooklyn Imatra, remained faithful to their own league in opposing the merger. The Finnish-American Workers' League, from where the proposal had come, approved the merger, with only three

local chapters in opposition and continuing to lead an independent existence for some time.

Within the framework of its new status, the Finnish workers' movement held its first convention of delegates in Hibbing, Minnesota, in August 1906. The meeting lasted a week, and there were present 40 delegates representing 29 local chapters. The minutes of the meeting were published in a 152-page document and gave a clear picture of the currents within the Finnish-American labor organizations at the beginning of the century. Many problems were discussed, and resolutions were passed defining the organization's relations with the Party, with the temperance movement and toward religion. The scope of the organization itself had to be defined. For the movement's growth in Minnesota it meant a great deal that this convention was held in Hibbing: Minnesota was already in the forefront in the Finnish socialist movement in point of members, and possibly also in activities undertaken. There were some 10 local chapters in the state, with close to 400 members in all. Activity was concentrated chiefly in the iron mining region, where Finnish population was heaviest.

In the next convention, which met in Hancock, Michigan, in August 1909, there were more organizational problems to discuss, for in the three-year interim membership had more than doubled, and instead of 53 local chapters there were now 162. In looking at the resolutions, it is revealing, for example, that in answer to certain criticism from the right, it was stated that, "although there has never been any anarchistic activity among the members, the convention nevertheless strongly forbids its members to adopt any such tactics." The same meeting said of religion that it was a matter of every member's concern, although it was also noted that not only socialists were known for their atheistic stands but so were many well-known thinkers and scientists. Further organizational matters were decided, and the United States was divided into three regional groups: the east, the west, and the center, with the center group understood to be chiefly Minnesota. Each region was to have its own central committee, with a salaried secretary, if required, and several party organizers. The regional groups could be further broken down into sub-groupings. (Thus, in Minnesota, for example, there was a Northern Minnesota Regional Socialist Chapters' Group which held meetings in various communities to discuss general and local questions.) Finally, the Hancock meeting also carried out a change in name, making this officially the Finnish Socialist

Federation of the United States. This Federation was to be directed by a seven-member executive committee, which would call conventions to be held every three or four years.

The Workers' Institute: Not the least of the matters discussed at the Hancock convention was the Workers' Institute, which had been founded in Minneapolis but had been transferred in 1904 to a Duluth suburb, Smithville. "The Finnish Peoples' Institute and Theological Seminary" was the name with which the school had been incorporated, and this school now possessed an adequate site on the shore of Spirit Lake, with a 20-room house which had been remodelled into classrooms. Since funds for this work had come as contributions, the school had an indebtedness of only about \$1000, and the fresh start in new surroundings seemed auspicious.

In the first annual meeting after the move to Smithville, the religious groups involved attempted to gain control of the institute, but without success. At about this time there had been much discussion in workers' circles of a school to serve their own needs, and the new school at Spirit Lake became the focus of their attention. With shares available in this Institute to anyone desiring them, at one dollar each, the socialists realized that their opportunity was at hand: in the annual meeting in 1905 the majority of votes were now theirs. Since the new masters felt that theologians did not constitute a fitting faculty for scientific instruction, a new director was chosen, K. L. Haataja, and in January 1905 the *Työmies* was able to report that "religion has been removed from the Institute, so that there will be more time for teaching English, mathematics, history and accounting."

The curriculum was indeed revised, to include sociology and economics, and research into the socialist movement and its party program. In the annual meeting in 1907, five of the nine members on the board of directors were now socialists. The director, Haataja, had already joined the Socialist Party, announcing, according to the minutes of the meeting, that "the whole world belongs to us, so we must disarm the bourgeoisie while we can, for knowledge is man's best weapon."

The school was renamed and became the Workers' Institute, and in the school year 1907-08 it had 71 pupils, and 70 of them were socialists. This student body organized a 'comrades' student union' to discuss student problems; it published an annual called *Revolution*, and later a quarterly titled *Ahjo* (The Forge). The change was so complete that the 1909 annual meeting indicated

the socialists owned \$3,400 worth of the shares in the Institute and the church groups, to whom the loss of the Institute was a serious blow, only \$800 worth.

The Institute continued to expand along socialist lines. In the school year 1910-11 there were 112 students, 15 of them women. The age of the students ranged from 16 to 44, with the average being 27. At this time, there was a faculty of four, with Leo Laukki as director. In looking at the curriculum of that epoch, the Finnish language was given 6 periods a week (2 of them for composition work), English 9, with German introduced in 1911 with 1 period per week. Next in importance were economics and history, with the former given 5 periods a week and the latter 9, augmented by 3 additional periods of the history of socialism and 2 more for the history of American socialism. In the third group of subjects, mathematics was given 4 or 5 periods a week; accounting, 3. In addition to this, there were 3 periods per week for general cultural background and another 3 for public speaking.

By and large, the students planned the program themselves and were free to choose their own courses. The only requirement was that at least one 'informational' course had to be attended. These courses were on three different levels, and the student could choose his own level; if the lowest level seemed too easy he could switch to a higher, or vice versa. Student life was active, with the Union, to which all resident students belonged, meeting once a week and in charge of student administration. It took up all student conflicts and disciplinary problems, and although its decisions could be appealed to the school's board of directors, not much use was made of this right.

Relations with the outside were and remained close, with extension courses and courses for 'outsiders'. Gust Aakula has summed up this work as follows: "The 1912 meeting of delegates decided to include correspondence courses as a part of the Institute's activities, with courses in Finnish and English language, plus arithmetic. The establishment of summer courses was also considered, but the plan was given up due to the small number of prospective students, and local chapters were instead encouraged to arrange Sunday and summer courses for their own children. To help this plan, the Industrialisti newspaper included an English-language 'Youth Section'. The first summer course at the Institute itself was not held until 1929, and at that time the local chapters paid for the participation of their own students, either by paying the course fee of \$12 or by procuring scholarships if

parents themselves were unable to pay for their children. About 50 students on the average used to attend these summer sessions, which lasted 4-6 weeks, in June and July. Students had to be between the ages of 12 and 18. These courses were held even after the regular winter semesters had to be given up due to World War II. Teachers at the summer sessions had included F. W. Thompson, George Humon, Yrjö Koskinen, Hellin and Antti Vitikainen, Ivar Vapaa, Taisto Luoma, Sylvia Virtanen, Dagmar Sirviö, Paul Hallila, Gust Aakula, Sulo Havumäki and Erland Hyttinen."

The Hancock convention had been presented the following resolution to approve: "Whereas the Workers' Institute meets the requirements of the workers' demands for knowledge, accepts the party creed, and in its instruction fosters the thorough knowledge and spirit of international social democracy, we acknowledge this Institute to be the general educational institute for, and a party instrument of, all Finnish-American organized workers." This resolution presented by Reino Saio was accepted. In the same meeting it was also decided that in all possible changes in the school's program or its financial questions, "the executive committee of the socialist organization is to cooperate with the board of directors of the Workers' Institute." Since the Institute now enjoyed the full support of the organization, it was also demanded that "only members of our party be engaged as teachers in the Institute," but in a 20-9 vote it was decided to drop the demand, since it had been agreed that the Institute was to control its own internal affairs. Subsequent relations between the organization and the Institute have been described by Aakula: "The organization had previously approved a compulsory levy for the support of the Institute, amounting to \$1 per party member per year, which was dropped to 50c in 1912. Some chapters did not always comply with this assessment, and after the split in the party it was given up altogether. The convention also gave its blessing to the granting of two \$100 scholarships annually from the treasury for needy students, but instead of this a lottery scheme was approved and the winners of the lottery were granted scholarships, which they could sell to others if they did not want to use them themselves. In this way scores of students were attracted to the Institute even during the panic years."

Aakula has also described the life of the students and the school itself:

"In the beginning, fees were \$20 per month, which included room and board, but as the cost of living rose, the fee climbed gradually to \$39 per month.

"The number of students increased from year to year, and as early as the academic year 1908-09 there were so many that the majority of them had to live outside the Institute. This brought up the question of a bigger building, and although there was no money at all available the directors were given orders to raise funds and begin building. The new building was finished in the autumn of 1910, with three large new classrooms in front, and rising in back to three stories, with quarters for 64 students, a library and office space, plus washrooms and a gymnasium in the basement. Complete with furnishings, it cost \$20,000.

"As soon as it was opened, the building was promptly filled up, and the number of students still continued to rise, so that the building program had to be continued. In the autumn of 1912 a new four-story building was ready for use, with kitchen and dining-hall on the first floor; library, bookshop, offices and some students' rooms on the second; dormitory space on the third and fourth floors, so that in addition to quarters for staff personnel there were quarters for about 50 more students.

"The number of students was 130 in 1911-12; 136 in 1912-13; 157 in 1913-14; 128 in 1914-15; and 38 in 1915-16. These years were, indeed, the most flourishing ones in the history of the Institute, and at the peak, the faculty consisted of eight members. However, as soon as World War I began, immigration from Europe ceased entirely, and when America entered the war the young men were absorbed by war industries and the armed services, so that the number of students began to decrease, and after the war it was never possible to regain momentum. Besides, the destruction by fire of the newest building and the lack of furnished rooms outside kept the number of students down to about 50 on the average, until World War II brought a complete end to the Institute.

"The factors cited above were crucial in the decision not to begin a new building program. It must also be taken into consideration that as a result of the split in the Socialist Party in 1914, the Institute fell into the hands of those who supported the industrial union movement, and membership in the Party was no longer a requirement for enrollment. Rather, it became more important to belong to the IWW. Of course, stress continued to be placed in the importance of students becoming American citizens, and the faculty continued to assist students in this matter.

"Alumni of the Institute remained active in giving every possible support in their various communities. Besides them, the IWW chapters, friends of the Institute, and supporters rallied by the newspaper *Industrialisti* gave significant loans and gifts, and quantities of shares of stock in the Institute continued to be purchased by the local chapters and individuals. Over 30,000 shares had been sold, and as soon as some chapter had purchased a minimum of 1,000 shares it was granted a vote in annual meetings of the Institute stockholders.

"Further assistance came in the form of money raised in various benefit evenings arranged in different communities on behalf of the Institute. In addition, the students themselves undertook to tour the nearby towns when the school year was over and put on entertainments, including a speech or two stressing the significance of the Institute, putting on a play, presenting vocal and instrumental selections, thus earning hundreds of dollars annually.

"Every year thousands of copies of publications of the Institute, *Revolution and The Road to Freedom*, were sold, resulting in further financial support. Also, the Institute owned a collection of some 200 plays given it as a gift, and royalties were collected from groups which acted them on their amateur stages. The Institute had also published a book on the usage of the Finnish language, edited by Otto W. Oksanen, and a manual in Finnish on parliamentary procedure and rules of order.

"Faculty members of the Institute have included K. L. Haataja, Leo Laukki, Henry Johnston, Alex Sevo, Yrjö Sirola, Aku Rissanen, Otto W. Oksanen, John Suoja, Nikolai Visti, A. A. Toivonen, Kirsti Maininki, John Viita, John Kangas, Roosa Knuutti, August Wesley, Henry Kärkkäinen, Pentti Olli, George Humon, John Kiviniemi, Yrjö Koskinen, Ivar Vapaa, Hellin and Antti Vitikainen, August Angervo, Ida Kauppi and Taisto Luoma. In addition, there have also been several American faculty members, who taught not only English but other subjects as well, and whose presence also attracted some non-Finnish students to the Institute.

"The board of directors in the early years included T. Virtanen, K. Lönnquist, Leo Laukki, Adam Saari, Hjalmar Mattson, Otto Hagman, Victor Brander, and Frank Johnson, who built the first new building of the Institute in 1910. On the board of

directors in 1955-56 there were John J. Kolu, Gust Aakula, Wesley Kniivilä, Urho Sandelin, Aino Järvi, Lempi Kovero, Tauno Mulari, Hilda Stonewall and Emil Takala.

"With the housing shortage prevailing during World War II, the government in 1944 took a 7-year lease on the existing school building, remodelling it into apartments for workers in war industries. With the end of the war the housing was no longer required, and since holding the building meant a financial drain it was returned to the owners a year before the lease expired. Even before this lease had been made, the directors had been instructed to sell off the Institute's holdings and had been ready to sell this building for \$6,000, but since the government had put \$15,000 into it in alterations, the directors, even while collecting rents on the apartments, now offered it for sale for a higher figure and sold it for \$14,000 in 1953.

"Subsequent to that time the directors had been busy settling the indebtedness of the Institute, buying back shares from those anxious to have their money returned, and in handing over to the Workers Publishing Company, which puts out the *Industrialisti*, any funds which may be left remaining, in preparation for the official liquidation of the Institute."

Assessing, finally, what the Institute has meant, Aakula claims that "perhaps never will the great, broad and manifold significance of this Institute in its forty years of existence as an elevating force among Finnish immigrants be fully comprehended, not only in its significance as a disseminator of the ideas of what was the labor movement, but above all as a fountain of knowledge in general and as a teacher particularly of the American form of government and its economic system."

The Party Split: To understand some of the statements made by Aakula, it is necessary to go back in time, to the years on the eve of World War I, when a new line of thought began to gain ground within the workers' movement and which soon spread like wildfire. Actually, it was not really a question of an absolutely new idea, since back in 1904 dissidents within the American Federation of Labor, including Thomas Haggerty, George Estes, W. L. Hall, Isaac Cowan, Clarence Smith and William E. Trautmann, had held a meeting in Chicago in November 1904 and had there prepared an invitation to several organizations acknowledged as radical to come to a meeting to be held in Chicago during the January following. Thirty organizations accepted the invitation and were represented at this preliminary meeting, which led to an agreement to meet again in Chicago in June to establish a new organization. At that latter meeting 186 delegates met to give birth to a new group, named the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World. Critics soon labelled them the "Wobblies" or claimed the initials stood for "I Won't Work."

Once a week the Finnish language newspaper *Industrialisti* published the aims of the IWW, beginning with the statement that "the working class and their employers have nothing in common; there can be no peace as long as there is starvation and privation among millions of workers and while those few who form the class

of employers enjoy all the fruits of life" and ending with the statement that "the historical mission of the working class is to overthrow capitalism." On the basis of this statement, the IWW repudiated all agreements between workers and employers, which had been made by other labor organizations, maintained the right to strike at the least provocation, and outlined the revolutionary aims and goals of all labor in a new form, to be achieved not by political means or armed combat but with a new organization of all workers on the basis of their trades.⁸ Ivar Vapaa stated it in Finnish, claiming "the IWW approves the economic theories of Marx but not his political teachings."

The Finns who were immigrants in the United States were by and large unskilled laborers, and almost without exception they were ignorant of the English language, so that they were forced — at least in the beginning — to earn their livelihoods in the heaviest and most poorly paid jobs: in forestry, on the railroads, in the mines, and so forth. Some had already heard of socialism back in Finland; others joined the socialist movement in America, in the first place perhaps because of the social life it offered, but also in the hope that it would help them to a better life.

Since the jobs in which the Finns were employed were at that time almost without exception 'un-organized,' and since none of the labor unions — mining excepted — had made the slightest attempt to organize the workers in these jobs, these unskilled workers felt themselves unprotected, even though they did belong to local chapters of the Socialist Party. It was natural, then, that when the IWW became better known among the Finns, it attracted their interest since its appeal was primarily to those in unskilled labor.

This development came at the time when the Finnish-American socialist movement was at its most flourishing. According to Ilmonen the following statistics are applicable:

Year	Number of Chapters	Number of Members
1907	133	7,978
1908	150	3,960
1909	160	5,384
1910	173	7,767
1911	217	9,139
1912	248	11,535
1913	260	13,847

These figures include, of course, the entire United States. The central area, to which Minnesota belonged, had held its first

8. IWW. *Its First 50 Years*, p. 6. Also, Gambs, John S., *The Decline of the IWW*. New York, 1932.

regional meeting in Hancock in 1910. There an interim regional executive committee was named, with John Viita as secretary (to be succeeded by Toivo Virtanen) and with Duluth chosen as the site of the regional office. The minutes for 1914, for example, show that in that calendar year the region held 1,753 meetings and 1,854 program evenings. The various chapters had, besides entertainment committees in each, their 'agitation' committees in 16 chapters, literature dissemination committees in 26, women's committees in 2, dramatics groups in 24, sewing circles in 45, as well as 19 bands and choruses and 12 gymnastic teams. There were 30 lending libraries, with a combined total of 4,242 books, and 10 periodical circulating groups subscribing to 232 newspapers.

Minnesota alone reported on its activity in a meeting at Smithville in the summer 1912:

"At the end of 1911 there were 47 chapters with 546 women and 2,308 men members, a total of 2,884. There were 958 business meetings held, 451 program meetings and 755 socials. There are 17 agitation committees, 27 literature committees, 3 women's groups, 24 dramatics groups, 5 choruses, 4 brass bands, 17 sewing circles, 7 gymnastic groups. There have been 10 lecture series, attended by 765 persons, and 4 English-language courses, with 129 students, 2 Sunday Schools with 71 pupils. Literature sales amounted to \$4,151, while \$390 worth have been distributed gratis. There are 13 libraries, with a total of 2,598 volumes, and 6 reading rooms, subscribing to a total of 71 newspapers. Income for all groups in the state together have amounted to \$44,002, and expenses have been \$38,358. Owning their own halls are 20 chapters, and 3 others own building sites, and their total value is \$81,594. Shares have been purchased, for \$1,785 in the Työmies, \$350 in the Raivaaja, \$95 in the Toveri, \$120 in Työkansa, and \$1,227 in the Workers' Institute, while \$10,530 worth of shares in other undertakings are being held. The value of property other than real estate amounts to \$17,888. Total property values, \$107,994. Mortgages, \$15,827 and other debts \$2,191, making a total indebtedness of \$18,018, and leaving assets of \$96,749."

The same time, self-criticism indicated that general developments tended to follow one line of action: "first there was talk of how they would begin working in earnest once their hall was built — and then when the hall was ready, the one activity seriously taken up was, dancing."⁹ In the Hancock meeting the accusation had already been made that Finnish Socialism was "buried in art." The critics maintained that all the discussion groups, choral, music, dramatics, sewing, athletic and debating groups and organizations, auxiliaries though they were, in actuality tended to obscure the real purpose of the organization. And although the leaders conscientiously though not optimistically urged the chapters to direct their programs toward a more direct fulfillment of the party aims, there were still complaints in the subsequent regional meetings of delegates: "We have too much

9. *Amerikan Sanomat*, 6 September 1911

clubhouse socialism." John I. Kolehmainen, a responsible historian, has summed up effectively the workers' movement of that time: "In cultural and educational respects the Finnish organizations in question were significant factors. However, their political activity and their revolutionary significance seem to have been but weak and illusory, like a distant shadow hardly able to obscure the brightness of their everyday activities. The subsequent years have only tended to confirm this ironic truth that the so-called 'auxiliary' activities had historically a far greater significance than did the actual political activity."

The next convention was held in 1912 at the Workers' Institute, and with a full nine days of discussion it proved to be the wordiest convention held. Those who seemed to hold the floor were Leo Laukki, Aku Rissanen and Yrjö Sirola, all on the Institute faculty, who forcefully presented the new ideas fostered by the IWW. According to some delegates, developments seemed to be moving in the wrong direction, and since the party supported the Institute with thousands of dollars per year it ought to be able to expect that the Institute would also support the majority views. This did not seem to be the case, and one speaker mentioned his discussion with several students, who had claimed that "they ought to start teaching socialism," so one could ask what had been taught up to the present, especially since, according to those students, their present program should be thrown on the rubbish heap. In spite of the severe criticisms, however, the delegates voted to continue financial support of the Institute, "hoping that instruction in the future would be based on principles approved by the party."

At the same meeting the party newspapers also came in for criticism. In actual fact the *Työmies*, which on 1 January 1911 had a circulation of 12,632, and which became a daily that year, had written extensively of the new trend, and this had already led to protests that it was no longer a socialist newspaper. This criticism brought into the open did succeed in saving the paper from the IWW but led in turn to the establishment of a new newspaper in Duluth. The victory was not permanent, for a few years later another schism did wrest the *Työmies* from the socialists, as will be related later.

Those who had remained in the minority in the Duluth convention — the Institute faculty members and other radicals — began to be even more active after the convention. The battle was now joined in many local chapters, particularly in the central region, whose whole organization soon fell into the hands of the

IWW. In the east, on the other hand, the majority remained socialist, but when the central region met in Duluth in February 1914 the division was already a fact: almost all the Minnesota chapters had resigned from the federation. Some legal battles still followed to decide the ownership of halls and other property, but the outcome was clear: the IWW controlled Minnesota so completely that the socialists were unable to hold even conventions there any more. Indeed, the following convention, in November 1914, was held in Chicago, but socialism had already run its course by then and was soon to disappear completely. More than 3,000 members had resigned, the Workers' Institute had been lost, the power to negotiate and make concessions had been lost. In 1917, when the Finns still accounted for 13% of the membership in the American Socialist Party, the world was at war, and after the war international communism rose out of the ruins of the holocaust.

When the Third International came to the United States, it caused much confusion and controversy. The Socialist Party, which had 112,000 members in 1912, was left with 25,000 members in 1919. Among the Finns, the *Työmies* fell into communist hands, as did the *Toveri*, which had been founded on the west coast in 1907 as the workers' voice there, and in addition to them, in the East the *Eteenpäin* newspaper fell into their hands in 1921. (After World War II, the *Työmies-Eteenpäin* continued to appear as a consolidated communist newspaper.) Since the developments after this socialist-communist split have not been of any significance for the Minnesota Finnish workers' movement, let it be stated here that the Finnish Socialist Federation left the American Socialist Party definitively in 1936, and that in 1940 there was founded a "Finnish American Democratic League," whose main activity has been educational and cultural work to meet the demands of a working population. The center of this movement is in the East, and its organ is the *Raivaaja*, whose original motto, "a newspaper fostering socialist ideals" had been changed to "a newspaper fostering democratic socialist ideals," a motto which was discarded during World War II.

In communist circles there was strong agitation in the 1930s to lure workers to move to Russia, to the Carelian Soviet Republic, and actually there were thousands who were persuaded to sell all their possessions and who left, full of idealism, to this unknown destination. Among them were several hundred starting out from Minnesota. Of course, only a few were satisfied with what they found in Carelia, and a great number returned to the United States,

disillusioned but silent, reluctant to speak of their experiences, while a great many others remained there, left to a fate unknown. To all appearances the Communist Party lost support significantly among all Finnish-Americans as a result of this drive: many had played with communism as with a toy which had enlivened their dances and entertainments, had spoken out as if they were communists though their minds were socialist, had been unaware of communism's real character, its iron discipline and the demands it made on the individual.¹⁰

A New Newspaper: The Socialist: The leading members of the Finnish socialist movement, (with the exception of the majority of the faculty of the Workers' Institute,) and all the socialist newspapers set about to oppose the IWW, which they branded as a syndicalistic and anarchistic-syndicalist organization, but which nevertheless gained a foothold in the West, the mountain states and the Middle West, particularly among the Finnish socialists in Minnesota. These people demanded that the newspapers they supported and read should publicize the IWW and the industrial unionism it advocated, and this demand brought a conflict climaxed in a special annual meeting of the *Työmies* Publishing Company in Hancock in 1914. When it was revealed in the course of the meeting that \$20,000 worth of shares in the *Työmies* had been given, without payment, to the Raivaaja Publishing Company, the supporters of industrial unionism and the more radical socialists realized the impossibility of exerting any influence in the operations of the *Työmies*. They walked out of the meeting, determined to start their own newspaper, which soon materialized as the *Sosialisti*.

A. F. Heiskanen from Virginia, Väinö Wesman from Hibbing, Axel Öhrn from Angora, J. A. Viinikainen from Eveleth, Ivar Ruohomäki from Chisholm, and Martin Hendrickson and J. G. Helin from Duluth were the first board members of the Socialist Publishing Company, which also counted among its founders Leo Laukki and Otto Lahtinen. Axel Öhrn was elected editor-in-chief of the new paper, to be assisted by Matti Kangas, Leo Mattson and Edi Sulo (Elis Sulkanen) who had all resigned from the *Työmies*. One Frank Westerlund was also appointed to the staff, but when he became the paper's advertising director he was replaced on the editorial staff by William Risto who, however, had to resign and was replaced by Onni Saari. Business manager was Victor Watia.

10. Lehtipaja. *Työmiehen Neljännesvuosisata* Julkaisu. Superior, Wisconsin, 1928.

The first number of the *Sosialisti* appeared on 4 June 1914, and daily publication began a week later. The first issue had included a statement of aims and purposes, filling the entire first page, and prepared chiefly by Leo Laukki, proclaiming that the paper would be “under direct control of the masses” and would preserve absolute liberty of speech. The leading position of industrial workers was acknowledged as the keystone, support of industrial unionism was proclaimed, but at the same time “the inevitability of state control” was defended. “This newspaper,” it was stated, “is absolutely on the side of unqualified socialistic class struggle, demanding its approval by all to whom it lends support, because this newspaper considers that the struggle of the working class against capitalism is not only against the economy but the form of government also, and both simultaneously.” The new paper was acknowledged as an official organ by the IWW authorities, and the oratorical talents at its disposal were put into action to gain support for the paper. Of course the socialists proclaimed the paper to represent non-socialistic views and to be outside the pale, disruptive, a scab paper to be denied all support and to be forbidden in socialist circles, and demanded that future assessments and funds collected for the Workers’ Institute be withheld. This naturally led to a strong counter-attack by the *Sosialisti*.

The first annual meeting of the Socialist Publishing Company in Duluth elected a new board of directors: Antti Mönkkönen, Ivar Ruohomäki, Nestor Toivonen, A. Turunen, J. G. Helin, H. Hermanson, Victor Salo from Duluth and Victor E. Salo from Bessemer.

Teollisuustyöläinen (Industrial Worker) and *Industrialisti*: Due chiefly to the demands by the chapters in Butte and Duluth, the line was made considerably sharper in an extraordinary meeting called for October 1915, when the original staff of the *Sosialisti* was dismissed and Leo Laukki was appointed editor-in-chief, with Fred Jaakkola and Taavi Heino named his assistants. When the original proclamation of the IWW made in 1908 was proclaimed the credo of this newspaper in the spring of 1917, its name had already been changed to *Teollisuustyöläinen* (The Industrial Worker). When a case before the courts found this paper guilty of defamation of character in a suit brought by a Crosby strikebreaker, the newspaper either did not have the money to pay the fine levied against it or did not want to pay, so it

merely ceased publication and was replaced by a new paper, the *Industrialisti*, without any hiatus having occurred.

In addition to the names previously mentioned, the following have been members of the staff of the *Teollisuustyöläinen* and/or *Industrialisti*: Tobias Kohvakka, John Viita, Olga Laukki, Antti Vitikainen, Hellin Vitikainen, Topias Kekkonen, Paul Miller, August Wesley, Robert Gilbert, Gust Aakula, Henry Rahko, Manu Porre, William Kari, John Korpi, Jukka Toivari, Peter Merta, Konstant Kiikka, Väinö Wesman, George J. Humon, Ivar Vapaa, Väinö Peltö, William Rein, Jack Mäki, Ernest Sjöman, Ernest Petäjä, Walfrid Jokinen, Abe Wuori, Yrjö Koskinen, Kalle Laito, Charles Mackie, George Niemi, Tiitus Kataja, A. Warne, Väinö Aho, Jack Ujanen, Fanny Pesonen, Reynold Alava, with business managers including Jack Stark, E. Lehtinen, A. G. Helin, A. A. Toivonen, Frank Piltonen, Lauri Lemberg, Herbert Kuhnelius, Hjalmar Aho, Onni Laine, Gust Aakula, Constant Nyman, William Kari, Wesley Kniivilä and Reynold Alava.

It should be mentioned that when the *Sosialisti* was established at Duluth, the *Työmies* moved from Duluth to the sister city of Superior, across the river. Its number of subscribers had increased greatly in the years between 1910 and 1913, but the conflict which ensued and which resulted in the starting of the *Sosialisti* started its decline. Previous attempts had been made to raise the circulation to 15,000, and in 1913 a campaign had been started which resulted in the circulation rising from 10,000 to 13,000. The largest number of subscriptions had been raised in Duluth, where the *Työmies* maintained an office during 1912-14, headed by Otto Arlund and then by Henry Puranen, for accepting subscriptions, soliciting local advertising, selling travel tickets and books. After the founding of the *Sosialisti*, the office of the *Työmies* was moved to another address and headed by Kaarlo Lindevall. In 1917 it moved once more and its subsequent directors, until its closing in 1921, were Naimi Hautala, David Kiiskinen, Jennie Martin and Sofia Carlson.

The Rise and Fall of the IWW: In addition to the *Industrialisti* the IWW movement put out many lesser periodicals and occasional publications. Among them, it may be mentioned, there appeared the *Road to Freedom*, first published in 1919 and continuing into the 1930s, and in 1926 there was begun the *Industrialist Christmas*, to which was added in 1955 the *Workers' Pocket Calendar* which had begun publication in 1930. Unusual editorial procedures have been the rule in these publications.

In the first place, the rules of the Workers Socialist Publishing Company demanded that the editor-in-chief, as well as all other editors, be chosen at open meetings of stockholders, with approval of the annual meeting mandatory for these appointments. The first directors of this Workers Socialist Publishing Company, registered in 1917, (the name was changed in 1955 to the Workers Publishing Company), included Karl Sanden, president; Tobias Kohvakka, vice-president; Kalle Heino, secretary; Edward Mankki, assistant secretary; Jack Stark, treasurer; and Henry Jokinen and Matti W. Tuovinen, members. In 1919, it could be estimated that the circulation of the *Industrialisti* was about 10,000 copies. The board was closely associated in all matters concerning the paper's contents and in all individual articles published: what was published, what not, was decided by the board on the basis of reports submitted to it by the editor-in-chief.

On 27 May 1920 the Eveleth Judicial District Court found the Workers Socialist Publishing Company guilty of publishing material "disseminating syndicalism and its teachings." Even before that, on 26 March, the company and its editors had been condemned on the basis of laws prohibiting the publication of any matter advocating the achievement of political economic goals through revolutionary means. In fact, \$8,000 bail had been set for the editors, and this was taken from the paper's funds raised for just such a contingency, gathered from union branches, sponsors, workers' associations and friends. During the years which followed, the *Industrialisti* was subject to further court actions, and the company found it difficult to find new editors. Gust Aakula explained that, "since earlier regulations made it impossible for any editor to remain in office more than two years at a time, it soon became difficult to find editors at all, with the chief difficulty in later years being the low salaries that were offered . . . There were also strict rules regarding the kinds of advertising and the sorts of articles which could be published, but stockholders always had the privilege, before or during annual meetings, of making resolutions regarding all matters concerning the paper."

According to the *Duluth Sunday News-Tribune* of 21 November 1954, the IWW had more than 100,000 members at its period of greatest strength. Further, according to that article, a great number of them were employed in Minnesota mines, forest camps, or Great Lakes ports. In addition to those who were members, there were many others who were sympathetic with the movement. Vapaa, who had been on the board of directors of the

Industrialisti, estimated that the IWW had had as many as 1,000,000 members during the period of its existence. Of the big names in the organization, William (Big Bill) D. Haywood went to Russia, where he died, and Eugene B. Debs was U. S. presidential candidate on the Socialist Party ticket in 1908, 1912 and 1920, while Daniel DeLeon, who had never approved that the constitution of the organization abolished all political activity, formed his own organization in the East, with the aid of some of the chapters active there, known from 1915 to its end in 1925 as the Workers International Industrial Union.

Of the publications issued in English by the IWW, it may be mentioned that the first, the *Industrialist Union Bulletin*, was published up to 1909, when it was succeeded by a weekly publication, *The Industrial Worker*, a 4-page paper, put out first in Seattle and then in Spokane. In 1909, there also began to appear another weekly, *Solidarity*, published originally in Newcastle, Pennsylvania, then in Cleveland and finally in 1916 in Chicago, where it was merged in 1931 with the Spokane *Industrial Worker*. With the exception of one paper published in Hungarian, the Finnish-language *Industrialisti* was the only foreign-language paper left in 1955. While *Solidarity* had never had paid advertising, the *Industrialisti* had accepted such, and for Christmas and May Day had even put out special editions to accomodate it, and had even accepted political advertisements from 1938 on, while advertisements for alcoholic beverages had never been accepted. Without these advertisements and without the sponsors who contributed funds, even the *Industrialisti* would have been faced with insurmountable problems. As it was, after World War II, Finnish IWW activity was limited almost exclusively to the maintenance of the economic security of its supporters.

The Role of Publishing: In addition to the innumerable Finnish-language newspapers, some of which have been mentioned in these pages, there has also been a vast literature about the workers' movement. Elis Sulkanen has made the following statement in regard to this activity: "One of the finest features of the Finnish-American labor movement has been the enthusiasm which has been devoted over the decades to newspapers and the dissemination of literature. From the very beginning, every workers' and socialist organization acknowledged this as one of its most important functions, and so every local organization had its special committee responsible for this particular work and responsible to the local group for carrying it out. In the earlier years, when enthusiasm for a faith and a desire for self-education

were high, literature about general social problems had a wide circulation. Such writings were bought, and they were read. They were also purchased for the lending libraries set up by the local organizations in almost every instance. An even greater circulation was given to literature as such, for which the demand was insatiable. In addition to their own publications, the workers' newspaper offices procured large quantities of books from Finland, with orders amounting to tens of thousands of dollars in the most flourishing years. A conservative estimate would put the sales of books produced by the three dailies, the *Raivaaja*, the *Toveri* and the *Työmies*, plus their imports from Finland, at about \$70,000 per year during their most active years. Even party line changes did not end this liberal and profitable stream but merely changed the character of the literature sold."

Even before the party newspapers entered this field, individuals had built up profitable bookselling enterprises. Among the first to sell in the social studies, and particularly socialist, field was Vilho Leikas, who had set up a small business in Laurium, Michigan, near Calumet. Leikas used to travel throughout the country, giving speeches about socialism and selling books about it. He was also engaged in publishing, and among his outstanding books were Finnish translations of Walter T. Mills' "Social Economy" and Clarence Darrow's "Innocent." Characteristic of the period is that in 1900 the *Amerikan Työmies* advertised two books in particular: Englishman F. W. Farrar's "Biblia Its Worth and Credibility" and Frenchman Camille Flammarion's "Urania," both of which were anti-religious. After that came the publication of Robert Ingersoll's essays and pamphlets. Ingersoll enjoyed a more than average success — and in one single day in New York, F. Broman sold 140 copies of Ingersoll's "The Devil."

In 1905, Taavi Tainio had begun publication in Finnish of socialist literature, and even the various newspapers urged their subscription salesmen to sell these titles, such as Karl Kautzky's "The Erfurt Program" and his "History of Socialism," Werner Sombart's "Socialism and the Socialist Movement in the 19th Century," Robert Blatchford's "Merry England," two volumes of essays edited by N. R. af Ursin, "Toward the Future" and "Labor Questions," Wilhelm Liebknecht's "Attack and Defense" and A. W. Ricker's "The Economic Policies of Jesus." In 1907 further titles became available, including works both written and published in the United States, like Moses Hahl's "Modern Economy" and Alex Halonen's "Fundamentals of Socialism" and his "Materialistic

Concepts of History and the Development of Property,” Aku Päiviö’s collection of poetry, “At the Threshold,” and other books like Maxim Gorki’s “Mother.” And two years later still, “The Communist Manifesto” of Marx and Engels was available, together with A. A. Simons’ “The Class Struggle in America,” Peter Krapotkin’s “The Battle for Bread,” Edwin Bellamy’s “Equality,” Hilda Pärssinen’s “Issues of Social Democracy,” many more of Clarence Darrow’s books, and a “Workers’ Songbook.” In addition to these, there were scores of inexpensive, 10 and 25c books, treating in briefer form various issues, and an even greater number of pamphlets, which the local chapters bought to distribute among Finns in their particular communities.

The *Työmies* was responsible for many books, among its earliest publications being V. S. Alanne’s Finnish-English dictionary, its most ambitious project, and A. Bogdanoff’s “Short Treatise on Economy,” Kautzky’s “Beginnings of Christianity,” N. R. af Ursin’s “Toward the Future,” B. White’s “The Carpenter of Nazareth,” Arthur M. Lewis’ “Ten Blind Leaders,” A. M. Simons’ “Class Struggle in America” and “The American Farmers,” a book based on a debate between Karl Kautzky and Anton Pannekoek entitled “Mass Movement and Revolution,” Allan E. Benson’s “What Socialism Really Is” and Georg Brandes’ “The Jesus Myth.” The *Työmies* also published many works on the history of the party it represented.

The publications of the *Industrialisti* were not so numerous, but among its more important books were Leo Laukki’s “Toward an Industrial Society” and “The Russian Revolution, Bolshevism and the Soviet Union,” George Humon’s “The New Society and Its Builders” and Upton Sinclair’s “The One-Hundred Percent Patriot.” There were, of course, many smaller works, particularly material on the IWW.

The communists naturally published chiefly the works of Finnish and Russian communist leaders, like Kuusinen, Sirola, Lenin, Stalin, Bucharin, Sinovjev and Losowsky. Many of these books were printed in the Soviet Union, but among books actually produced in America were, among others, a book by William Z. Foster on communist labor policies, several works of fiction with a Finnish civil war background, with Lauri Luoti’s “Heroes on the Surface” and “The Eternal Sacrificial Flame” falling into this category.

To conclude, in his history of the Finnish-American labor movement, (*Amerikan Suomalaisen Työväenliikkeen Historia*, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, 1951), Elis Sulkanen has stated that the

men and women who took part in it were inspired by their ideal and convinced of the righteousness of their faith. They were, in addition, human beings, not angels, who learned from their mistakes. The movements they created gave the Finnish workers a possibility to learn the English language, to become acquainted with American history, and to draw their own conclusions about its economic and social developments. If their conclusions were such that they were drawn into a battle for better conditions, their many labor strikes and on the job conflicts nevertheless also gave something to the United States: a demonstration of their desire for a better society. They were also among those whose example created that mass strength and organized activity which American society later accepted as a natural factor in labor



Duluth S. S. O. band in 1913. Names of the first two men are not remembered. Others are: Toivo Sihvola, Yrjö Yrjölä, Richard Seppälä, Matti Wahlberg, Armas Vanhala and John Mäki.

relations. Their misfortune lay in the fact that they were pioneers; their greatness, in that they never compromised in their demands.

The Cultural Activities of the Finnish Workers in Duluth: Returning from the glimpse at the labor movement to Duluth's St. Croix Avenue, it is easier to understand the feverish activity that prevailed there.

The Socialist Party chapter first held its meetings in a big loft over a grocery store, but for big program evenings the Kalamazoo or Flaaten Hall was rented. In 1913, the organization

moved into quarters on Superior Avenue, into a room so long and narrow it was nicknamed 'the cannon.' The following year, however, there was another move, to the Odd Fellows Hall on Lake Avenue, and in 1915, when the organization name was changed to Finnish Workers Association, the move was to the German Turner Hall. It was called the Workers' Opera, and it remained the scene of the organization's activities for many years.

There was no fixed dramatics group within this organization, but when a play was needed for a projected occasion, a committee



Duluth S. S. O. drama group which presented "Tukkijoella" in 1908. In front are: Vilho Westerlund, Emmi Jauhikainen, Mr. Merisaari, Mrs. Ronbeck, Fiina Erickson, Axel Ronbeck, Mrs. Merisaari. Center: Sofia Hautala, John Mononen, David Anderson, Fannie Saari. Back: Ella Hilden, Mr. Airaksinen, Tyyne Viita, John Mäki, Ilmari Nappa, Otto Hagman, Mr. Hietala, John Louhi, John Korpi, Ben Mäki.

was chosen, and it picked out the play and selected the actors. Rehearsals were frequently held in the church hall, which had a platform at one end, and sometimes some simpler plays were put on there. The earlier programs were mostly Finnish plays (like Alexis Kivi's *Lea* in 1905, with Anna Johanna Eskelin playing the title role), gradually began to include plays demanding

more in the way of costumes and scenery, (including Kivi's *Refugees* in 1914, then a version of *Carmen* in 1915, both directed by Lauri Lemberg, and starring Helmi Mäkelä and Viena Pasanen respectively) performed at Duluth's Orpheum Theater.

A permanent dramatics group was set up in 1916, and full-evening plays were acted twice a month, and one-act plays were included in the frequent program evenings and socials. Following Väinö Pernu, there was even a paid director, Kaarlo Liljeqvist from New York, who remained only for one season. Lauri Lemberg returned to the post in 1917 and remained active through 1926, when the Workers' Opera fell under communist control, and when a new series of directors came and went: Kalle Asiala, Lauri Lappi and Felix Hyske.

At this point several members of what had been the Finnish Workers Association started a new organization, called the Finnish American Athletic Club. At first it met in the Glencoe Hall, which it rented, and then built its own quarters, the FAAC Hall, where plays were once more put on under Lauri Lemberg's direction until 1934. After that time the society had no permanent director, but members used to choose one of their group to be responsible for individual productions; among the directors of this sort were Jennie Mattson, Maj-Lis Keskelä, Ester Kyrömäki, Helmi Polk, Saima Mäki, Fanny Pesonen, C. K. Hartman, Antti and Hellin Vitikainen and Robert Anderson.

During the years 1922-25 there had also been a Youth League under the auspices of the Workers Opera, with Sigrid Lemberg as its director and sponsor. Young people from the ages of 10 to 21 were eligible for membership. These young people also used to put on plays, in both Finnish and English, up to 1934 when the League was terminated. However, there was an attempt to continue the dramatics phase, with Finnish-speaking youth starting a drama group in 1935, but putting on their plays in English. Several plays were produced, under the direction of a paid director, but lack of popular support caused the end to come rapidly.

One last but short-lived attempt seems to have been the dramatics group under the League for Democracy, started in 1940, with Hilma Sulkanen directing two plays for it.

Musical Activities: The first Finnish concert band had been started in the days of the Nuija Youth Society, and when the Nuija came to an end and the Friends Youth Society came into being, it inherited the previous society's assets, including its band instruments. Since this new society had more liberal rules than either its predecessor or the temperance society, its membership

was perhaps for that reason larger and more active. Among them were members who were interested in music, and when Kalle Holopainen, who had played the baritone horn in the Viipuri Battalion Band in Finland, moved to Duluth in 1905, they found in him a competent director. There were about 20 men in the band, but the only names that have survived are those of Matti Hauru, another veteran of the Viipuri Battalion Band, and Albert Hendrickson, Matti Johnson, Matti Wahlberg, a man named Kauppi, and Gust Vehviläinen. When Holopainen left Duluth in 1908, he was succeeded by a man named Louhi, a former member of the Lappeenranta Dragoon Regiment Band, who also directed



Duluth S. S. O. mixed chorus in 1916. Seated: Frans Lindroos, director. Front row: Sandra Korpela, Hilja Virtanen, Hilda Suksi, Aino Helin, Fannie Niemi (Pesonen), Ida Harju, Mandi Ylönen. Back row: Adolph Hovi, Paul West, unknown, Mike Mononen, John Aalto, Andrew Keinanen, Lauri Lemberg.

a mixed chorus and a men's chorus, among whose members were John Aalto, Charles Carlson, Aino Selin, Emil Männistö, Alma Paarijoki, Fanny Saari, Ernest Sairanen, Hilda Suksi and Hilja Wirtanen. Louhi served about one year, to be succeeded by Kellosalmi, also a Lappeenranta veteran, who was followed by Beckman, then in 1913 by Yrjö Yrjölä.

Meanwhile, the band instruments had changed ownership once more, since the Friends Society assets had come to the socialists' Duluth local in 1911, and in the autumn of 1913 this re-organized



F.A.A.C. DUL + W.E.H. Soc. Sub. Yhdystyneet Vuorok. 1932

Duluth and Superior workers' combined chorus in 1932. Front row: Dora Kuuri (Johnson), Hilda Hill, Martha Jurvelin, Hilda Suksi, Helen Saarinen (Hepokoski), Helmi Ekroos (Ridell), Lauri Lemberg, Director, Nelma Anderson, Aino Kataja, Hanna David-son, Hanna Levänpää, Jennie Cooke, Ida Heikkinen. Second row: Helen Wasstrom (Esse), Toini Hanka (Rajala), Edith Ramstedt (Bolman), Mary Kolehmainen, Aili Hill, Irene Nelson, Tyne Kauppinen, Tyne Konga, Jennie Säski, Lydia Sievi, Esther Hintikka (Rantala), Hilma Koski, Esther Sola (Backman), Anna Pernu (Alardt), Vieno Turunen (Dudy), Helen Kane, Hilda Ros-lund, Urho Suksi. Third row: Tyne Joki, Elma Elo (DeMiere), Martha Hayes, Eleanor Savola, Ida Lauri, Martha Johnson, Impi Salo, Sigrid Lemberg, Pearl Vanhala (Keinonen), Hulda Lyly (Hepokoski), Tyne Aakula, Minnie Seppälä, Tilda Aho, Eero Humppi, Charles Mäki. Fourth row: Alma Wasstrom, Matti Tuomi, Toivo Sahlman, Otto Heikkinen, Otto Johnson, George Jur-velin, Jalmar Nukala, John Johnson, Armas Vanhala, David Kuuri, Arthur Mackey, Frank Merisuo, John Kolehmainen, Victor Sola, George Lee. Back row: Jalmar Davidson, Walfred Lynn, Frank Levänpää, William Reini, Charles Carlson, Karl Purhonen, Emil Aho, Edwin Wick, David Heikkilä, Harvey Sanders, Bill Hill, Sam Sahlman, Ilmar Kauppinen, Emil Korpi, Reino Heikkinen, unknown.

band succeeded in getting as its director Frans Lindroos, another musician from Viipuri, who had received his musical training in the Imperial Band School in St. Petersburg. For three years Lindroos directed the socialist sponsored band, a dance band, and a mixed chorus, and although he gave up the chorus three years later he remained with the band until 1918. The chorus, meanwhile, was taken over by Lauri Lemberg, but since the choristers were frequently also members of the dramatics group, stopped singing in 1917. In 1921, however, after a male chorus had been started but given up again, there was born an informal 'septet,' made up of Lauri Lemberg, Alfred Holm, Clifford Kolu, Kalle Lampi, Antti Lemberg, Kalle Mäki and Sam Sahlman. This group remained together for years under Lauri Lemberg's direction and frequently performed at various program evenings, in Duluth and elsewhere. In 1928 there was also founded the FAAC mixed chorus, which had at times a considerable membership. In 1933-34 this chorus collaborated with the Superior workers' chorus, with both choral groups rehearsing the same numbers and performing together as a group of 160 voices, under the direction of Lemberg, whose subsequent ill health terminated this activity.

Sports Activities: The Star of Hope Temperance Society had contained an athletic club within its fold, but its activity had been sporadic, and casual, and with limited participation. Then there began to arrive from Finland men who were gymnasts, athletes, wrestlers, and even acrobats: the Sunell brothers, Karl Lehto, Karl Wirtanen, Pilakoff, and many others. They all found their way to the temperance society, and exhibitions and matches were put on. Wrestling, in particular, soon became the popular sport among the young men, and not only in Minnesota but everywhere in centers of Finnish settlement.

Kalle Lehto (Lehto-Kassu) and Karl Wirtanen became professional wrestlers, and they, like Pilakoff, toured widely in the United States, taking part in wrestling matches. Lehto, in particular, gained fame, wrestling with such masters as Zbyszko and Frank Gotch. The latter, for example, accepted Lehto's challenge, and before an audience of 2,000 in the Lyceum Theater in Duluth pinned down Lehto in a scant twenty minutes. After this blow to Finnish wrestling enthusiasts, and to Lehto himself, the latter moved to Canada, and soon after that Wirtanen and Pilakoff also quit Duluth. But new men continued to arrive from Finland, such as Tuominen, Leppänen, Järvinen, Hevonpää, Karhunsaaari, Kallio, Ketonen, Sampson and many others. The enthusiasm for

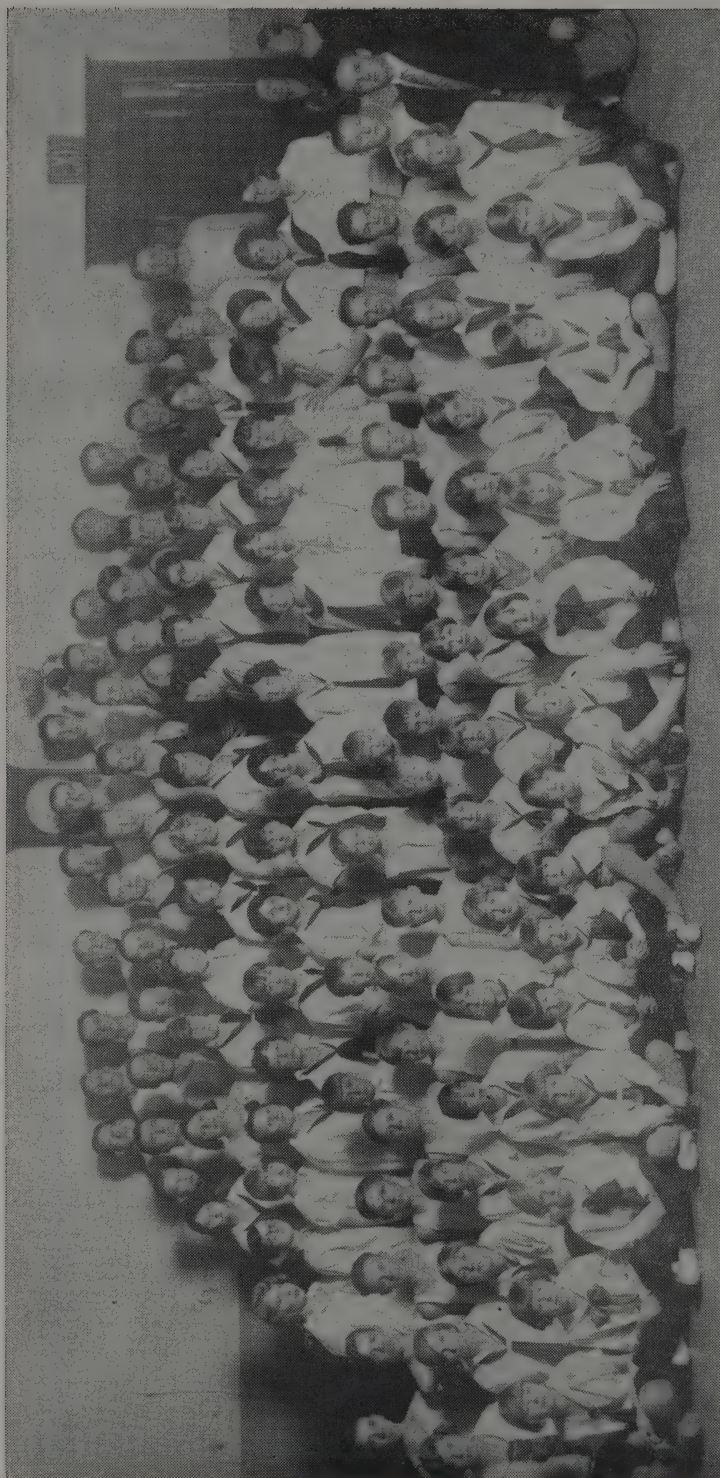
wrestling continued to remain high for years to come among the Finns of Duluth.

In the spring of 1910 there arrived in Duluth one Emil Haikola, and in him the Finns found a long-sought director for their gymnastics and track teams: a formal organization, the



Duluth's Finnish American Athletic Club basketball team. Seated: Rynne Mäki, Toivo Erickson, captain, Tad MacDonald. Standing: Jack Longsio, Arvo Hakala, Jack D. Salo, coach, Victor Leino, John Nordberg.

Könttyrä, was promptly born, and many fine young men joined up to spend their free time in this healthy and profitable way. Their first performances for the public were held in the church hall, where they also practised, and since the ceiling was a low one, the pyramids they were able to show in their program evenings in the same place were but low ones. When it became known that the socialists had rented for themselves a big hall on Lake Avenue, which would permit large-scale shows and really fine pyramid displays, the gymnasts did not hesitate long: many of the club's members had already become sympathetic with socialism in Finland, so it was not difficult now for the Könttyrä to join the Duluth socialists as an auxiliary group, under a new



Duluth's FAAC gymnastic group in 1928. Oscar Sundell, director, at right.

name, the Visa. The number of members grew; activity increased, and even the women joined in with a group of their own.

For a short time the director of Visa's program was O. Mäki, but in 1912 Halkola was still leading the men's group and Oscar Sundell was also engaged to direct both men's and women's groups, and he remained with them until 1927. Work-outs were held regularly, and program presentations became more frequent, and as the organization's fame grew, membership mounted. During the winters activity tended to be less, because many of the men were out of town on winter jobs, but in the summers there was always a heightened tempo, especially after the move to the Workers' Opera in 1916, at which time many younger, American-born Finns began to join the organization. With athletic activities growing in importance in other communities as well, it became possible to arrange a competitive sports program, and out of this grew an organization sponsored by the Visa, the Mid-western Workers' Gymnastic and Athletic League. The league sponsored several large festivals and meets and arranged training programs, with the first session for coaches held in 1925. For years, however, Visa continued to hold its pre-eminent position, and its membership continued to grow further. Soon a special section for children was started, with Hilja Sundell serving successfully as its director.

In its most flourishing period the League counted over a thousand members, and whenever they all marched briskly down a city street in their white uniforms, to the music of bands, and with the Stars and Stripes and the flag of the socialists carried before them, they were an inspiring sight. But in spite of all this success, dissension appeared within the Visa, too. In 1927, political differences made all the members resign and join the newly founded Finnish American Athletic Club.

The FAAC had been founded that same year, 1927, and began its activities with a flourish. It had no shortage of leaders, with Oscar Sundell in charge of physical fitness programs and women's and boys' activities, Kust Joki leading the men, and Hilja Sundell in charge of the girls' activities. Classes were held Tuesday and Friday evenings and Sunday mornings, and as the biggest club in the region, an average of 200 active members attended the various practise sessions.

In addition, the FAAC also had its own basketball team, also started in 1927, with Jack D. Salo as its coach. In its first year of competition, the team won 17 out of 22 games, and the team's success continued to grow: in 1929 it won the New Year's

Day tournament of the Duluth YMCA, in 1931 it won the Duluth and Midwestern Finnish League championship, and in 1934 it won the Duluth championship once more. This victorious progress came to an end in 1936, when the team was disbanded with Salo's inability to continue as its coach.

Strikes in Duluth and in Northern Minnesota: The study prepared by Arne Halonen¹¹ shows that it was natural for the Finns — who, unable to speak any but their own language were unable to get any but the worst of jobs in mines, forests and factories — to be forced into many labor disputes and strikes. In Minnesota, as well as elsewhere, these occurred with such frequency that they affected the daily lives of the Finns and their world orientation.

The rise of labor unions has already been discussed. In the 1880s, after their founding, several local strikes took place, giving further impetus to the growth of labor unions, even if the strikes generally did end in defeat for labor. By 1900, the AFL had begun a major effort to force through the 8-hour day, and it had brought partial results, but the coal miners' strikes in Pennsylvania began a reverse once more and a long series of defeats. The most serious strike directly affecting the Finns in Minnesota was the strike in Duluth in 1889, which began in the building trades with a demand for a 25c per day pay raise. Begun with no leadership, the Knights of Labor were soon at the helm, and more and more of Duluth's laborers began to remain away from work to protest their low wages — usually \$1.50 the day — which even the *Duluth Daily Tribune* in an editorial on 3 July 1889 admitted was barely enough for subsistence for a single man and offered little to a family man, with local expenses being high, more than elsewhere in the state.

The strike became a particularly bitter one when all contact between workers and employers was cut completely. The employers were supported by the mayor of Duluth and the municipal authorities, and police and military were used to aid strikebreakers. Bloody incidents ensued in the city streets, and gatherings and meetings of workers were forbidden and were broken up by armed authority. In the street battles of July 7th, several workers were wounded and three lost their lives. Finns were not involved in the leadership in this strike, but they were given good lessons in how one had to fight for one's rights in America: two of the

11. Halonen, Arne. *Minnesota's Help to Finland*. Minneapolis, Minn., 1940

men who lost their lives were Finns: "Striking workers and police were involved in a battle on Michigan Street, between Garfield Avenue and 12th Street, and 18-year old Tom Fitzsimmons and Matt Mack and Ed Johnson, the two latter being Finns, were killed, thus becoming the first martyrs among the workers in Duluth."¹²

The Miners' Strike of 1907: The next big strike in which Finns participated in Minnesota was a battle for more pay and shorter hours. This strike began in June 1907 at the Johnson Wentworth Company, in Cloquet, with sawmill workers demanding a 20% increase in wages. Skirmishes developed, and three Finns, William K. Mäki, S. Kainu and K. Sääntti, were among those seriously hurt on the workers' side. As a result of the force used against the workers, the strike spread rapidly and soon embraced the employees in Duluth of the Duluth Mesabi and Northern Railway, and then spread to the harbor facilities, with the stevedores of Two Harbors, Allouez (Wisconsin) and West Duluth soon included, according to the *Työmies*, which reported that the strike now involved 15,000 men, a majority of them Finns. The strike continued to spread to facilities where ore was loaded on ships, and by 20 July the Western Federation of Miners' official bulletin stated that all loadings of ore on Lake Superior had been halted.

The strike, now directed chiefly against the mines, was caused above all else by miserable working conditions. The mines were extremely hazardous places, and the use of dangerous explosives brought frequent disaster: on 14 June 1900, in an accident at the Hale mine in Biwabik, five men had been killed, among them one Finn, Werner Heti. Four days later, ten men died in an accident at the Clark mine in Hibbing, and three of the dead and two of the wounded were Finns. In addition to such large-scale disasters, there were numerous everyday incidents which cost lives. Such conditions caused bitterness among the workers and constant fear and anxiety among their families. Above all else, however, wages were very low: in 1896 they ranged from \$1.60 to \$1.75 per day, in 1900 from \$2.10 to \$2.40, with the discrepancy between wages received and the cost of living continuing to grow during the decade which followed. Also, living quarters were miserable, and the rents for them were exorbitant.

When the Western Federation of Miners was organized in 1893, it gave the workers new hope. Its twenty-year history is

12. WPA Archives, St. Paul, Minnesota

comparable to that of any other contemporary organization, being involved in almost constant battle if not in one, then in another, mining area. Its first big struggle came in 1894 at the Cripple Creek gold mines in Colorado, to be followed by even larger strikes in Leadville, Colorado in 1896-97, then at Couer d'Alene in Idaho in 1899, and in 1901 at Rossland and Fernie in British Columbia, as well as in the San Juan region in California. However, it was the tactics learned in the strikes in Colorado City in 1903 that were applied to strikes that ensued in Minnesota, following the example set by Teofilio Petriella, the kind of rallying cry which Finnish workers understood just as well as their Italian counterparts. The best picture of their hopes and expectations is given in the appeal made before Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota in Duluth, on 24 July 1907, by a 24-year-old Finn, John Välimäki, who was delegated to explain the workers' point of view to him. According to the Duluth *Labor World*, Välimäki stood before the governor and said: "I am 24 years old. I came to this country from Finland with my father in 1901, and I have been a citizen just three days, and I learned to read and write at home. In this state there are 8,000,000 (sic) workers waiting for a chance to work and advance themselves. I am a socialist, and I believe these mines should belong to the workers and not to mining companies. In short, I believe in work for the general good. We carry the red banner, which symbolizes our blood. We are not anarchists. There are three kinds of anarchists in existence: unorganized anarchists, organized anarchists, and anarchists by conviction. None of them are to be found in the mines. The socialists are a political party. As workers we belong to the Western Federation of Miners. All the socialists in the mines belong to it, but not all who belong to it are socialists. There are 2,000 socialists in the Federation, which has 10,000 members. We are striking for wages, but principally for an 8-hour day. When a man goes to the mine at 6 in the morning and returns at 8 in the evening, what chance does he have to improve himself? Is he even a man? It seems to us that 8 hours is enough. We oppose the piece-work system. As socialists we obey the laws. We try to change the laws, but as long as they are in effect, we obey them. We do not believe in illegal activities against strikebreakers. If someone quits our cause, we try to open his eyes so that he will see things as we see them. If we lose this strike, Minnesota will no longer be a place where it will be possible for Finns to live."

In an article almost a year later, *The Outlook* commented about that occasion and pointed out that the speech of the young Finn had revealed to what abuses the wage system could lead in practice, when a portion of a man's wages was withheld only to guarantee that he would remain on the job until the end of the year. In addition, the young Finn had complained that the workers suffered further loss in that they had to buy their own dynamite and detonating caps in the mines and had to pay a high price for them.

Among the men who belonged to the Federation, optimism prevailed during the early days of that strike. Once they had brought all work in their mines to a standstill they began to arrange parades and protest marches, far and wide, and one of the strikers, Konsta Marttila, of Virginia, described their activity: "We started out at 4 in the morning to go to Eveleth, some five miles way, and the Socialist Party band spearheaded the march. We marched silently out of the city, in order not to wake up any of our friends, but once we were in the open country the band began to play workers' marches in brisk tempo. We reached the Eveleth mine just as the workers were due to start their day, but when we explained what was up they joined us, carrying their lunch boxes with them. From Eveleth we marched on to Sparta, and there the results were the same, and so marched on to Elba and then McKinley, with the enthusiasm of the marchers increasing the more the ranks were swelled. Once we reached the Norman Pit we stopped for a rest, while our leader, Alex Öhrn, went on to the Hibbing mine to tell them that a strike had begun. The bosses there did not believe the story at first, but when we were given the signal to march to the mine the bosses saw us, an army of 800 men, walking around the entrance to their mine and their administration building. We proved our case, and after that their men were told that a strike had begun, and once more our ranks were swelled."

As soon as word had been spread to all the mines that the strike had started, the pickets became active, having already received their order the previous day. With so many involved whose English was weak or even non-existent, they had been instructed to learn three words: "No work — strike." There were workers of many nationalities involved in the strike, of course, but the biggest and most solid group was that of the Finns. Since they also took part enthusiastically in picket duty and in demonstrations, they also had to face the more serious countermeasures of the employers. As soon as the strike began, the workers were

forbidden to come near the mines, and trespassers were arrested in droves, although the union's lawyers managed to get arrested pickets set free rather fast.

Meanwhile, as soon as the strike had started, the employers began to use workers brought in from the outside, most of them from outside the mining area. According to Sulkanen, "All the way from cities in the East they brought in Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians and Montenegrins, who were astonished that the Finns were quibbling when they were receiving almost \$2.00 a day in the mines, and were given more bread and meat than they had even been able to dream of in the mountains of Montenegro."¹³ One Finn who had arrived at Eveleth in 1902 and had moved to Sparta in 1904 has stated in a WPA interview that during the few weeks of the strike as many Montenegrins came to the mines as had come previously in as many years. To guarantee these new laborers the right to work, the mines recruited hundreds of temporary guards. At Bovey alone there were said to be 500 of them, and in the area as a whole the regular police were augmented by more than 3,000 guards. Since they were armed, their presence led to several serious incidents. The strike, meanwhile, continued its course, and the workers out on strike spent their time in frequent, long drawn-out meetings, where the proceedings were translated into four or five different languages — or they played horseshoes.

When work stopped, so did the workers' wages. Since most laborers had found it almost impossible to build any reserve of savings, the threat of hunger soon faced many families. It was impossible to find any other jobs, because their possibilities as immigrants who knew no English excluded them, and also because for the most part these Finns were living in communities where the mines offered the only employment. The relief funds of the union were also limited, for much of the money that was available to the union was being kept in reserve for a court trial in Idaho, where three officials of the union were being tried for the murder of the governor of that state; in addition to that, the strike had started prematurely, and finally, the number requiring aid was very great. Attempts were made, however, to use the limited funds as effectively as possible, and so Petriella, for example, who was directing the strike activities in Hibbing from an office on Pine Avenue, arrived one day early in August to Mt. Iron, where, it had been announced, relief money was to be

13. Sulkanen, *op. cit.*

distributed at the Finnish Socialist Hall. Hundreds of men had shown up, and not all of them could even get into the hall. And of those who did manage, only those who were able to get near enough to Petriella, who was wearing a red silk scarf around his neck, and who was sitting at a table in the middle of the hall, were able to get any money, for as soon as what little money Petriella had was handed out he walked away, and that was that. Events such as this, which were rare, were also unimportant, compared to the almost daily distribution of food which took place.

Needless to say, the atmosphere which had been optimistic in the beginning began to change when day followed day with nothing altered in the situation. The only obvious result of the strike seemed to be the resumption of work at many mines with the help of strikebreakers. The first break in the united front of the strikers themselves came on 31 July, when the stevedores came to terms and returned to their jobs, but since the nearest ports, Two Harbors and Duluth, were relatively far from the mining area itself, this actually did not have too great an effect on the morale of the miners. Then came the news that the Independent Mining Company had accepted the union demands, so that work in its mines at Mt. Iron was resumed immediately, and although this even should have lifted the strikers' morale, such was not the case: nothing was as demoralizing to men on strike as to see men of their own union going gaily to work in neighboring mines. In fact, some gave up and went back to work, but no Finns and not many Italians were among them, but the dauntless spirit of these alone was not enough to prevent others from giving in. Gradually management even succeeded in getting ore trains into movement again, and the scales began to show clearly that the strikers were losing their battle. All sorts of expedients were brought up and discussed at their meetings, which were held amid deepening gloom, and one decision reached was to send union members to seek work at the open pit mines and then, once on the job, to wage propaganda among the strikebreakers: "It was done, but there were no results."

The end appeared near. The ranks of the strikers grew thinner, and autumn was at hand, and the bleakness of the season also had its effect. Although the Työmies still urged, as late as 2 November, "Don't go to the mines, the strike is not over and won't be over until the steel trust yields," the hopeless struggle was over before the first snow fell over the area, which was no longer a place where Finns could work.

The 'black lists' kept by the employers, listing those workers who had struck, were now used against them: a Finn whose name was found on any such list could not possibly get work anywhere in the area where he lived, or any other area where there were mines. Those lists were sent as far afield as Montana in the West and Pennsylvania and West Virginia in the East. A few managed to be employed in other places by changing their names, but for the majority it meant giving up work in the mines and moving away from Hibbing and the iron mining area altogether.

The number of Finns in mining communities dropped dramatically after the 1907 strike, but it did not take long for the flow of new immigrants to fill the gaps and then to make the percentage of Finns in those communities greater than ever before. The mines once more gave a livelihood to thousands of families, and the brisk pace of work was reflected in their private lives and their community endeavors. Further, lumbering activities around some mining areas went into high gear, and there, too, many Finns were employed. The miners and lumberjacks together were once more to be involved in a major battle for their futures.

While local administrations seemed to have ample funds available from increased taxes in the first and second decades of the century to build handsome public buildings to beautify their towns and cities, nothing was done to assure the well-being of the workers. Seasonal employment in the mines and low wages in the forests meant that for the immigrant portion of the population the crucial question was that of subsistence. The one common topic of conversation for all was the high cost of living, and it was a real issue. In the first place, rents were very high, particularly in Hibbing and Virginia, where a good 6-room flat in a good location cost \$40-50 per month, while similar quarters cost \$25-30 elsewhere, and even in the Twin Cities no more than \$35-40. A room in what would be the equivalent of a slum area in a metropolitan center cost \$8-15 in the mining area.

The mining companies did build housing on their own properties, for which employees had to pay but \$8 the month, but there was never enough available for even half the employees. In another instance, one large sawmill had a housing development of row houses, but built in the poorest section of town, of cheap materials, so that they were not much more than 6-room hovels for which \$14 per month rent was collected.

Most foodstuffs were expensive, and modern production procedures in this field were only beginning. The brief growing season locally (100 days, compared to 132, which was the state's

average) did not improve the situation, and since most of the land was reclaimed from pine forest, covered with stumps, swampy, overspread with underbrush, it was even difficult to clear this land properly for cultivation. As a result, little was produced locally, and most supplies came from the wholesalers in Duluth or the Twin Cities and made the price twice that paid, for example, in the southern part of the state.

An investigation in the various municipalities of the state in 1915 revealed, for example, that flour in the mining area cost 2-4c more per pound than in southern Minnesota, fresh eggs 7-8c more per dozen, potatoes considerably more, apples twice as much, as was the case with other fruits also. Other factors in the local cost of living were the 2-4 weeks of deep sub-zero weather, requiring more outlay for heating and for heavier clothing.

It is estimated that to support a family of five a man needed a minimum of \$800 per year for life to even vaguely approach the average American standard of living. Figures reveal, however, that in 1900 the average of all Minnesota wage earners was \$450, or \$8.50 per week, and in 1910, only \$560 per year, less than \$11 per week, even though this represented an increase of 24%.

However, during the same period, the price of butter had increased by 47%, flour by 57%, grain by 53% and the price of farmland by 73%. As far as miners' wages were concerned, they were somewhat above the general average, with the daily wage in 1910 being an average of \$2.10, and in the course of the next five years rising to almost \$3, but these higher than average sums were earned by only a few, with the army of simple diggers continuing to earn \$2.25. In addition to variations between deep mines and open pits, working in dry or damp areas, etc., the piece-work system, prevalent everywhere, brought about the greatest differences, with norms arbitrarily set up by management, and some workers being favored and other suffering discrimination, with age and nationality often entering the picture.

Men were paid at the end of the month, with \$7 deducted for explosives, \$1 for fuses, \$1 the box for caps. In coal mines elsewhere, miners used to get an itemized list of these deductions, but at the iron mines this was not the case, and as a result, men would frequently complain that their pay was less than they had expected, for what they had estimated as a net of some \$4 per day could have shrunk to \$3 or even much less, and with the company giving out no explanations there was cause for bitterness.

Unfortunately there are no accurate statistics available for Minnesota on the effect of the seasonal character of mining on wages or on unemployment. The 1910 Census indicates that in January 10,702 men less were employed in forestry than were working in October. If October is made the norm, then January would indicate an unemployment figure of almost 12%. It is possible of course, that those who lost their jobs earned their bread elsewhere, but this is not likely, since January was the slowest month in all areas of employment, with shipping via water come to a halt for the winter months, ore shipments by train stopping, and many hundreds of men in the harbors and on the railroads thus out of work.

The mines were not exclusively responsible for the seasonal unemployment. In the winter of 1914-15, the Duluth, Winnipeg and Pacific Railroad laid off 175 men at Virginia alone. One sawmill used to close down every winter, thus always putting 125 men out of work, while another, the biggest employer after the mines, used to reduce its force for November to April from 1250 men to 900. When it was forced to close down one part of its facilities altogether in 1915, the result was a complete stoppage of all lumber industry in International Falls for the entire winter. Although some communities tried to arrange relief work projects, such as street paving, these were more appropriate for summer, when they were not needed.

In 1914-15, when almost all work came to a standstill, except in a few deep mines, the pinch began to appear threatening. The owners of Virginia forests said they were willing to employ as many as wanted work — at \$1 the day. Those who had jobs offered to go on working for mere subsistence to prevent being laid off. Employment offices were crowded with men who wanted work, on any terms whatsoever. "My husband is like a caged lion," said one woman in a WPA document, speaking of him who was without work from December 1915 to the following May: "He has strength and courage, but nowhere where he can use it."

All this occurred in an area with a great density of population, for while a metropolitan area like Minneapolis had a density of 9 per acre, in 1915 the density in Virginia was 66 per acre in the city proper, 22 per acre if the whole city area was considered. This density created housing conditions, reported a doctor who travelled extensively in the area (in an article in *The Survey* in 1916), which were the worst he had ever seen.

What factors had contributed to cause such appalling conditions? The seasonal nature of mining has already been mentioned,

and this was but increased the more open mining developed. Since the ore lay close to the earth's surface, the soil was merely scraped away, making it easy for steam shovels to scoop up tons of ore in rapid tempo. Getting the ore out became vastly cheaper, but it contributed greatly to the seasonal factor, to which the areas concerned had to adapt themselves gradually. Another major factor in unemployment was the big stream of immigration, which adopted the mining area as its habitat. When the striking miners lost their battle in 1907, it was chiefly due to the strike-breakers, who continued to hold the jobs when the strike was over. They were for the most part illiterate, and their opportunities to learn English were almost non-existent. They were not farmers and did not want to become farmers. Their only goal was their pay envelope, and Sunday meant nothing to them and they would gladly have worked seven days the week rather than six. Of such fundamentals of the American way of life as health care and sanitation, the status of women, etc., they understood almost nothing. It is clear that due to such groups as these, wages went down and the standard of living of all workers suffered. Employers could not be expected to offer higher wages when men were willing to work for less. When one lumber foreman was asked how much he paid his men he replied that it depended on how many men were available for the work. As long as these immigrants continued to arrive in an unbroken flood, so long did the labor force remain greater than the demand and the wages offered remain low. This surplus also tended to cause more seasonal unemployment in industry than there need have been. The problem of unemployment naturally became more critical. There was no need for employers to worry about the availability of workers for the next day, for it was clear that when more help was needed that help would be available. Why, then, keep men at work the year round? Further, the majority of the laborers were single men, and always available for work when needed. Had the majority been family men the picture would have been different, for employers would have had to take better care of their men, lest they find themselves without them when they were most needed.

The 1916 Strike: Year after year the conditions indicated remained approximately unchanged, although the outbreak of war in 1914 brought temporary relief, for war in Europe brought a complete stop to the influx of immigrants. It did not take long before the consequences became apparent in the Minnesota mining region as a decrease in the available labor force. The growing demand for steel required reactivation of many mines considered

unprofitable, both in Hibbing and elsewhere within the mining region, and the demand for labor grew. A time seemed to be dawning when it would be possible for labor to achieve an improvement in its lot. The Finnish-language *Sosialisti* (21 November 1915) depicted the situation in the following terms:

"The problem of high prices is just as grave as the war in Europe itself. Among workers, the demand for higher wages is beginning to appear as its most important demand. Meanwhile, we hear many different stories: one blames the Democrats; another, low productivity; a third, the war, and so we get no pay raise. But it is rarely realized that capitalist propaganda has set the workers' heads awheel and that only hunger can bring clear thinking.

"We cannot wait until the next election to pick good men to carry out our demands. Neither can we rely on sheer luck or chance, for they won't work for hungry workers. Nor can we assume that the bourgeoisie, out of pity, will relinquish profits on our behalf by lowering prices and raising our wages. No, none of these things can help labor's cause; only a united, strong union front will be able to wage war for our good."

This time the Finns were not alone in demanding higher wages. It is said that on 31 May 1916, one Italian named Joe Green, who worked in the Alpena mine in Virginia, opened his pay envelope and found much less in it than he thought should be coming to him: "To hell with such pay!" he is said to have exclaimed, throwing down his pick. When he realized that his



A drilling team at Hibbing's open-pit Mahoney mine. Victor Lahti, Oscar Leino, Alex Maki, Leander Koivula, John Kara, Frank Linjanen.

outburst alone could not make things better, he left for Aurora and then went to a small mine in St. James, which employed some 40 men, and began to urge those men to strike: "We've been robbed long enough, it's time to strike."

On 3 June, Joe Green realized the first fruits of his campaign: the miners in St. James went on strike, and the strike spread with amazing speed from Aurora to Hibbing, with the word being spread by an ever-growing march of miners, sometimes joined by women and children, carrying the word "Strike" from mine to mine. And this time the main body of strikers were Italians and Hungarians and Croats, many of them the strikebreakers of nine years earlier.

This strike, begun so spontaneously, gradually assumed organized form. The IWW took over direction, with Sam Scarlet, Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Finn and other IWW leaders arriving on the scene from Chicago to take charge and give advice. The Western Federation of Miners, which belonged to the AFL, played no role in this strike, but the State Federation of Labor, which was associated indirectly with the AFL, was favorably inclined.

The demands made by the miners were for a \$2.75 minimum pay in open mines; \$3.00 in deep mines; \$3.50 in deep mines under wet conditions; an 8-hour day; abolishment of the piece-work system; pay days twice a month. Management, however, countered that these demands had not come from the miners themselves but had been urged upon them from the outside. They pointed out that all negotiations for settlement had broken down because the other party was not that of the workers but of the IWW representatives, with whom management refused to negotiate. The lines were clearly drawn once more, and once more there was no certainty of the outcome.

The strike, naturally, was interpreted by the Finns, too, as the beginning of a power struggle. On 7 June the *Työmies* suggested the line to be followed by stating: "Without organization we cannot win this strike. It has been said that we ought to get all the miners to join this strike, for then we would be certain of our victory." Although the *Työmies* continued to report on the progress of the strike, it was possible to read between the lines and realize that control of it lay in the hands of the 'competition', the IWW. The following reports all stem from the *Työmies*:

9 June 1916: "A big strike meeting discussed the situation at the Finnish Workers' Hall. With 500 present, the meeting lasted from 7 to 10. Arthur Boose took part and made a short speech opening the meeting. A Finnish leader, F. Jaakkola, urged the workers to unite into organized groups for their own advantage. A strike committee was elected, with two members from each nationality group, and the committees met to discuss common strike demands."

"Every evening the strikers will assemble at the Finnish hall, from where they will parade once through the city and then return to the hall to hold their

meeting. Tomorrow morning at 8 there will be a six-mile march to the Biwabik mine, to try to get the miners there to join the strike.

"At the end of this first meeting Jaakkola proposed that the Finns remain to meet among themselves. To this smaller group Jaakkola explained the urgency of sending out a speaker to visit all the mines of Minnesota and Michigan to urge the men to join the Aurora strikers. It was also proposed that they should appeal to the local socialist units for help. When both proposals were approved Jaakkola asked the Finns if they needed a leader of their own nationality; he himself could not remain with them, but he proposed the names of Risto, Tanner, Heino and, particularly, F. Westerlund. It was voted to request the latter to lead this group of strikers."

10 June: "Today 12 striking Aurora miners plus Arthur Boose, of Duluth, the IWW strike leader and organizer, were arrested. The men arrested were: William Halmi, Louis Palmer, Martin Cacic, Gust Micala, Joseph Grun, Mike Arwy, Charles Seppänen, Arvi Lahtinen, Jack Byra, August Palmer, Sam Parkowitch and R. B. Calokar. They had participated in an organized, orderly march to Biwabik to get the miners there to join the strike. Those arrested are being held at the local jail and will be brought to trial."

11 June: "It has cost \$2 heretofore to join the IWW, but as of today the cost has been reduced to \$1 so that everyone can join. The managers of local mines have proclaimed that strikers must not step foot on their properties as long as they are on strike. Note, workers of other communities: stay away from Aurora until matters here are settled and the workers' demands fulfilled. Don't come here to destroy your fellow workers' homes, lest your own be destroyed."

12 June: "The 400 miners of Biwabik have joined the strike. It is only a question of time before the strike spreads further."

And, in fact, the strike did spread, from one end of the iron mining region to the other and finally beyond that to other Minnesota mines as well. After it was over, *The Literary Digest* (23 September 1916) reviewed this as a strike in the most important mining area at a time of greatest production demand, marked by shooting, murder and arrests; a strike with thousands out of work, with IWW fighting a bitter battle without public opinion re-acting to these events; a strike which the local northern Minnesota newspapers had tried to dismiss as a typical example of unorganized workers quitting their jobs and leaving their employers and their communities to fend for themselves; a strike which management, on the other hand, claimed would have been of briefest duration if it had not been directed by expert firebrands from the outside.

The New Republic, attempting to survey the strike impartially, pointed out that it had begun in a small mine but had spread rapidly to cover the whole region, to include a participation which the IWW claimed to be 20,000 men, which responsible town officials stated to be 15,000, and which mine management claimed included but a few thousand men; while the big trade unions were steering clear of the strike, immigrant workers were being drawn into the IWW, and management was counter-attacking by recruiting a temporary police force, wherever possible, which amounted, according to Sheriff Meining, to about 1,000 men.

Seen more directly from the Finnish point of view, from material collected in interviews in Hibbing, the local picture showed in one vignette that "Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Finn, Fred Jaakkola and Leo Laukki appeared as speakers at the Workers' Hall. The mines were at a standstill for several weeks, and there were several incidents and clashes. Once, for example, when the strikers were marching along Third Avenue, the police tried to seize the red banner the workers were carrying. In the melee which ensued, the police of course were the victors."¹⁴

The Finns, however, did not play the important role in this strike that they had in the one nine years earlier, but for them the results were similar; once more there was a decisive drop in the number of Finns in the mines, simultaneously with an increase in their numbers in the lumber camps and as farmers on the peripheries of the mining area and throughout all northern Minnesota.

Although the strike did result in many miners moving into the lumber camps just before a big labor battle shaped up on that front, it would be an over-simplification to suggest that the forestry strike was a consequence of the mining strike. The lumberjacks were faced with their own difficulties and abuses, and to correct them they were given an impetus to strike by an example from another field, and in their strike they, too, received leadership from the outside at the opportune moment.

The archives of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul hold interesting documents which indicate, for example, that almost half of the force of 4,000 men employed in forest industry at the period of World War I were Finns. Finnish impressions of their working conditions at the time are included in an interview (22 November 1938) with one A. Koski by a WPA official: "Before the lumberjacks were organized, the pay was low, amounting to about \$20 the month, and with board being of the poorest. Two men slept together in each of the hard wooden bunks in the camps, and there was crowding everywhere. There was no ventilation of any kind, and no one could even imagine modern washing or sanitary facilities. It was not until the spring, after a long winter of work, that there was an opportunity to wash oneself clean. The working day lasted from 5 in the morning until 5 in the evening or even later."

Another source recalls that the average pay for a 10-hour day was about \$2.00, but that during the winter months it

14. MFAHS, Hibbing Chapter No. 14, Material collected by Edith Koivisto

regularly went down by 20% . In the summer of 1914, \$2.00 was promised but only \$1.80 given, and in the autumn it went down 5c more, and it was at this lowest figure that it remained through the summer of 1915. In the lumber camps around Lake Vermilion, where some 3,000 men were employed, the monthly wages that winter averaged between \$15 and \$25, plus maintenance, instead of the normal \$26 to \$45. Some have stated that many men were even forced to work for \$13 per month, and that even from that sum another dollar was still deducted for medical care, and that in fact some men did not receive more than \$8 in cash per month for their work. Now and then there had been demands for higher pay, and occasionally it had been granted, but in general the demands were mere aspirations. After the mining strike, however, definite demands began to be made, and on 23 November 1916 the *Sosialisti* explained the situation in the following terms:

“Here at Camp 32 we were able to have our demands satisfied, due to a united front and good organization. We demanded the firing of our incompetent chef, who could not cook food fit to eat. The boss did not even listen at first, but we nailed a declaration on the door, stating we would not go out to work until we got decent food. The result was that the food promptly got better, and a new cook was promised as soon as possible. All this began on the initiative of our IWW boys, and the rest of the workers joined in. We will certainly be able to have our other demands met as well, just so long as we all stick together. But remember, before that we must all join the same big union. What has gone on in our camp proves this.”

With examples such as this to lend encouragement, the first steps toward a strike proper were made in Virginia at the end of 1916. A mass meeting had been held, and the following demands were agreed upon: a raise in pay of 25c for every man; a complete end to all work on Sundays: cutting work down to 8 hours on Saturdays, to be ended by 5 P.M.; the changing of work shifts every week; the re-hiring of all workers who were union members.

The *Teollisuustyöläinen* (Industrial Worker) of 27 December 1916 stated that “these demands are not impossible to force through, and we can force them through more quickly if all the workers stand united, all for one and one for all.”

A further meeting was held the day the above demands were published, and at that time it was decided to go on strike immediately if all the demands were not met. The day after that, management replied that the terms were unacceptable, and so the Virginia sawmills were on strike on the 29th. The strike proclamation was speeded to the lumber camps, and it met with a sympathetic response everywhere. The *Teollisuustyöläinen*, of

course, put out strong propaganda for the cause it favored, and on the 29th an article in that paper stated:

"The cost of living has continued to rise, and the rise has been faster than the increase in wages. As a result, workers have felt the pangs of hunger, and their senses tell them that a strike is the only possible solution. This has been the sequence in every instance, and the IWW is only out to help in the fight against the superior forces of management. That makes the chances for success greater, particularly when the workers join the unions. The owners have their union, too, their annual meetings and conferences. At regular intervals they meet to decide on the pay they will give workers, the length of the working day they want, the price to be set on their products in market. Not only are they organized on a local basis, but they have a big and strong national organization which is ready to help whenever the need arises. For the very same reasons labor ought to organize into big unions, to defend its own rights and to help others. Workers, all of you who are not yet members of a union: join one now. Sawmill and lumber camp workers: join immediately, for on that will depend our strength in the strike battle we are fighting now."

Before the new year came, many other strikes broke out. In Virginia, six Finns — Peter Johnson, John Lumme, Toivo Mäki, Edward Rosmo, Victor Ruokki and Matti Tuovinen — were arrested on charges of handing out strike broadsides. They were brought to court promptly, and each man was found guilty and fined \$7. On the 3rd of January the *Päivälehti* reported that the number of men on strike in Virginia alone had climbed to 700 and that during the previous night a large number of Finnish lumberjacks had arrived in town. The headline for the article proclaimed, "Forest Workers' Strike Grows Serious."

However, as in the case of the miners, the lumber workers' strike ended within a few weeks, in defeat for the workers. But this strike, so strongly Finnish-supported, had two important consequences. In the first place, membership in the IWW grew significantly, and in the second place, for the Finns involved it meant that many of them, who had already gotten their names on the blacklists at the mines and had then tried to earn their living in the forests, had now travelled to the very end of their possibilities as wage earners. Since no one wanted to return to Finland, there was but one possibility left: to go into the wilderness and to transform it into flourishing farm land, which did take place and which became the greatest contribution of the Finns to Minnesota.

The Anti-Socialist Movement: The involvement of Finnish workers in conflicts with their employers had resulted in a reaction among other Finnish circles. The first public meeting to voice this opposition had been held in February 1908 at Eveleth, Minnesota, with 237 persons present, and in March of the same year a meeting at Mountain Iron resulted in a resolution:

“We condemn all unpatriotic speeches and actions and the carrying of the red banner in public places, for such occurrences inflame a revolutionary spirit deep into the ranks of the masses and put them into opposition to the government, and through such actions we will lose the trust of the American people and the respect toward the more serious majority of Finns.” Other meetings were held in more and more communities in Minnesota and Michigan. During the strikes on ‘Copper Island’ of Upper Michigan in 1913-14, an ‘Anti-Socialist League’ actually developed, and the pattern was followed in Minnesota, with a similar organization established at least in Ely. However, not all who opposed the socialists were prepared to approve actions such as the new league proposed. The *Päivälehti* of Duluth, for example, published a statement on 28 October 1914, that “one ought to consider seriously if it is right that the father of a big family or even a single man working for his own living, who has a different concept of the economy and political issues than we have, should lose his job for a long winter and face starvation simply because some good Finn, believing in the resolutions of his league, has gone like a stool pigeon to some employer and demanded that a man be denied work. Is that fraternal action?” With appeals like this, the Anti-Socialist League did not expand further in Minnesota, but individuals reserved their right to express their opinions of the socialists nevertheless, as did one writer who signed himself “A. R.” and whose letter the *Päivälehti* published in July 1911: “It is an old truth that whom the gods wish to destroy they strike down with blindness, but it seems that at the present time a group of Finnish immigrants here has been struck with this blindness, too, so that it neither sees nor comprehends what is fitting for peaceful existence, which is demanded of us as a nationality group and as individuals, if we are to preserve our honor and our position as individuals and citizens of this country alongside other nationality groups, and if we are to advance with them to greater enlightenment, which is the necessary instrument in our battle for existence.” He considered it ridiculous that the socialists came forward, “a mere handful among all our Finns here, in the midst of a nation of a hundred million people, and imagined themselves to be in such a decisive position that they could change conditions and steer the policies and the whole economic philosophy of this country into new paths and to create here a new order.”

Naturalization and the Loyalty Movement: The danger of outbreak of war in 1914 brought forth two kinds of action in Duluth.

In the first place, many foreigners who had not previously become American citizens began to apply for citizenship in the fear that they would be called into the armies of the country of their origin, or because the question of loyalty might mean their being put into a difficult situation or even lead to expulsion. This was at a time when the Finns in America already fell into three categories: Finns living in the U.S., Finns who had become American citizens, and those born in this country of Finnish parents. Those who belonged to the first group were reminded that they were guests of a country and owed a certain measure of respect to their host; it was not proper to interfere too noisily in domestic affairs lest a host cease to care for his guests; above all, the country's laws and institutions were to be honored.

However, alongside the Finns who were patriotic Americans there existed a faction which adopted its own policy toward the coming conflict. The Finnish labor organizations did not approve of war, and they opposed it strongly from the very beginning, trying to keep their new homeland out of involvement in the war. As long as the United States did remain neutral their activity was allowed to continue without interference. But the moment war was declared in 1917, their position became a difficult one, due both to the actions of the authorities and the position taken by other Finnish groups.

It was natural that after the outbreak of war the numerous foreign nationality groups in the United States were kept under strict surveillance, and it was even more natural that the vociferous Finns were almost all to meet the same fate. This danger was the real motivation in those groups which considered it essential to proclaim their objections to the stand advocated by the socialists and to hasten to swear their loyalty to their new homeland. On the 11th of November 1917 a citizenship meeting was held in Duluth, a meeting in which the concept of loyalty was discussed by lawyers Victor Gran and O. J. Larson, by Pastor Heikki Sarvela, and by businessmen J. H. Jasberg, J. Mattinen, Conrad Mattson, J. E. Porthan, P. Raattama and Carl Salminen. A resolution was passed at this meeting, and it was sent to all Finnish-language newspapers and was published by many of them within the next few days: "We condemn the unpatriotic attitude, the rebellion and disloyalty which is apparent in the IWW movement and among our fellow nationals in the socialist movement. We regret that Finnish agitators sow inflammatory and anti-government propaganda. We sincerely state our hope that those Finns who have joined undemocratic organizations will realize that such

organizations are harmful toward themselves, dangerous to the country, and a shame to Finnish-Americans. In these critical times we renew our pledge and acknowledge unequivocally our loyalty to this, our new country, its laws and its institutions."

This declaration was noted in American circles, too, and the *Duluth Herald* wrote a week later that "apparently not all Finns have an indifferent attitude toward the responsibilities which their new homeland places upon them."

The Duluth meeting also resulted in the starting of a new Finnish organization, the Lincoln Loyalty League, which indicated its purpose in an article of its by-laws: "The purpose of the League is to aid, urge and direct Finnish-born residents of the United States to become citizens of this country; to urge and direct Finnish-born citizens of the United States to fulfill the obligations of their citizenship and to uphold its institutions; and to disseminate among all residents of Finnish origin, whether citizens or not, knowledge of American principles and ideals and to implant in them American spirit and to foster in them loyalty toward the United States, its government and its institutions."

The by-laws of the organization called for annual meetings to be held in Duluth and called for a board of directors of 26 members. A year later, following a meeting held in Chicago, this organization expanded to embrace all Finnish-Americans, to be joined by the New York Finland Constitutional League and finally to embrace not only Finns but several other minority nationality groups in the United States.

War Hysteria and the Case of the 166: In addition to this large-scale loyalty movement, numerous individuals from socialist groups had applied for citizenship, too, under the strong general pressure to do so. All at once, however, they realized that a consequence might be the drafting of naturalized citizens into the armed forces. With this awareness, the socialists began their opposition to war on an even stronger scale and urged their supporters to refrain from registering for the draft. Several applications for citizenship were even withdrawn, and the *Päivälehti* on 18 September 1918 printed a report naming two Finns who had presented themselves in Duluth to withdraw their citizenship applications. This aroused a storm of anger among the loyalty-minded and the *Päivälehti* asked that "both these men, who are unfit to be citizens of any country, be branded with a mark of shame," and indicative of the passion of the moment was the

attempt, by unidentified parties, to inflict bodily harm on one of the two men.

The authorities, for their part, had kept the socialists under surveillance. Many persons belonging to the IWW had been detained in various parts of the Middle West, but the most severe blow to the organization was a mass arrest which developed into a court trial known as the 'Case of the 166.' Brought to trial in Chicago on 2 April 1918, they were accused of opposing the war, of trying to overthrow the government, of advocating violence and destruction of property. They were found guilty and were given long jail sentences. Among them were the following Finns: Fred Jaakkola, Charles Jacobson, Leo Laukki, William Tanner and Frank Westerlund, but with money collected by the *Industrialisti* defense fund these Finns were released under bail, pending their appeal. During this temporary freedom, Leo Laukki and subsequently Fred Jaakkola fled to Russia.¹⁵

However, many Finns loyally fulfilled their obligations during World War I, and many of them from Minnesota lost their lives doing so, and in time the storm waves pro and con of this transitional period were calmed. And during World War II, of course, there was nothing comparable to the events depicted above.

The Duluth Bread Line: The depression years of the early 1930s forced municipal authorities in Duluth and elsewhere to take extensive measures to aid the great numbers of unemployed workers. One of the steps taken in Duluth was literally a bread line, established on Finnish initiative and sponsored by the local Kaleva Ladies and by the FAAC, which gave use of its hall, its restaurant and kitchen without charge. Elmer Stonewall served as chairman, Arthur Pelto as treasurer (succeeded later by Matt Tylli). Before Christmas, 1931, they had begun to solicit funds from local businessmen and local stores, and collected foodstuffs from area farmers. The cooperative central organization, in Superior, was also generous in donating foodstuffs. The county authorities donated \$200 and Duluth municipal authorities \$600. Matt Olson worked as cook, without pay, and in fact, no one involved in the undertaking was paid for his services. The Kaleva Ladies and FAAC members helped prepare the meals and served them, and they arranged an evening benefit at the FAAC hall to raise additional funds. Both of Duluth's Finnish papers, the *Päivälehti* and the *Industrialisti*, donated space free for the

15. *Industrialisti*, 23 June 1923

benefit of this project. Without regard for nationality background, anyone who asked was free to line up and receive a meal once a day, and family heads were given meat and eggs to take home.

The Knights and Ladies of Kaleva: If the end of the last century was a transition period for Finnish-American immigrants, a time when the measure of a man was often his capacity to drink and brawl; a time of party struggle, squabbles, upstart faiths and a contempt for the old; it could also be said that this picture



Members of Duluth's Knights of Kaleva "Vuoksen Maja" about 1930. Seated: Alex Kyyhkynen, Matt Jackson, John A. Harpet, A. W. Havela. Standing: Heikki Karhu, Ero Rasanen, Dr. K. V. Arminen, Arne H. Karhu, Gust Warren, Gust Miller, Herman Perä, Gustave Lahti.

disregarded basic values inherent in the Finns. One attempt to prove that the Finns did cherish other ethical values resulted in the birth of an organization often labelled as the most conservative group among the Finnish-Americans.

It got its start in the mining town of Belt, Montana, on the initiative of one John Stone. He had come to the United States in 1887, and he was one who had found a livelihood for himself

and achieved a degree of satisfaction, but he was upset by the heavy, stifling atmosphere which seemed to prevail among the Finns. Religious activity and temperance work had been initiated, a few newspapers had already been started, but everywhere discord and envy seemed rampant, and all attempts to achieve any sort of unity were decried and torn to shreds. Stone realized that enlightenment was the key, but years passed before he found a way to introduce this among adults who possessed only the most rudimentary of education. The presence of many secret societies in this country provided him the pattern to follow: to establish a similar society adapted to the Finnish mentality and to the conditions of their life. And so, in 1898, the Order of the Knights of Kaleva was founded in Belt, with Jussi Jääskeläinen, Daniel Kuona and Matti Rautio joining Stone in the many discussions and meetings which resulted in the appearance of the first chapter in July, with the founders being joined by additional members: Joonas Koski, Lauri Nevala, Oskar Nieminen, Evert Auren, Johan Talso, Mikko Klippa and Johan Pakka. From that beginning, chapter after chapter was organized, and at its most flourishing period the Order counted some 1,300 members. Of course the Order did face opposition, even very strong opposition at times, but knights were never permitted to retort to any accusations or outbursts made from the outside in any public speeches or newspaper articles. Restraint was always required of members, and they were to regard the Order as superior to those who tried to slander or disgrace it. One of its basic tenets was: know yourself, know your own situation if you wish to advise and direct others: "The development and enlightenment of our own Order on the sole basis of brotherhood has from the very beginning been the most important responsibility of the Order, indeed a demand which, particularly in its earliest period of existence, permitted of no compromise. Let it be said that decent living, good conduct and Christian faith were the qualities required in those desiring membership, and those criteria have remained. An indication of how the Order tried to maintain the good reputation of the Finns even beyond its own membership, is shown by the many visits to Finnish homes to warn the family father, or mother, about drunkenness or other indecent conduct," so Samuel Koskela wrote in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Order.

In many respects the Kaleva differs from other Finnish-American group activities. As a secret organization, its meetings were not open to outsiders. And in its organizational structure, the



Knights and Ladies of Kaleva at the 50th anniversary celebration in Ely in 1948.

only contact between chapters was through the Supreme Chapter which was located wherever the Supreme Commander at any particular time lived, and it was there that delegates of the various chapters met at stated intervals. Early in the 1950s, the Supreme Chapter was made up of the following members from the various local chapters as follows: Lauri L. Hannula and Aimo Ossian Ahola, Fitchburg, Massachusetts; Lauri J. Lahti, Ironwood, Michigan; Edward Ekman, Duluth; Andrew I. Brask and Isaac Pyykkö, Detroit; Lauri Seppänen, Chassell, Michigan; Onni Hill, Painesville, Ohio; Väinö Heinonen and Elias Luoma, Waukegan, Illinois; John Kujala, Negaunee, Michigan; Niilo Saari, Fairport Harbor, Ohio; Henry Ranta, Ely; John Tokola, Vancouver, Washington; and Abel Niemi, Ishpeming, Michigan. Duluth member Edward Ekman was Supreme Commander from 1952 to 1954, and he was succeeded by Henry Mayala.



Members of "Aallotar Tupa" Ladies of Kaleva in 1913. Front: Tilda Laine, Josephine Mustonen, Elina Salo, Hilma Signer (Haataja), charter member, Fiina Thompson, Hilma Pykäri, Alma Arminen. Center: Liina Hautala (Ahlbeck), charter member, Henriika Ketonen, Maria Pelfo, Margaret Jackson, Selma Kauppi, Anna Lahti, charter member, Olga Gran, charter member, Mrs. Sironen. Back: Mayme Signer, Bertha Olander, Nora Johnson, charter member, Mrs. John Saari, Lydia Lehtonen.

The charitable and cultural activities of the Order outside the framework of the society is carried on with all possible anonymity, but there are times when events for the public are sponsored,

particularly on the annual Kalevala Day or on the birthday anniversaries of great Finns. Speeches and lectures on such occasions take up the significance and life work of those figures or treat of Finnish cultural history.

The Order stresses the education of children, and for this purpose there have been Sons of Kaleva and Daughters of Kaleva auxiliaries. Similarly, the important role of woman in home and community has been given recognition.

As a matter of fact, a parallel organization for women, the Kaleva Ladies, saw its birth in Red Lodge, Montana, in 1904, with John Stone (and A. S. Karvonen) once more present at the founding. From this beginning the organization grew to a strength of 59 chapters. The program was modelled on that of the Knights, and a Supreme Chapter was also organized, in Eveleth, Minnesota, in 1906.

The *Amerikan Suometar* (7 July 1922) wrote of the Kaleva Order that "their organization has been stupidly condemned and regarded with disfavor merely because, as a secret organization, its program remains unknown, giving rise to irrelevant, unjustified condemnation based on prejudiced preconceptions. Forming, as it were, a nationalistic family circle, in which every member can feel himself safe from the tumult of the outside world, the Order is a closed one and in that sense a secret one. But in its final results it is a public one, since the aim is that the enlightening spirit of the Order will become apparent in the daily lives of the members, and without a doubt it does become apparent there where lives are led in accordance with the spirit of the Order." Four years later, in an editorial, the same paper commented, "Let individual assumptions about the Kaleva Order be what they may, friendly, indifferent or inimical, reason will acknowledge that the tenets of the Order of the Knights and Ladies of Kaleva contain strength, a unifying spirit, and lasting inspiration."

The Duluth chapter of the Order of the Knights of Kaleva was founded in 1907, with the following members: Victor H. Gran, Daniel Hautala, John R. Heino, August Kaukonen, Charles Kauppi, Gustave F. Lahti, Risto Lappala, Victor Leino, Elias Mehtonen, William T. Niemi, Matti Pykäri, Peter Rajanen and Mikko Skarra.

The Duluth chapter of the Ladies of Kaleva was founded in 1907 also, with the following members: Olga Gran, Liina Hautala, Elizabeth Heikkilä, Anna Lahti, Lydia Lahtinen, Ida Lilius, Paulina Luokkala, Elvira Mäki, Anna Nissilä, Ida Parkkari, Hilda Puska, Hilma Signer and Maria Tuppi. It is possible to indicate some of the activities in which the Ladies have been engaged in Duluth.



Duluth's Kalevan Choir in 1954. Front: Ina Lax, Aune Hannula, Martha Stott, Vieno Ekman, Aili Lahti, Selma Salmio, Helmi Miller, Anna Wilson, Jennie Cooke, Martha Johnson, director. Center: Ilona Erlund, Grace Salo, Lillian Larson, Hilda Jensen, Myrtle Junttila, Jennie Sysimäki. Back: Alex Kyyhky-nen, Hugo Hannula, Onni K. Syrjäniemi, Gust Miller, Jacob Herald, John Suomela, Victor Sola, Onni Sysimäki, John Tuomisto.

For example, April 1917 saw pageantry in the form of a 'Pohjola Wedding', with fish loaves, rice tarts and other delicacies which might have been served at a Kalevala epoch wedding, washed down with mead served in wooden goblets, and with both men and women dressed in Kalevala costumes. Several plays were produced during the 1920s and 1930s, and a great deal of effort apparent to the public came in the form of work with the Red Cross, help for victims of forest fires, aid for orphanages, and Finnish war relief work. Internally, Duluth has been the scene of several meetings of Kaleva delegates, as early as 1908, when a big delegation arrived from Hancock on board a chartered excursion steamer, arriving complete with a choral group. A local choral tradition of more recent date is the Duluth Kaleva Chorus, started in 1950, under the direction of Martha Johnson, and with Gust Miller as chairman and J. A. Tuomisto as treasurer.

Welfare Work: Among the many activities of the Finnish colony of Duluth must be mentioned those organizations whose work has not been directed toward themselves as Finnish Americans, but as relief action for those in need and often far distant.

During World War I, a Duluth Finnish Red Cross chapter decided in its meeting of 23 October 1919 to forward the \$400 in its treasury to the Aid Committee for Finnish Orphans, with the Superior chapter to send along its \$160. The meeting, given special approval by the American Red Cross of Duluth, was held at the home of Victor Gran.

At the same time, several leftist circles requested permission from the Duluth municipal authorities for a general solicitation of funds for the benefit of those suffering starvation in Soviet Russia and funds for assisting in the establishment of a home for the blind there, but this permission was not granted, on the grounds that the Quakers already had made arrangements for aid to that part of the world. However, representatives of various societies and organizations did meet a few years later, in February 1923, at the home of Dr. K. V. Arminen, to discuss relief for the many starving in Viena Carelia (Russia.) At that meeting Carl H. Salminen discussed conditions in Carelia and relief activity in Finland. A decision to raise funds was reached, and the campaign was begun with arrangements for a big fund-raising evening social.

General Relief Committee for Finland: When the fate of Finland lay in the balance, due to the demands made on it by Russia in the autumn of 1939, parties close to the *Päivälehti* issued a call for citizens to discuss ways and means to aid Finland. The meeting was held on 7 November 1939 at the Messiah Lutheran Church. The organization set up as a result of that meeting was named the General Relief Committee for Finland, and the following were named to be its directors: A. A. Toivonen, O. J. Larson, Arthur Lampe, John Antila, Arthur Pelto, Martha Ylinen, Viena Johnson, Lauri Lemberg, Kosti Erlund, and J. L. Ollila, who was chosen chairman. Erlund became secretary, Pelto the assistant secretary and Lemberg the treasurer. Later, when relief activity grew to embrace the work of several communities, the official name of the organization became the General Relief Association, with the headquarters remaining in Duluth.

Activity was begun promptly. Mr. Larson and Martha Ylinen contacted the Duluth Red Cross to reach agreement that the group was to function as an affiliate of that organization. Contact was also established with all other Finnish societies and groups in Duluth, in order that all would be included in the relief program. To assist in this work, a publicity committee, including Kosti Erlund, Viena Johnson and A. A. Toivonen, was appointed

to keep the public informed through the Finnish-language newspapers.



Finnish relief clothing packed by the women's group ready for shipment to Finland. Pictured are Consul Alex Kyyhkynen, editor J. L. Ollila, Liina Miettunen, Sofia Kyyhkynen, A. W. Havela.

The next meeting of the General Relief Committee was held on 24 November at the Finnish Consulate, which gave one room of its quarters as a permanent headquarters for the Committee. At that meeting, also, Alex Kyyhkynen, Elina Salo and Ed. Sandelin were elected to the board of directors.

Looking back after the end of the war on what the Committee managed to accomplish, its treasurer Lauri Lemberg made the following summary: "All in all the General Relief Committee for Finland raised about \$45,000 to be sent to Finland via the Red Cross, the Finnish Legation and the Help Finland Fund. The contribution of Duluth clothier Alex Kyyhkynen must be cited: in the winter of 1945 he succeeded in purchasing for \$18,000 a \$50,000 quantity of clothing produced under WPA auspices, from the St. Louis County Welfare Association, to be donated to Finnish

relief. The goods were shipped by rail to the New York headquarters of Help Finland, and reaching Finland, they were distributed to needy persons by the Finnish organization Suomen Huolto, together with the Quaker relief committee. The Quakers and Help Finland later reimbursed Kyyhkynen for the big sum of money which he had personally advanced. He and A. W. Havela, also of Duluth, shared the expenses of shipping these goods to New York."

To return to the activity begun in 1939, a meeting of all Finns was held on 19 December at the FAAC hall. That meeting unanimously decided to aid the General Relief Committee in raising funds and clothing. A committee of ten was chosen: John Antila, Isaac Hill, Helen Kane, David Kuuri, Thure Laiho, Eino Larson, Isaac Pelto, Elmer Stonewall, Jallu Suominen and Armas Vanhala. This decision was unique, for it joined all the Finns of Duluth, excepting the Communists, to a joint cause, the aid for Finland program.

Support to this new committee was prompt, and in its first week it managed to raise several thousand dollars, which was forwarded to Finland via the Finnish Red Cross. Meetings and fund-raising drives were arranged. Newspapers explained the activities which had been started and urged all their readers to help.

On 22 November 1939 a group of Duluth women met at the home of Martta Harpet to start their own group to aid Finland. They called themselves the Women's Division, and Martta Harpet was chosen chairman, Sofia Kyyhkynen secretary, and Naimi Rahko treasurer. This group undertook to appeal to all Finnish women to contribute aid, especially to collect clothing, to be sent to Finland. From the beginning of December the members took turns being present every day to receive contributions, and at times they were busy even on Sundays. Sofia Kyyhkynen has described the overall activity as follows: "We women had no idea how demanding our work would become. Piles of clothing began to come in, but no money. Then, to our delight, Saima Syverson gave us a large painting she had done; that was raffled off, and with the money we first bought yarns for knitting mittens and socks, and with the rest Lois Bakkila and I went to the various stores and factories to buy remnants of materials for clothing.

"In the meeting of 9 January 1940 it was announced that the FAAC women had started a group among themselves to make layettes, which the Red Cross sent on to Finland. The women who started this group were Lydia Lake, Rauha Vanhala, Ellen Mattson, Vivi Ahola, Tyyne Joki, Hilda Isackson, Katri Koski,

Aili Korpi, Aino Jarvi, Mrs. Matt Johnson, Lempi Hill and Kerttu Larson. Later, they held a very successful 'baby shower' which brought in a great quantity of new infants' clothing.

"Attendance at our meetings was unusually good — on the 6th of February, for example, 82 women were present. Plans to raise money were ever the order of the day. On 20 February, the Women's Division was able to send \$300 to Minister Procope to be forwarded to Finland, and on 5 March 330 pieces of children's clothing were sent to Helsinki to be distributed by the Lotta Svärd, and on 19 March 125 pairs of socks knitted by the women of Duluth were sent to the Lotta Svärd offices in Oulu in northern Finland. Shipments of clothing were sent to New York twice a week. Attempts were made to fulfill all kinds of demands, and so children's underclothing, blankets, flannel, thread, soap were included in various shipments.

"In April 1941 the flood of goods was at its peak. That month saw 68 packages sent by individuals to Suomen Huolto, quantities of food and soap, and 2,252 pounds of clothing.

"For more than ten years the Women's Division remained active in its Finnish aid program. The cash outlays required were always large, for freight on each shipment to New York ranged from \$40 to \$70, so that money had to be raised continually to permit the work to proceed. In addition, it financed the purchase of food, coffee, sugar, dried fruits, fat, seeds, new clothing, cloth, shoes. Shipments were made to the Suomen Huolto, to orphanages, to the League for War Invalids, to the blind, to the Mannerheim League for Children, to the Miina Sillanpää Orphanage, to the Lotta Svärd, hospitals, homes for the aged. In addition, 846 packages were sent to individuals. A total of 18,976 pounds of goods was shipped before the Women's Division terminated its activity in 1950."

The Finnish women of West Duluth had their own aid organization, with Saara Järvi serving as chairman and Ester Pellinen as secretary. Their work, by and large, followed the same pattern as that of the Duluth women.

To return to the developments in the winter of 1939-40, the fund-raising drive of the General Relief Committee soon grew so extensive that it became necessary to have a full-time, salaried executive secretary, which Elmer Saari became. Contributions came by no means from the Finns alone, for everyone supported the drive; for example, the State Federation of Italian-American Clubs authorized their affiliates to collect funds for Finland

since "the Finns and Italians living in Minnesota had always enjoyed friendly relations."

On 17 April 1940, representatives from all Finnish groups had been invited to a joint meeting in Duluth to study the question of increasing the scope of the fund drive, since it was now "a question of safe-guarding humanity, the fate and future of the Finnish people." This well-attended meeting, held at the FAAC hall, decided to continue and intensify collections, with Duluth to be the headquarters to which collections would be reported and from where results achieved would be given out for publication.

During Finland's subsequent involvement in the later phases of World War II, the General Relief Committees for Finland remained inactive; it was revived at the end of the war, although it did not regain the scope it had reached during those early months of Finland's Winter War. In 1945 the Committee joined the Help Finland, Inc., which had its headquarters in New York, and all subsequent funds raised were forwarded there. The Committee continued to keep its full membership, with new members regularly appointed to replace those who left or resigned for one reason or another. Thus A. A. Toivonen was elected treasurer to succeed Lauri Lemberg, and A. E. Rajanen and A. W. Havela were elected to the board. Havela, incidentally, served as the last secretary of the Committee, which did not terminate its activities until a couple of years after Finland had quit the war and was well on its way to reconstruction.

The figures which have been indicated in the reports of the General Relief Committee and the Women's Auxiliary, of money and goods sent to Finland over a period of years, nevertheless represent but a fraction of the aid rendered to Finland by the Finnish-Americans of Duluth. It is impossible to even hazard an estimate of the number of gift packages posted to Finland by individuals, whose only motivation was the desire to help those in need, and whose only thanks came in the form of a sense of inner satisfaction.

The so-called Hoover Committee, whose official name locally was the Duluth Committee for Finnish Relief Fund, had its own collection apparatus in the community. President Hoover had asked Mayor C. R. Berghult to take charge of the effort in Duluth, and he began promptly, assisted by an 18-member advisory committee, with Margaret Culkin Banning as chairman. The leading Duluth newspapers, the *Duluth Herald* and the *News-Tribune*, furnished office space, and the committee began its work on 26 December 1939, under the direction of St. Louis County Superin-

tendent of Schools, Arthur Lampe, and with Herbert Latvala serving as secretary. Among other events, the committee arranged a mass meeting on 30 December 1939 at the Duluth Armory, with Herbert Hoover as the main speaker; a concert on 4 February following, with the Duluth Symphony playing an evening of music by Sibelius; and a funds collection drive on 17 and 18 February in the Duluth theaters, with girls dressed in Finnish national costumes as money-raisers. By the 20th of February the committee had collected \$20,600, in addition to which smaller gifts were still being accepted in March and April.

Historical Work, Its Beginning and Development: The achievements of the Finns in Duluth and elsewhere in Minnesota, as individuals and organizations, would probably never have been preserved as a complete account in the memory of future generations, as proof that Finns had indeed once lived there, worked and died there, if an earnest devotion to the history had not become apparent in Duluth.

A preoccupation with the past had long been alive among Finnish-Americans, but it remained for Solomon Ilmonen to guide it into scientific research. To this pastor, who had filled various pulpits in Minnesota, historical research had originally been a hobby, but in time it became his main activity. His history of Finnish-Americans in three volumes, and his two-volume history of civilization, together with his innumerable shorter works and articles, have remained the cornerstone of Finnish-American history to this day. The facts discovered by Ilmonen have appeared again and again in later works written by others, and even his errors of fact have become almost credible through repetition by others. Ilmonen was a member of the American Historical Society, and as such he was aware of the limits of any individual's undertakings. He tried to arouse interest in his subject and to get others to work in that field, and it was through his urging that an effort was made to carry on an organized program of Finnish historical research: a meeting, which resulted in the formation of the Finnish American Historical Society, was held on 15 March 1920 in Brooklyn, New York. In 1926 this Society had Consul K. Aaltio as its chairman, Vice-Consul K. Potti as its vice-chairman, Ilmonen as secretary and treasurer, and K. Arminen, H. Runo, J. Wargelin, J. Lempiö and Antero Riippa as members. Interesting in this membership was the presence of official Finnish spokesmen, evidence of the interest shown in Finland itself to these historical matters. The president of the Finnish Historical Society, Professor

Lehtonen, was in frequent correspondence with the secretary of the Finnish-American society, the Finnish Historical Society Journal wrote a report on the activities of its American sister society, the Helsinki University Library (the national library of Finland) stressed the development of its Finnish-American archives, and even the Turku University displayed interest, and the Finnish Geneological Society offered its cooperation.

This momentary wave of interest soon subsided. The Finnish-American Historical Society gradually withered away, and historical research once more became a matter of individual interest and action. In Minnesota, at that period, several university theses were prepared covering various aspects in this field, and in the 1930s the WPA projects resulted in much valuable material in interviews conducted with early immigrants, but it was not until the Delaware Tercentenary approached that a concerted historical interest once more became apparent.

The American Finnish Delaware Tercentenary Committee was established at a meeting on 29 September 1936 in New York, to prepare for the commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary (1938) of the arrival of the first Finns in America. The committee included members from all the states where Finns resided. O. J. Larson of Duluth was elected chairman of the committee, John H. Wuorinen of New York, secretary, and John Saari, also of New York, treasurer. Another important and active member of the committee was Emil Hurja, who travelled extensively as a speaker to further the committee's work.

The Delaware River Valley celebrations of the Swedes and Finns were held 27 to 30 June 1938. Sweden was represented by Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, the Crown Princess, and Prince Bertil, while Finland sent its Secretary of State, Dr. Rudolf Holsti. The United States Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, welcomed the foreign guests upon their arrival at Wilmington on 27 June.

A monument to commemorate the event was donated by Finland and erected in Chester, Pennsylvania. On the base of the monument is written:

Sons of Kaleva far sailing
Passed an ocean's western reaches
To this soil their strength applying
On this shore a home established
Tolling their crops to sow and garner
Hewed their dwellings from the forest.

Near this spot stood a settlement named Finland so called by the first Finnish settlers on this continent in remembrance of their homeland.

This memorial was erected in 1938 by the Finnish Nation and the Finns in America in commemoration of the Finnish pioneers of the first permanent settlement in the Delaware River Valley in 1638.

Minnesota's participation in the event was in the hands of a state-wide committee, headed by Alex Kyyhkynen, chairman, Aino Vartiainen, secretary; Rudolf Raattama, treasurer, and the following members from communities throughout the state: A. W. Havela, Arthur Lampe, A. A. Toivonen, Urpo Kytö, Gene Saari, Mrs. T. J. Raymond, John Ketola, Dr. John Räihälä, Milma Lappala, Eino Saranen, V. K. Kuusisto, Mrs. Selma Ala, Felix Nylund, Herman Kortesoja, Jacob Hill, Donald Virtanen, C. W. Tamminen, Walter Gonsi, Frank Mattson, Mrs. Gust Tuura, George Sahlman, John Hendrickson, Toivo Tervonen, Wayne Oja, Aaro Ruuska, George Käkälä, Ivar Otava, Mrs. Victor Vanhala, Matt Viitala, Dr. Thompson, Arthur Forselius, Mrs. Anna Leino, T. Ahola, Jacob L. Pete, Arne Halonen, V. Luttio, Carl Södergren, Leo L. Knuti, Theo. Pensas, John Rintala, Adolph Lundquist, Mr. Hannula, John Väänänen, Victor Taipale, Mike Salminen, Mr. Komulainen, Mr. Laine, Emil Hill, Isaac Lamppa, J. A. Mattinen, Alexis Esko, Jack Korpi, Mrs. Anthony Smolish, John Elo and Hugo Knuti. The Superintendent of Schools for St. Louis County, Mr. Arthur Lampe, gave valuable assistance to the officials of the committee and to the activity of the Minnesota committee in general.

To gather funds for the expenses of the festivities, concerts and program evenings were held in the following communities: Duluth, Virginia, New York Mills, Nashwauk, Esko, Hibbing, Alavus, Chisholm, Menahga, Ely, Mt. Iron, Cloquet, Markham, Floodwood, Minneapolis, Suomi, Cokato, Lakewood and Alango. A total of \$2,667 was collected, a sum bigger than that produced by any other state.

On 10 July 1938, a special Delaware program was held at the Messiah Lutheran Church in Duluth, with Finnish representatives to the Delaware festivities as speakers: Artturi Leinonen and Vihtori Vesterinen, who also visited other communities in the state.

Meanwhile, the Governor of Minnesota, Elmer Benson, who was personally interested in this commemoration, had appointed the Reverend Carl Tamminen, Editor Adolph Lundquist, and Arthur Lampe to represent the Finns of Minnesota at the Delaware River Valley celebration. However, although there was considerable and important sponsorship for this event, there was also some dissatisfaction voiced: the *Industrialisti* (11 May 1938) regretted that the Governor had altogether ignored Finnish workers in his appointment of official representatives, the cooperative circles felt

the same way, and the communists who had been ignored prepared their own publication to commemorate the Delaware event.

The Delaware Tercentenary resulted in the production of several studies and papers, and the arrival of the first Finns in America was the center of interest for weeks on end in newspapers and among the Finns in general. Interest in history was revived, and several individuals proposed that a study of early Finnish settlement in America be made and a history of it be published. Others considered the undertaking too demanding, and Emil Hurja, for example, suggested that while striving for that goal it would be worthwhile for the various sections of America to produce their regional histories, on the basis of which a unified work could later be projected, prepared by some objective outside historian. The Finnish-American Historical Society once again, began to advise on the collection of source material and on the preservation of such materials in the archives of the Suomi Opisto.

The Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society: The fact that Finns had already engaged in historical research, and even the fact that there existed a large and important Minnesota Historical Society, established in 1849, two months after Minnesota had become a territory, did not lead directly to the establishment of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society. Rather, organized activity in this field within the state began in an entirely unpredictable way, with the arrival of a well-known Finnish painter, Juho Rissanen, to the area. The Finnish war and health reasons had led to his moving to America and to residence in Florida, and in the summer of 1943 he came to northern Minnesota on vacation. It was shortly after his arrival in this Finnish area that it was proposed (Alex Kyyhkynen had suggested it to a newspaper friend, Adolph Lundquist, who published the suggestion) that Rissanen be commissioned to paint a big picture depicting the Finnish pioneers of Minnesota, and that this painting be presented to the state for display in some state building. When the idea spread, the Governor, Edward J. Thye, was asked informally if such a painting would be accepted as a gift, and at a meeting with the Governor it was learned that the Minnesota Historical Society would welcome such a painting.

The group which conferred with the Governor considered the moment opportune to proceed and to call into being a Finnish historical society. In the meeting which was then held, Alex Kyyhkynen was elected president and Adolph Lundquist secretary. The vice-president of this provisional board became J. P. Raattama,

with Einar Lauley treasurer, and members, Arvid Ruotsinoja and Victor H. Gran. The committee was soon thereafter enlarged to include O. J. Larson, Duluth, Milma Lappala of Cook, Arne Halonen of Minneapolis, John Ketola of Virginia, and Russell O. Parta from New York Mills. The society was organized under the auspices of the Minnesota State Historical Society.

In November 1943 Rissanen sent from Florida his first sketches for a proposed painting to the newly established society. With a few minor suggestions for revisions, the sketches were approved, and when the cost of the project for this six-by-nine foot painting were agreed upon, Rissanen returned to Duluth to begin his work, while the Society began its work of raising funds. The painting was finished in September 1944, and its presentation was planned for 16 October 1944, which was the 95th anniversary of the founding of the Minnesota Historical Society.



MFAHS board of directors in 1955. Front: Nicholas Aho, Edith Koivisto, A. A. Parviainen, secretary, Alex Kyyhkynen, president, Fabian Mäenpää, vice president, Alice Anderson, treasurer, Charles Latvala. Center: Fred Hendrickson, archivist, Verner Saranen, Onni K. Syrjäniemi, Henry Paakkari, Enoch Beckman, Waino Kortesmäki. Back: Erland Rustari, Carl A. Parta, Hans R. Wasastjerna, editor, Frank Linjanen.

Judge E. Haycroft, Vice-President of the Historical Society, presided at the ceremonies. Lieutenant-Governor Archie Miller accepted the painting on behalf of the state. Speeches were made by O. J. Larson, John Wargelin, and John I. Kolehmainen. A Finnish chorus under the direction of Mrs. Arne Halonen sang

Finnish songs.¹⁶ The Finnish-Americans of Minnesota and the painting depicting their pioneers were for the moment the center of attention throughout the state.

Professor Kolehmainen had expressed in his speech the wish that this first achievement would spur the Finns of all groups to join in a major effort to collect and preserve the historical records, scattered and rapidly disappearing, of the Finns in Minnesota. A two-year lull followed nevertheless, but when the war was over at last, the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society was systematically enlarged and the historical program was initiated in earnest.

A booklet entitled, "It is not yet too late," was printed and distributed, together with a manual outlining procedures. From the financial standpoint, it was a boon that Lauri Lemberg presented as a gift to the Society the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri*, which he edited and published. In return, the Society retained Lemberg as editor of this annual *Kalenteri*, and its edition of 5,000 copies has found its way into homes throughout Minnesota and in the neighboring states. The profits realized from the *Kalenteri* have in turn helped bolster the financial standing of the Society. Similarly, a good source of income has developed in the annual Northern Finnish Midsummer Festivals, which used to benefit Finnish relief up to the termination of that program; profits now go to the Society, together with the proceeds from the sales of Festival Program books.

The Minnesota Centennial: When Minnesota began preparations to commemorate in 1949 the hundredth anniversary of its existence (it had been made a territory in 1849) the Finns in the state were eager to show the pioneering role they, too, had played in the development of the state. Informed that none of the \$150,000 allotted for the participation of foreign nationality groups in the celebration would be available for them, the Finns decided to go ahead, prepared to pay for the costs of their own participation on a scale planned to be truly representative of all the Finns in Minnesota.

The Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society undertook to summon representatives of all Finnish organizations to membership on a central committee, whose task it would be to see that all Finns were represented. This committee held its first meeting in May 1948 and was made up of the following: Richard

16. *Minnesota History*, December 1944

Silvola, chairman, Matti Lahti, secretary, and Elmer Erkkilä from St. Paul, Matti Erkkilä from Cook, Lillian Ferris from Hibbing, Mrs. Arne Halonen and Carl Södergren from Minneapolis, Alex Kyyhkynen from Duluth, Einar E. Lauley, Niilo Peltomies and Lauri Passi from Virginia, and Henry Mattson from Cloquet. More and more, however, the actual planning work fell to the MFAHS, which prepared for the Centennial with the production of a 152-page booklet, edited by E. A. Pulli, which included a reasonably complete account of the Society and its aims and purposes. With progress in the planning increasingly evident, in January 1949 the Governor of Minnesota, Luther W. Youngdahl, proclaimed that 21 August would be "Finnish Day" at the Centennial, and in a letter of 12 January 1949 to the MFAHS he expressed his conviction that all Minnesota citizens of Finnish descent would cooperate with the Society in preparation for the Centennial and in participation in it.

Immediately after this, Alex Kyyhkynen, as President of the MFAHS, and authorized by the Governor of Minnesota, wrote to the Government of Finland to propose that an official representative be sent to the Centennial. Uuno Takki, the then Secretary of State of Finland, replied that several representatives would be sent: Lennart Heljas, for many years a government official and a member in Parliament of the Agrarian Party; Leevi Matti, Minister, long a member of Parliament, to represent Finnish labor; Professor Bruno Kaarle Suviranta, to represent the University of Helsinki, and Kalle Teodor Jutila, the Finnish Minister to Washington. And to the Finns of Minnesota, the President of Finland, Juhana K. Paasikivi, sent the following greetings:

"I send my warm greetings to the Finns of the State of Minnesota and through them my greetings to all their kindred in America.

"I am convinced that you, the Finns of Minnesota, as well as all other Finnish-Americans, who are loyal citizens of your new country, will not forget Finland, the land of your fathers and forefathers. The goodwill which you have shown us during our recent difficult times and which has been manifest in the magnificent assistance you have given us, is proof that you will not."

The official program (*Memorial Program, Finnish Pioneer Day*) was issued, principally in English language text, in an edition of 5,000 copies, which proved too small. This 48-page booklet, edited by Tom Hiltunen, called attention to the role of the Finns in the development of Minnesota; it also listed the committees responsible for the arrangements made for this day. There was, to begin with, the MFAHS general committee for the Centennial, with Alex Kyyhkynen, Duluth, chairman; Paul Sterling, Duluth, vice-chairman; Matthew Lahti, Virginia, secretary; Einar Lauley,

Virginia, treasurer; Tom Hiltunen, Duluth, field secretary; and Jack V. Anderson, Virginia; Elmer Erkkilä, St. Paul; Matti Erkkilä, Cook; Arthur Forselius, Ely; Mrs. A. Halonen, Minneapolis; Herman Kortesoja, Virginia; Henry Mattson, Cloquet; Richard Silvola, Virginia; and Carl Södergren, Minneapolis. To the reception committee belonged Viena Johnson, Arthur Lampe, Leo Liiste, Jafet Marjamaa, Ralph Sistola, and, as chairman, Arne Sillanpää. The members of the festival committee were Robert Nylund, chairman, with Mrs. Reuben C. Haugen, Selma Jacobson, Mrs. V. A. Luttio and Mrs. Jafet Marjamaa. The staging committee was composed of Jafet Marjamaa as chairman, and serving with him, Herman Fischer, Eino Neittamo, and Ralph Sistola. In addition, there was a registration committee with Mrs. H. Fischer as chairman and Ellen Hiltunen, Mae Jokinen, Mrs. V. Reddenbaugh, Thomas Sillanpää and Joan Sistola as committee members. Arne Setälä served as program sales committee chairman, and he was assisted by Mrs. Elmer Erkkilä, Mrs. Reuben Haugen, Siiri Hiltunen, Mrs. W. J. Kortesmäki, Mrs. Harold Lehto and Arthur Lindeman. A salescommittee had Ralph Kokkonen as chairman, with Albert Haarala, Mrs. Leo Liiste, George Lugas, V. A. Luttio, Aili Sikkilä, Mr. and Mrs. Alvin Ukura, and Leona Wallin, and an exhibition committee was made up of co-chairmen Mrs. W. J. Kortesmäki and Mrs. Herman Kortesoja and members Mrs. Harold Lehto, Mrs. Jafet Marjamaa and Mrs. Ralph Sistola. Finally, the Reverend Edward J. Isaac was in charge of religious arrangements, Roy Jackola in charge of accommodations and Harold Mickelson in charge of refreshments.

These committees worked tirelessly to make the day a success. In the course of their preparations, some 8,500 letters were written and mailed, thousands were received. About \$10,000 was spent, most of it supplied from the sales of publications and advertising space in them, and through the sales of special buttons.

The Finnish Day program began in St. Paul on the evening of Saturday, 20 August, with a banquet and dance. On Sunday morning, a special religious service was held at Como Park, and that afternoon the festival program proper was given, and the day closed with a concert that evening.

In one of the principal addresses at the festivities, Alex Kyyhkynen devoted himself to the role of the Finns not only in the development of Minnesota but throughout America, to the facts that Finnish traditions first appeared on this continent in the Delaware River Valley over three hundred years ago in clearing the wilderness, building and developing this country from its

earliest Colonial period, and that one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was of Finnish descent. Moving on to the moment at hand, and projecting himself into the future, Mr. Kyyhkynen declared that "it is now our responsibility to see to it that the role played in Minnesota by Finnish pioneers and builders will be preserved forever in the pages of American history. It is a responsibility which America expects us to fulfill; it is a responsibility which the people of Finland also expect us to fulfill . . . But we ought not to limit ourselves only to the preparation of the history of the Finns in Minnesota — has not the time come to extend our historical mission to all parts of the country? The Finns of Minnesota have taken significant steps on their own initiative and in the right direction. Now a way must be found to lead to joint efforts to prepare the history of the Finns throughout these United States. The possibilities for carrying out such an undertaking still exist, but it must be done promptly. If this occasion which we are commemorating, if this focusing of attention on the Finnish pioneers and builders of Minnesota could advance us in carrying out that task, an inestimable service to America and its history would result, and we would be on the right path of carrying out our responsibilities and in honoring the memory of our pioneer forefathers in proper and fitting fashion."

The History of the Finns in Minnesota is Written: The hope expressed at the Minnesota Centennial by the MFAHS that the occasion would mark the beginning of an organized undertaking to sponsor the preparation of a history of the Finns in the state moved gradually toward realization.

Early in 1953, the MFAHS established a separate Historical Foundation, which was to commence with the preparation of the history as soon as a sum of \$6,000 had been raised. By October of that year the sum was on hand, and the Foundation engaged Eero A. Pulli, a former editor of the *Suomen Sosiaali-demokraatti*, to act as executive secretary and to begin collection of material, organization of that material, and to commence the actual task of writing. To assist him in the collection of material, to work on the outline of the projected book, to advise on typography, etc., a small committee was appointed: Alex Kyyhkynen, as chairman, and serving with him, Yrjö Halonen, Fred Hendrickson, Lauri Lemberg and A. A. Parviainen. By the time the MFAHS held its annual meeting in January 1954, the work had progressed to the point where a committee was elected, to serve for three years, to further the project: Alex Kyyhkynen, chairman, Fabian

Mäenpää, vice-chairman, A. A. Parviainen, secretary, Alice Anderson, treasurer, and Nicholas Aho, financial secretary. Two-year appointments to the committee were given to E. A. Beckman, Charles Latvala, Frank Linjanen, Erland Rustari, and Amanda Wuopio, and for one year, Wäinö Kortesmäki, Henry Pakkari, Carl Parta, John Räihälä and Verner Saranen. Following this meeting, Pulli made extensive trips throughout the state to consult with local chapters, to collect material, to conduct interviews.

Typical of Pulli's trips is, perhaps, the vignette he has given of one of his midwinter days: "It is possible to go on only a step or two at a time, carefully, along this narrow path shoveled through snowdrifts. Not a person is in sight, and no smoke is rising from the chimney of the solitary house which lies ahead. Apparently there is no one at home. Then a door of one of the out-buildings opens, and a woman appears in the doorway — dressed in a short overcoat, a shawl over her head, her skirt pinned up, revealing high boots. She wipes her face with one hand; in the other is a long knife, dripping with blood.

"I greet her and suggest that the sauna in the background indicates Finns living here, and she concurs, but in accents that hint she is not from Finland's northern provinces. Now another woman appears at the door, much older, dressed like the first. These women turn out to be the farmer's wife and her daughter-in-law, and in the dark shed they are skinning sheep just slaughtered. The older woman starts to walk toward the house, and walking past me she is almost at the door when she asks if a cup of coffee would be welcome.

"Thus a conversation has been started, and there is an opportunity to explain my business, and as soon as the hot coffee is on the table the old woman grows more talkative; she begins to tell her story, speaking haltingly, falling silent, continuing.

"It is just the ordinary tale of the Minnesota wilderness, but to prepare for this history of Minnesota, tales like this have been collected from all corners of the state — from weathered, grey wilderness homes, from villages, towns, the cities."

Approximately at the time when all these materials had been sorted out, Hans R. Wasastjerna, a Finnish student, arrived at the University of Minnesota on a Fulbright scholarship. The MFAHS acquainted him with all the problems facing them in the preparation of their history, and for a year Wasastjerna served as a technical adviser to the board and the editorial committee, and, in addition to his own graduate studies, he did research in St. Paul and Minneapolis libraries for the history. Then, when

Pulli resigned in February 1955, Wasastjerna took over the assignment of editing and writing this history. A drive was made to collect as much material as possible from all available sources, and libraries and newspaper files, and in the summer of 1955, when Wasastjerna returned to Finland, he continued his work from there, did more research in the extensive Finnish archives, and completed this assignment.

Before the history was completed, four members of the MFAHS whose dream it had been to see this work materialize, were dead: Yrjö Halonen, Amanda Wuopio, Carl Parta and Erland Rustari. The special history committee, after 1955, was made up of Alex Kyyhkynen, chairman, and Lauri Lemberg, Arne Halonen, A. A. Parviainen, Toivo Merisalo, Gust Aakula and Edith Koivisto. The completion of the history, in the Finnish language, did not mean that the Society had fulfilled all the goals it had set for itself. New aims were formulated, among them, as first and most important, the translation of the work into English.

Short-lived Groups in Duluth: There have been many kinds of organizations among the Finnish-Americans, some of them more or less permanent, others much less so. The oldest of the organizations which remained short-lived was without doubt the Finnish Cultural Society, which arranged evening socials and then with the proceeds purchased books from Finland; it is possible that this Duluth society formed the earliest Finnish-American lending library, for it was established in 1881.¹⁷

During World War I, there was established in Duluth a Finnish Society (Suomi Seura) which can be regarded as a nationalistic group. In the spring of 1914, the society's chorus, some 20 voices, used to hold its rehearsals in the Odd Fellows' Hall. However, interest in the society was but temporary, for at the end of the same year the *Päivälehti* reported that "the Suomi Seura has been short of breath for some time now. Will it receive an honorable burial?" The burial soon followed.

Immediately following the war, there was in Duluth a women's chorus, "The Blue Maids," with Vera Tiura-Skyttä as musical director. The chorus had but the briefest of existence.

Then came the 1930s, a period of economic depression, which led directly to the founding of at least two Finnish groups. The first of these was the American-Finnish Civic Club of Duluth, started in 1930, but since the society was not really of Duluth but more specifically belonged to the mining area, it will be

17. Ilmonen, *op. cit.* I, p. 27

discussed later. It did have a Duluth section, however, with Wäinö W. Brander as chairman, and the purpose of the society was to aid Finnish-born citizens in finding municipal jobs and positions in their respective communities.

The second organization founded in the 1930s, and of considerably more local interest, was the Townsend Movement which, in the depths of the depression sought to cure economic ills with a program based chiefly on pensions for the old. The existence of Townsend Clubs has already been mentioned in previous chapters, but there was also such a club in Duluth, in addition to a central Finnish bureau, led by Onni Laine, who became more widely known later as a radio announcer. According to Laine, the Finnish bureau was run under the aegis of the Townsend Club organizations and represented the Minnesota area where, says Laine, there were at least 10 clubs, with the last of them, the one at Trout Lake, remaining in existence until 1942.



Duluth's independent mixed chorus in 1922. Front row: Lillian Korvela (Havela), Hilja Korpela (Sieraski), Ruth Lahti, Hilma Kyllönen (Anund). Second row: Martha Isomaa, Maiju Kokko, Alma Arminen, Antti Immonen, director, Margaret Seppälä (Lauttamus), Olga Mattson (Backman), Anna Tenhunen, Alex Kiljander. Third row: Jack Pontinen, Einar Partti, Florence Johnson, Riika Juntunen (Manninen), Selina Vainio, Bertha Saarinen, Valpuri Dahl, Emil Saastamoinen. Back row: John Kyyhkynen, Adolph Lundquist, John Suomela, Frederick Johnson, Gust Miller, Henry Koski, Gustave Lahti.

Finnish Cultural Life in Minnesota: A brief glimpse at the many-sided organized activity in a single Finnish center like Duluth suffices to indicate that the Finnish-Americans, in a new situation, have created much that was original or independent to satisfy their spiritual needs. Wäinö Palm, who has observed the cultural life here for several decades, writes: "Culture is a concept which embraces all creative human activity which seeks with fixed purpose new, broader outlooks and progressive goals, and produces results enriching living conditions or spiritual capital. It is, of course, clear that the Finns of Minnesota, as laborers or workers of primitive farms, were not in a position to follow the paths which had been travelled in Western Europe or, in part, in the eastern parts of the United States. The activity of the Finnish immigrants has followed its own, modest goals. It did not possess, and could not have possessed, a background adaptable to a new environment, in which inherited tradition could have shone forth



Duluth's independent women's chorus which appeared in the Minnesota centennial observance in St. Paul. Front row: Nancy Laine, Hulda Laine, Olga Mäki, Edith Kilponen, Helmi Miller, Saima Salmio, Tyyne Torkko, director, Anna Hopponen, Elma Field, Aune Hannula, Ethel Heikkinen, Naemi Saario. Second row: Mary Siven, Jennie Ruotsinoja, Verna Cerio, Vieno Ekman, Sigrid Higby, Helen Wesala, Laura Taylor, accompanist, Edith Hedin, Dagmar Koski, Ilona Erlund, Eva Vainio, Ina Lax, Valma Tammi. Third row: Elli Warren, Hanna Miettinen, Edith Petrell, Pearl Keinonen, Impi Salo, Helga Kivi, Jennie Sysimäki, Helmi Mäki, Lydia Ollila, Alice Anderson, Agnes Mäki, Hilja Leppi, Laina Laukkanen, Mayme Rajanen. Fourth row: Sadie Krebs, Martha Johnson, Laila Pöyhtäri, Phyllis Polla, Lorraine Paavola, Elsie Ruotsinoja, Betty Eskola, Edith Larson, Lillian Larson, Dorothy Lintula, Viola Impola, Esther Koski, Donna Mae Rajavuori, Evelyn Ollila.

and flourished even amid difficult circumstances. Everything that has been accomplished has been spontaneous, has depended on individual persistence and courage. The Finns who arrived in Minnesota in the early days hardly even dared to dream of enriching themselves spiritually, for they were faced primarily with the task of earning wages, of getting food and clothing. But as soon as economic needs began to be satisfied somewhat, the spiritual needs became apparent: man does not live by bread alone. In all their modesty, Finnish cultural endeavors have been surprisingly many-sided. In general, they did tend to be limited to the framework of one or another society or organization, but in many instances these desires, secretly cherished by one or more of their members, resulted in choral groups, in bands and orchestra, in dramatic groups."

Musical Activities: The earliest Finnish musicians in Minnesota were the fiddlers who played for the Finnish dances. It is impossible to estimate how many such self-taught musicians there have been in all, but some of them managed to get along more or less with just their music to support them. However, the real spark to Finnish-American music came later (the first Finnish band in Minnesota was started in Ely in 1889) when a considerable number of more professional musicians appeared: members of the military bands of Finnish army battalions who came to America when their units were disbanded. On the whole, these men had the wrong idea of what possibilities awaited them on the new continent. Like so many others, they had heard legends of the wealth to be had in this country, and they believed it would be a simple matter to purchase band instruments and start bands which they could serve as salaried directors. Others failed to take into consideration the prevailing musical tastes in the country. Many of these men, then, were faced with disappointment. Those to whom money was the chief concern quickly gave up and turned their backs on such prospects, but fortunately there were others more dedicated.

If one of these military bandsmen settled down in some community, it was to be expected that he would be asked to take over the local band, even though he may never have had experience in conducting. To train such an amateur band to the point where it could just passably face an audience demanded hard work on the part of the conductor as well as the players. Very frequently the embryo musicians could not even read music, so the work had to begin on the most elementary level. But there was enough

determination and persistence, and rehearsals were held evenings, Sundays, whenever there was free time. The hardest problem for these bands was the economic instability which drove workers to quit one area and move off to another. Ilmonen has reported, for example, that in the 30 years of existence of the Conneaut (Ohio) band, it had 20 different conductors, while the musicians were apt to be an entirely different body of players from concert to concert.

Band music, in general, preceded other musical forms, and it is not difficult to explain: band music was popular in the country, among Americans too, and in Finnish settlements there were often so few women present that it was impossible to consider starting such things as mixed choruses, for example. However, a change came soon, and choruses gained in importance. Palm has explained this ascendance: "Without a doubt the Finns are a singing people — even the heroes of the Finnish epic won their battles not with the sword but through song. This tradition of song, as well as many another national tradition, came to America along with the immigrants. Perhaps no Finnish meeting of any kind has been held in Minnesota where there has been no singing. And what kind of song has impressed us most deeply? The answer is clear: our folk songs, which appeal to all of us, speak to all; these have been the popular songs among the Finns of Minnesota."

From the moment when Pekka Westerinen started the first Finnish chorus in Calumet, Michigan, in 1884, hundreds of choral groups have been born and have died. The life expectancy among Finnish-American choruses in Minnesota, according to the experience of Lauri Lemberg, was about three years. Few lived beyond that time, but as soon as one died, plans were soon underway for a new one. The first one to be born in Minnesota came in 1887.

The *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (October 1934) states that the Finns in Minnesota had preserved many elements of the folk music of their country and through it had enriched the musical life of the state. Indeed, choral music is the one form of music of which one can speak of an existence continuing into the post-World War II era, when most Finnish organizations were dead or moribund. The fruitful activity in choral music which the workers' societies and the temperance groups had fostered was approaching its end about the year 1950; choral work continued, however, within the churches and has reaped its share of praise: in the 1920s, for example, the Minneapolis chorus per-

formed with considerable success Handel's *Messiah* in various parts of the state.

If choral groups had gained an ascendance over brass bands, the brass bands themselves were gradually replaced by orchestras. For the conductors this change was not particularly difficult, but for the players it was often impossible, and the younger generation, which had enjoyed music training in their schools, had to take the initiative.

One of the significant personalities in the music world of Duluth was the composer Frank Lindroos. He was born in Viipuri, Finland, where he received his first musical training. Moving to St. Petersburg, he played the flute in the Imperial Army Band until he left for America in 1905, served as band and orchestra conductor in various places, and finally settled down in Duluth. At first he made arrangements of several Finnish songs for orchestra and chorus, but then he began to compose on his own — mostly songs, but including even an operetta. Lindroos died in 1923.

As in so many other activities, Finnish-American musical groups joined together into special organizations, the first of which was the Finnish-American Music Association, founded in Ishpeming, Michigan, in 1911. Its aims were "to unite all Finnish singers and players, regardless of political beliefs, to make known Finnish music, to follow the development of the art of composition in the former homeland and to arrange for lectures, concerts and music festivals." Membership was open to all musical groups with at least four persons, as well as to individual music-lovers. The first board of directors included August Allen, William Brandes, Antti Haapaoja, John Koskela, Vilho Siukonen and George Wahlström. Under its aegis, the first significant music festival was arranged in Duluth in the summer of 1912, with seven choruses and two bands participating. The Governor of Minnesota, A. H. Eberhart, spoke at the festival, which attracted an audience of some 2,000 persons.

In 1917 the new officers of the Association were Emil Björkman, Ivar Frasa, K. Karjalainen, F. W. Kilkka, Victor Koski, V. Kukkonen, Aatu Lundquist, Sanfrid Mustonen and Carl Tolonen. Of these men, Björkman directed choruses in Ely and Virginia, and Mustonen appeared in Duluth as the director of a 30-man chorus he had assembled from all over the United States, and which was making an extensive concert tour whose final destination was Finland. In the spring of 1913 this chorus gave a concert in Duluth and then continued east, but it got no farther than

New York, where it was disbanded. The weakness of the Association lay in its directors being chosen from such widely scattered spots that it proved too difficult for them to get together for meetings, so that the Finnish-American Music Association soon came to an end.

Meanwhile, a Sibelius Society had been founded in Pennsylvania in 1915, with aims parallel to those of the Association. The Sibelius Society, which used the composer's name with his permission, began to supply Finnish-American choruses and instrumental groups with selected music from Finland. As a result, even in Minnesota bands a greater number of Finnish compositions began to appear on concert programs. In addition, the Society published the compositions of Finnish-American composers: A. Hedman, A. A. Lummi, J. R. Kultti, L. Koskela and Väinö Warvikko, as well as some of the piano arrangements of K. L. Klemi. Further, the Society made plans for several trips to Finland and in 1921 the tour of the Louhi Band to Finland materialized. Finally, concert artists from Finland appeared in the United States on tours also arranged by the Society, and many of these artists naturally performed in Minnesota.

Great contributions to the musical life of Minnesota were made by the numerous artists who made appearances there. The Finnish composer Oscar Merikanto made a concert tour of the United States back in the year 1900, and his example was followed by many others. For example, Jean Sibelius visited in the United States in 1914, and as a result of that visit the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, under its conductor Oberhof, became a significant interpreter of his music, a reputation it kept for decades.

To list a few of the many Finnish artists who have appeared in Minnesota, a chronological summary begins in 1905, with the first tour of Pasi Jääskeläinen, who played the *kantele* and sang folk songs and popular music. He was followed by Olli Suolahti, whose contributions were similar but whose success remained more limited. Just before World War I, opera singer Taneli Hurri appeared; in 1917 Elli Suokas (Mrs. Stenbeck) attracted large audiences. Immediately after the war operatic tenor Väinö Sola made the first of his concert tours in America; he had a great success on his first tour and an even greater success on his subsequent tours, when he was served as accompanist respectively by Ernest Linko or his own daughters, Marja and Peikko. Sola was followed by performers of more popular music, especially Alfred Tanner, who appeared everywhere in Minnesota where there was a hall available for him to perform in; later in the 1920s

a similar artist, Tatu Pekkarinen, came on tour, with Matti Jurva as his accompanist. In a return to more serious music, one of the most significant tours was made by operatic soprano Maikki Järnefelt and her composer husband Selim Palmgren, and following one of their concerts the *Minneapolis Journal* reported (13 April 1921) that “hardly has Finland achieved a position of complete freedom and independence among nations than the foremost representatives of her music are already among us, to give us a good impression of one of the youngest and most gifted of peoples. Every nation speaks most sincerely through its music, but few so deeply as Finland. The concert confirmed Maikki Järnefelt as the ambassadress of her country’s song, and in listening to Selim Palmgren every music lover had to forget any other artists who had performed in our state before, with the possible exception of Rachmaninoff.” Other artists who have appeared have been Aapo Similä (1939), soprano Kerttu Siukonen, Sylvia Backman, opera singer Kalle Ruusunen (1948), violinist Kerttu Vanne and her accompanist Astrid Joutseno, and Martti Jalava.

Two Finnish choruses have also appeared with great success. The first was the YL, the Helsinki University Chorus, which made its first tour of the United States in 1938, appearing in Duluth in January of that year and giving a concert at the Duluth Armory before an audience of 2,000. This chorus, under the direction of Martti Turunen, won glowing reviews in the American press. In 1953 the YL made a second tour (appearing in Duluth in November) and once more reaped laurels. Meanwhile, the chorus of the Helsinki Technical Institute (the ‘Teekkarit’) also made a tour, in 1950, under the direction of Ossi Elokas, and won approval wherever it appeared.

Many Finnish artists remained in the United States for longer periods of time or even settled here permanently. For example, conductor Tauno Hannikainen, who came to Duluth in 1940, stayed for six years to conduct the city’s symphony orchestra. Heimo Haitto appeared in 1940 as a 15-year old concert violinist, winning acclaim in concerts sponsored for Finnish relief. He became an American citizen, and in 1955 he made a second tour of Minnesota, coming from his new home, California.

Finnish-American performers from other states also made frequent appearances in Minnesota, and the workers’ societies in particular were active in sponsoring their visits and arranging for their performances. If these performances often left much to be desired, their good will made up for it. The names of Henry

Jokinen (before World War I) and Frank Merisuo (1926) deserve mention as popular singers, and in 1907 O. W. Perm had already appeared as a more serious artist, as did 12-year old Signe Rintala, who toured Minnesota in 1925, with her father as accompanist. Violinists have been several: Maria Koivu, Jalmar Sahlman, Urho Suksi, and Ernest Paananen, with the latter undertaking several concert tours in the state. Among pianists there were William Stein and Martti Nisonen. The latter has also made several appearances in Minnesota as director of the Suomi Opisto choir, which has performed on numerous occasions in Duluth.

Visiting musical ensembles have been fewer in number. Omitting from consideration the visits of bands from neighboring states, the only other band to appear has been the Red Lodge Military Band, in 1908, under the direction of George Wahlström, in a tour arranged by Ephraim Laakkonen. Dance bands have been greater in number, and the group formed by Antti Kosola and John Rosendahl appeared in many towns on their first tour in 1923. When Kosola left, Rosendahl continued the band, with Viola Turpeinen, accordionist, as soloist in subsequent tours. Miss Turpeinen later married cornetist William Syrjälä of Cloquet, and they formed the well-known Turpeinen-Syrjälä orchestra which used to play in New York during the winter months and spent its summers on tour in Minnesota.

In closing, be it mentioned that Hemming Hautala, who had been well-known as a conductor of choral groups and orchestras, operated a music store in Duluth.

Dramatics Groups: If instrumental music is the most international of arts, Finnish music has been presented to everyone who has had the ears to hear. Song has been hardly less international in appeal, regardless of the language of the lyrics. But with drama the language itself has been a major factor, and almost without exception, all the plays acted in all the many Finnish halls in Minnesota have been in Finnish. The Finns have always been a nation of actors. Other nations may rank ahead of Finland in the relative number of professional theaters and the artistic quality of their performances, but if drama is extended to include amateur theatricals, then the Finns rank at the top. And this tradition was one which came to America with the Finnish immigrants, and even in such centers of Finnish settlement where no other joint activities gained a foothold, they at least banded together long enough to rehearse a short play or two.



Presentation of the Moses Hahl play, "Israelin Mooses," by the Hibbing Workers Club dramatic group in 1914. Players: Heikki Lahti, unknown, Heikki Peterson, Matti Vuohela, Vick Tikkanen, John Nykänen, Matt Järvi, Yrjö Heino, Armas Duro, unknown, Kusti Aho, Jussi Passoja.

It is difficult to imagine an economically successful theater if it rejects commercialism in favor of purely art theater concepts. Even in Finland the theater is supported financially by the state, municipalities, and private organizations, but in Finnish-American history the situation has been the exact opposite: the stage has been the source of income with which the work of organizations and societies has been made possible and with which their halls and clubhouses have been built. Not a few of the splendid Finnish halls in Minnesota have been built almost exclusively with the funds raised by amateur play productions. Where the theater producers of the world have tried to select plays they hoped would become box-office successes, which would fill their theaters evening after evening, the Finnish-American circles never dreamed of a play that would be put on night after night, for most often their 'first night' audience was the only audience available.

In the earliest phases of this activity, the chief problem for the Finnish-American groups was the small number of Finnish-language dramas that was available. Most of them had to be ordered from Finland or perhaps be borrowed from other groups. Once the play was on hand there was still the major task of writing out the various roles, for often the play came in manuscript form; only a few were in print, and if they were, usually only one

or two copies were bought, from which the individual roles were copied out, most often in longhand.

In 1921 Lauri Lemberg began the supplying of plays and role-books on a business basis. He started by ordering a few plays from Finland, chiefly from Jalmari Finne, who was an active translator of plays from Swedish, German and French originals. Buying two typewriters, Lemberg and his wife began the task of typing out as many copies as they could manage. Later he even wrote a few plays himself, and adapted and translated others into Finnish. In 1922 he sent one play he had written (*The Five of Hearts*) to Finne in Finland, suggesting that it might be produced there; it was, in fact, taken into the repertoire of the Peoples' Theater, and so Lemberg was able to become a member of the Finnish Playwrights' League and to become the League's representative for the United States and Canada.

The 1920s were, then, the most flourishing years of the Finnish-American theater. Every society and organization had its own dramatics group, and every such group needed plays. To meet this demand, Lemberg even had to hire a staff of typists. Somewhat later his business increased further when he became the sales representative of Finnish films in partnership with Robert Anderson.

It was during this decade, too, that Communism seemed to flourish among Finnish-Americans, and their programs became more active and their dramatics groups more numerous. In the beginning, the Communist groups rented their plays from Lemberg, too, but a few years later they opened their own play rental service in Chicago. There was, naturally, a certain amount of confusion. Lemberg was the official representative of the Finnish Playwrights' League and responsible for the collection of royalties for every performance of plays written by the League's members, no matter how the plays had been procured by any given group. Almost all the communist theater groups refused to pay the royalties required, arguing that they had already paid these to their own rental service; that service, in turn, argued that they had just as much right to rent out plays as anyone else. At that time, unfortunately, there was no copyright agreement between Finland and the United States, but when this agreement did come, in 1929, the communist play rental service stopped marketing plays by members of the Finnish Playwrights' League. Not long after, they gave up their play rental service altogether, although the Workers' Institute did maintain such a service from 1932 to 1942, when the *Industrialisti* newspaper took it over.

When restrictions on immigration began to have their effect, Finnish-American organizations and societies found their activities, including their dramatics, beginning a steady decline. World War II brought activity almost to a dead stop. It no longer paid to import plays from Finland, and Lemberg resigned as representative of the League and terminated his play rental service in 1946.

Regardless of what opinion one might hold of the dramatic qualities of Finnish-American productions, one can note throughout an attempt to open up distant horizons, to transport an audience to some new, strange locale. Palm has written that "the artistic merit of a play or its lack of merit was rarely a factor in its being chosen for performance or being rejected. Naturally, the workers' societies avoided plays ridiculing their beliefs, just as the temperance societies did, too, but on the whole any play was deemed acceptable if it was felt that it would interest an audience." If some plays had to be rejected because they demanded too much in the way of costumes or scenery, no play was rejected because it was felt a miner or a struggling farmer could not stand on the boards to portray a heroic Swedish Renaissance king, for example. Often there was no distinction made between the sublime and the everyday, and many a romantic drama received a naturalistic interpretation. The best results, of course, were achieved with what were almost Finnish folk plays, with Alexis Kivi's *Nummisuutarit* (The Heath Cobblers) or Teuvo Pakkala's *Tukkijoella* (The Loggers.) Even in these plays, however, characterization remained scant, and the Finnish amateur was content to play himself while speaking the words of another.

Classical drama remained untouched, Shakespeare largely ignored, although most of his plays have been available in translation. Schiller's youthful *Robbers* was produced on several stages, and Gerhart Hauptmann's naturalistic drama, *The Weavers*, was acted quite widely. Strindberg's searing and realistic *Father*, as well as Ibsen's *Ghosts*, *The Doll House* and other dramas were given but *Peer Gynt* ignored. Björnson and Holberg were well-known in the earlier years; Tolstoi and Gogol and other Russian authors were tried on some stages. Shaw was scantily represented, Eugene O'Neill almost not at all, but Hungarian comedies with music, gypsies and wild dances were very popular. When some drama groups reported that they had given over sixty plays, not counting short and one-act plays, it is possible to imagine what a variety of fare must have been included.

Naturally the dramas of Finland's own writers formed the mainstay of Finnish-American productions, for they were naturally

easier to comprehend. The plays of Alexis Kivi were given repeatedly, and the works of Minna Canth were almost as popular. Indeed, one of her plays — *The Hard-Luck Children* might be a literal translation of its title — which had aroused a storm when first produced at the Finnish National Theater in Helsinki, raised such a storm when it was given by one dramatics group in Minnesota that the society which sponsored it was literally split into two as a consequence. The historical plays of Gustav von Numers and Eino Leino were given, and workers' groups did not neglect Hella Wuolijoki, while other authors who were heard include Kaarlo Halme, Maiju Lassila, Maria Jotuni, Linnankoski, Pekkanen, as well as the author of many hilarious farces, Agapetus.

Furthermore, when the workers' societies alone put on as many as 3,000 play performances per year (according to the estimates of F. J. Syrjälä) it was natural that this activity would also spark Finnish-Americans to writing plays of their own. Sulkanen has considered Moses Hahl, Lauri Lemberg, Felix Hyske and Anna Stein to be the most significant of these domestic playwrights, although Lemberg himself would add the names of Hilma Johnson and Fanny Ojanpää to this list. Plays have also been written by Matti Kurikka, Eemeli Parras, Mikael Rutanen and Niilo Terho, while Kaarlo Nissinen, Toivo N. Nousio and John Puolakka were skillful adapters. According to Sulkanen, Hahl was the most original in his talents: fighting against prevailing conservative beliefs, he often made bourgeoisie morality and concepts the point of his attacks, which sometimes went too far. As for directors, the best-known in Minnesota, according to Lemberg, were Robert Anderson and Walter Laakso, both of Duluth, although the former worked everywhere in Minnesota and in many places in the neighboring states.

Compared to the many guest appearances which enriched local musical life so greatly, visiting actors have been far fewer in number. In the mid-1920s Elli Tompuri did tour extensively in the United States, including Minnesota. She had engaged several actors in New York to join Sandelin and Saloranta, who had come with her from Finland, and this group performed the romantic *Elinan surma* (The Slaying of Elina.) This tour, moreover, was not her only one, for she returned to present a program of readings of Finnish poetry in English translation, appearing chiefly at various colleges and universities; however, on this tour she also put in appearances at various Finnish centers in Minnesota. Her programs were made up chiefly of Eino Leino's poetry, but did include such numbers as Esko's soliloquy from Kivi's *Nummi-*

suutarit. After her, Albert Saloranta came with a group of his own in 1925, and the next to appear was Aarne Orjatsalo, who made up a cast of actors from Duluth to assist him in his production of Herman Bahr's *The Master*: Lauri and Sigrid Lemberg, Kerttu Lindros, Matti Pellinen and Antti Vitikainen. Later he made another tour of Minnesota, performing in Lemberg's play, *Haihtuvia pilviä* (Fading Clouds.) The next guests were Veikko Antero and Maikki Ruoppila, who performed Dario Nicodemi's play *Night and Day*. At Christmas 1926, Kirsti Suonio arrived, with her son-in-law Martti Similä, and Mme. Suonio, a star of the Finnish National Theater, arranged a production of *Tukkijoella*, selecting local talent for the supporting roles: Matti Kero, Matti Pellinen, Impi Salo, Sigrid Lemberg and Robert Anderson. In 1929 there came Annie Mörk, of the Turku Theater, performing several plays with the help of Onni Gabriel (from Helsinki), and John Mattila and Hugo Nordlund, Finnish-Americans from Astoria and New York respectively.

The first guests from neighboring areas were a group from Port Arthur, Canada, who performed two plays in Duluth in 1911 under their director Felix Hyske. A year later they visited Duluth again, as well as other communities in northern Minnesota, with a repertory of five plays. In 1913 and 1914 they paid further visits, bringing one new play with them each time. The workers' society group from Superior, across the river, paid numerous visits, and their opposite numbers from New York brought a group of operettas under the direction of Aarre Linnala.

Along with the actors, a few dancers have also made their appearances in the state: the brother-and-sister team of Akseli and Tyyne Vuorisalo made two tours of the state, and in the 1930s Tuulikki Paananen made a tour.

More recently, after World War II, the frequently mentioned FAAC of Duluth was probably the only place in Minnesota where any plays were being put on at all, but even here it was but a pale reflection of the halycon years when as many as 500,000 Finns a year were able to go to plays, acted in Finnish, almost any week of the year.

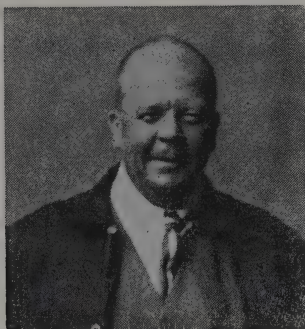
In answer to a query as to what this theater activity contributed to Finnish-American life, Lauri Lemberg stated: "In the first place, it gave the Finns living here an acquaintance with Finland's great dramatists, interpreted their ideals and aspirations to their fellow Finns here, and thus kept intact the spiritual ties between the old and the new country. In the second place, the theatricals, and the halls they built, offered a suitable meeting

place for thousands of Finns who had left everything behind them, including their parents' possible guidance, and who were here, owing responsibility only to themselves. In the third place, it developed within the Finnish areas of settlement a body of workers in a cultural field, who profited from this experience and went on about their other endeavors as enriched individuals." Tom Hiltunen has remarked that after these groups had passed through the King Alcohol and Bogeyman Capitalist stage, the Finnish halls, with their dramatics groups, developed into a schooling in democratic principles, much as the town halls have served for American youth. And Jokinen has written in his study that this "dramatic activity became so enormously successful because in it were united the immigrants' educational, economic and political aspirations into a harmonious whole."

Poetry and poetry readings are art forms which are still alive in Minnesota. It might even be argued that never was so much poetry written and read before audiences as in the period between the two world wars. The following are among the Minnesota Finnish-language poets: Hilma Kanerva, who wrote under the pen name Kaista Kataja), Vera Keskinen, Konstant Kiikka (Hartman), Terttu Kätkä, Adolph Lundquist, William Mattson, Wäinö Palm, Frank Selin, Robert Gilberg and Onni Syrjäniemi. Among the poets in the labor movement, Sulkanen considers Aku Päiviö to have been far above the others. Päiviö wrote and published a great number of poems — about ten volumes in print — and he also wrote many poems for special occasions, many of them for reading in the Minnesota socialist halls. Before Päiviö, Alex Halonen had published a small volume of verse, and after Päiviö came names like Moses Hahl, Felix Hyske, Konstant Kiikka, William Lahtinen, Victor Loukola, Toivo Nousio, Eemeli Rautiainen, Mikael Rutanen, Paul Suorsa, Kalle Toivola and Mikko Uotinen. All these writers also appeared before the public as readers of poetry, and in addition to them, Syyne Alanko, Sam Koskela, Laina Partanen, Helmi Mäkelä, Hilma Pehkonen, Ernest Pitkänen, Josephine Rauma and Siiri Toivonen are remembered for their poetry readings.

The Fine Arts: Painter Juho Rissanen opened his studio in Duluth in 1944, to work on the monumental picture of the Minnesota pioneers for the MFAHS (see above) and to produce many other paintings which hang in numerous Finnish homes. The paintings of Edith Koivisto, of Hibbing, have been exhibited in New York, Minneapolis, Duluth and Hibbing. Well-known Sunday

painters have included Robert Anderson, Walter Laakso and radio announcer Arne Karhu. Two commercial artists of Duluth must also be mentioned, Antti and Orvo Lemberg; the former has his own studio, the latter is chief of the lay-out department of the



Juho Rissanen

Vogue-Wright Studio. Finally, sculptor Mauno Oittinen worked in Duluth during 1949, and many of his works are to be found in Finnish homes.

The Finns have also become represented in architecture, with many of these architects being graduates of the state university. Many of them, like Arne Purhonen of Duluth, are employed outside Minnesota. However, architect Verner Lignell worked in Duluth for several years, and during that time he designed a projected "Finlandia Building." In the younger generation, Eino Jyring of Hibbing has gained attention through the many modern churches and schools he has designed for various communities, but particularly in the mining region. At Christmas 1956 he established a fund in memory of his parents, Ida and Charles Jyring, with \$10,000 as a nucleus; the interest is used to grant scholarships to promising graduates of rural high schools in St. Louis County who wish to continue their education but require financial assistance.

The Minnesota Highway Department employs topographer Elmer Erkkilä. His signature appears on the cover designs of many state sponsored urban and highway maps, and the MFAHS centennial emblem is his design.

Finnish Films: The first Finnish film to be brought to Minnesota was entitled "Finland." It was imported in 1921 by Hjalmar Mäki, who arranged showings of it throughout the state.

It has already been mentioned that in 1922 Robert Anderson and Lauri Lemberg joined forces to provide Finnish films for

distribution throughout the country. Later, Carl H. Salminen became Duluth distributor for Suomi Films, and he brought many films into Minnesota in the years up to 1935, and he also sent to Finland a couple of films of his own, documentaries showing Finnish summer festivals and everyday life of the Finnish-Americans of Minnesota.

Swedish-Finnish Organizations: Mention has been made in the preceding pages of Finnish organizations in Duluth over the decades, but of the Swedish-Finnish organizations, in West Duluth particularly, only their congregations have been mentioned. There were, of course, other organizations as well. One of them, the temperance society Ljusstralen, was established in September 1904, and it became Chapter 34 of the Svensk-Finska Nykterhetsförbundet av America. It had a sewing circle and a chorus, named Echo; chairman of the society for years was one E. Johnson. In December 1912 there was founded the Norden Society, which in turn became Chapter 20 of the Swedish-Finnish Benevolent Association of America organization. In 1920 the Norden Society had a membership of 160, but at this point the Ljusstralen and Norden groups joined together, to form the local chapter (No. 21) of the Runeberg Orden. Almost simultaneously, a Runeberg Orden chapter (No. 30) was organized in Duluth proper. In 1954, Chapter 21 had 101 members and Chapter 30 had 84. The West Duluth chapter adopted English as its official language in 1928. In August 1939, Chapters 21 and 30 together served as hosts for the Grand Lodge convention, bringing together delegates from the entire country, and in 1950 Chapter 21 was host to the 12th Central District Convention. Chapter member Carl O. Gustafson served for years as the Central District chairman.

Newspapers and Periodicals: As the center of so many and diverse activities, Duluth has also formed the most important center for the Finnish journalistic activities in Minnesota. The leftist newspapers have already been mentioned, but there were also other newspapers, magazines, other occasional publications and a very extensive publishing activity in general. The Finnish newspapers published in Duluth have gone through many colorful and complicated phases, and often the threads to give a complete story of their careers have to be sought outside the state.

In 1891, for example, three Finnish newspapermen happened to meet in Astoria, Oregon: Adolf Riippa, who had gained his newspaper experience in Finland; Alex Ketonen, typesetter and

printer; and J. E. Saari, with extensive business experience, of whom previous mention was in connection with the Minnesota Legislature. These three decided to start a Finnish newspaper in Astoria and did succeed in beginning publication of the *Lännetär*, doing their typesetting and printing at a printing firm where a German and a Swedish newspaper were also being put to press. However, financial problems plagued the paper, and when an alternate location was sought, Superior, Wisconsin seemed to offer the most promise, and so the paper was transferred there in 1893, when Antero Riippa, who had just arrived from Finland, joined the staff. The paper was given a new name, the *Siirtolainen* (The Immigrant) but it still continued to have financial problems. At about the time when these problems appeared most pressing, G. A. Grönlund, the owner of the *New Yorkin Lehti*, published in that city, happened to pay a visit to Superior, and in the course of his visit it was decided to combine the two papers, with publication to be made in New York. The *Siirtolainen* masthead was retained, and Akseli Järnefelt-Rauanheimo became editor-in-chief, with Adolf Riippa leaving the paper. When Rauanheimo returned to Finland in 1896, Esa Eetu Takala became editor. At this time the *Siirtolainen* was a weekly publication, and with Grönlund's printing firm having gone into bankruptcy, publication was taken over by the Finnish American Publishing Company, which happened to be owned by J. E. Saari.

At the turn of the century land was being sold in Michigan for a proposed new Finnish community, and the old dream of a truly Finnish colony seized the *Siirtolainen*, too, and took it to Kaleva, Michigan, though this time the move was a harder one, with machinery to be moved along with everything else. An enthusiastic young man, Aaro Jalkanen, joined the staff to work with Antero Riippa to try to make both the paper and the new community a success. However, Jalkanen soon moved to Calumet to join the *Päivälehti*, and his place was taken by Kaapo Murros. When the latter moved to Calumet, too, Riippa remained alone as responsible editor of the *Siirtolainen*. There were periods when he had assistant editors — Eenokki Lehtinen, then Evert Määttä, finally Artturi Pelto. In 1910 the paper was faced with another move, to Duluth, and there it met its fate.

The Päivälehti: The next course to be traced began in Calumet, Michigan, at the turn of the century. It was at this time that the 'Copper Island' was at its most flourishing, and a constant stream of Finns poured into the community, to be followed by newspapers to serve them. Papers already on the scene were

the *Amerikan Urtiset* and the *Suometar*, and in nearby Hancock (where the first Finnish-language newspaper had begun on 28 April 1876) there was then being published the *Amerikan Suometar*. To these was added the *Päivälehti* in 1901. Its first owner was Sanfrid Mustonen, and the printshop was under the direction of J. A. Harpet, who also worked in the editorial department. The first permanently employed writers were Eetu Aaltio and Aaro Jalkanen.

The *Päivälehti*, together with the *Amerikan Uutiset*, was soon bought by J. E. Saari. When the 'Copper Island' saga seemed to be drawing to a close on the eve of World War I, the newspapers had to move to fresh fields, to more flourishing Finnish centers. It was then that Saari moved both of his papers to Duluth, where he already had the *Siirtolainen*. It was the *Siirtolainen* which, in its issue of 13 January 1914 made known Saari's plans: "Beginning on 2 February, the *Amerikan Uutiset*, the *Päivälehti* and the *Siirtolainen* will all appear in Duluth as papers of the Finnish-American Publishing Company, whose sole owner is J. Saari." The *Päivälehti* was to appear six days a week, the others once a week. The statement of policy declared that all three newspapers were independent of any political affiliation, did not represent the special interests of any religious sect, and would be completely neutral in every respect.

At the time the move to Duluth was made, the editors of the *Päivälehti* were Gust Sarvisto, Antero Riippa and Eino Kuutti, while A. O. Hurja was business manager, Jafet Marjamaa was bookkeeper, and typesetters included Väinö Pernu, Alma Männistö (Mrs. Lundquist), Kalle Ruuttila, Urho Toivola, William Peterson and Heikki Karhu, who later transferred to the writing staff (but then left the paper to return to Calumet), and printers were John Soronen and John Wäisänen, and circulation manager, George Langen. Only one change was in the offing, in spite of Saari's policy statement, and that was a change in ownership itself, which came within a few months.

This latest development stemmed back to a weekly paper, the *Raittiuslehti* (The Temperance Paper) which had begun publication in August 1913 (it bore, to be sure, the same name as an earlier paper, previously mentioned, but had nothing else in common with its predecessor), as an 8-page paper printed at the *Siirtolainen* presses. Its editor was Aarne Ervast, and its business manager, Hans Lankinen. By the end of 1913 the hope was expressed that the *Raittiuslehti* would soon appear at least two or three times a week, and many meetings to discuss this possibility

were held by the paper's board of directors. The decision to go ahead was soon apparently so certain that tentative steps were taken to procure their own printing presses, but this ended suddenly with an announcement in June 1914 that the *Päivälehti* and the *Siirtolainen*, together with all their assets and printing facilities had been purchased by the temperance people. In explaining this bold move, the temperance newspaper board declared that they considered Duluth to be the best possible center in the whole United States for the home of a newspaper. The names *Päivälehti* and *Siirtolainen* would be retained — as well as the company's name, but with these papers in their hands, and with the proper utilization of them, the temperance people felt that they had a weapon which could advance their cause 'with giant angel steps.' If many readers supported the move, the *Pohjan Tähti*, the official voice of the Eastern States Temperance League, opposed it with snide comments due possibly to a fear of competition. And the annual convention of the Middle Western Temperance League, held a month after the purchase, was so rife with dissension about the affair, too, that it was threatened with a split. However, it was not until two years later that the publishing program was terminated with the sale of the Finnish-American Publishing Company to Carl H. Salminen.

The *Päivälehti* continued to exist, then, as an important newspaper. Immediately after its move to Duluth it had begun to strengthen its circulation department, and the paper became available on newsstands and even on trains. It prided itself on its alertness and wide coverage, and when World War I broke out in Europe, the *Päivälehti* announced publication of a special Sunday 'war extra' for a newsstand price of 5c the copy. Annual subscription at that time cost \$5.00; classified ads cost 25c, or could be printed three times for 50c; larger ads cost 5c the line, obituaries cost \$1.00 plain, \$1.25 with a requiem verse, \$1.50 with two more verses. In addition, the *Päivälehti* operated a bookstore.

The *Siirtolainen* also continued to appear, as a sort of weekly supplement, until 1938. After that time, the *Päivälehti* began to put out semi-annual magazines, at Christmas and midsummer. Salminen continued to own the *Päivälehti* for almost a quarter of a century. Then, after a brief period of ownership by a seven-man company, it was purchased in 1940 by the Raivaaja Publishing Company of Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Elis Sulkanen arrived from New York to become editor, assisted by John L. Ollila and business manager Kosti Erlund. This change in ownership

brought no significant editorial changes: it continued to appear as a neutral, patriotic paper. Economically, however, the paper was weak, and the new owners sent out Frank Aaltonen to try to improve the situation. It was, however, already the beginning of the end, which the paper's last business manager, Nicholas Aho, has described: "Aaltonen realized he was in unknown territory and soon went back East. Weighed down by continuing financial difficulties, Sulkanen resigned after a year and a half. The business manager, Kosti Erlund, also resigned, and so did soon afterwards his successor, Jalmar Nukala. With Sulkanen's departure there was a staff re-organization, and Lauri Lemberg, foreman of the composing room, became business manager and John J. Ollila became editor." Lemberg soon returned to the composing room, and then Nicholas Aho became business manager.

It was on 15 October 1948 that the readers of the *Päivälehti* were to have a sad announcement: "A great misfortune has occurred to the *Päivälehti* . . . the paper has continued publication because profits from private printing orders have permitted it, but now that we have lost our presses and with that the possibility of accepting job orders, it seems impossible to go on. The board of directors of the *Päivälehti*, aware of the insufficiency of income, is forced to discontinue publication of the newspaper, of which the present issue is to be the last."

The Keskilännen Sanomat: The last entrant in this chapter of the rise and fall of Finnish newspapers in Duluth was a paper named the Midwest News, *Keskilännen Sanomat*, which was established in 1949. Its editor became Onni K. Syrjäniemi, whose long career in the newspaper field had begun in 1918 in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, where he was on the staff of the *Pohjan Tähti*, until 1926, during the latter years serving as editor-in-chief. After that came three years with similar rank on the *Amerikan Suomalainen*, also in Fitchburg, and then the same position with the *Kansan Lehti* in Cleveland, Ohio, until 1934. After a two-year interval on the staff of the *Päivälehti* his name next appeared in Astoria, Oregon, where he was editor-in-chief of the *Suometar* from 1939 to 1941, when he came east to the *New Yorkin Uutiset* for an eight-year stay before taking over the new *Keskilännen Sanomat* in Duluth. Syrjäniemi was honored with membership in the Order of the White Rose of Finland in recognition of his work.

The *Keskilännen Sanomat* was published by the Midwest Finnish Publishing Company, whose board of directors included A. W. Havela, president, John V. Niemi, vice-president, A. E.

Rajanen, secretary-treasurer, and Onni Laine, Aili Niemi, Walter Salmio and Onni Syrjäniemi. John Niemi, who served as business manager, was also the majority stockholder. The newspaper was published twice a week, at a subscription fee of \$6.00 per year. That the enterprise did not come up to its stockholders' expectations was apparent in a financial report of March 1955, declaring that the paper had operated at a loss of over \$9,200 in 1954.



Finnish newspapers published in Minnesota in 1956.

remained as the only Finnish newspaper being published in Duluth. *Amerikan Kaiku*: There have been other newspapers published in Finnish in Duluth, but they have all been more or less temporary. One of the early ones was the *Pohjolainen*, published in Duluth during 1902-1903, but edited in part in Virginia, Minnesota. The men behind this enterprise were Eetu Aaltio, Väinö Koivisto and Arvid Södergren.

Another paper with a brief Duluth existence was the *Amerikan Kaiku* (American Echo), which had an unusual history behind it.

If the 1955 loss was a great deal less, the paper nevertheless met sudden death in February 1956. The end was reported in *Minnesotan Uutiset*, which explained that it was due to the sudden death of John Niemi and the impossibility of finding a new man capable of bringing in the required advertising revenue on which the existence of the paper depended. By agreement, the *Minnesotan Uutiset* was being sent to the readers of the defunct *Keskilämmen Sanomat* to satisfy their unexpired subscriptions. After this, the *Industrialisti* re-

It began in New York City when the *Siirtolainen* quit that city and left the Finns there without a paper of their own. At this point there arrived in New York the former editor of the *Helsingin Päivälehti*, Eero Erkko, who had been exiled from his homeland. In 1903, then, with Erkko as editor, the *Amerikan Kaiku* began to appear in New York. One of the ideas Erkko pushed in his columns was the need for a new Finnish-American organization to which those with national feelings could belong. The idea bore fruit in a meeting held in August 1904 in Ishpeming, Michigan, where people interested in such an organization gathered from all over the country and began the Finnish-American National League. The *Amerikan Kaiku* continued to foster the league and its ideals enthusiastically, but when Erkko was in a position to return to Finland, the paper no longer concerned itself with the matter. Indeed, it seemed to begin a rapid decline, which led to its name, if not much more, being transferred to Duluth.

The new phase began (according to Konstant Kykyri in the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* for 1949) with a meeting on a winter evening around the stove of the Saari & Campbell general store in Sparta, Minnesota, in 1906, to discuss the possibilities of starting a newspaper. All the men present were members of the Knights of Kaleva: John Saari, Matti Sipola, John and Isak Hakomäki, Onni Kaivos, Ludvig Kokko, Erik Rosted, Konstant Kykyri, all of Sparta, and August Perry (Piira) from Eveleth and Pastor Matti Lehtonen from Duluth: all decided they wanted a newspaper, and all committed themselves to buying stock in a new venture, and promised to try to raise further funds, but only from other Kaleva men, to make a start possible.

At the same meeting they laid down the program they meant to follow, and this policy was also to be its death sentence, although they were unaware of it then. Disgusted with the newspapers which were then being published — filled with railing, carping, and insults, which had led many responsible for them to jail sentences and had given the Finns a bad name and had done nothing to foster their solidarity — the new group was determined that their newspaper would not set itself up as the special organ of any faction but would try to give recognition to the positive aspects of any and all, regardless of faction.

The project received warm support, and then came a further development which made the group hasten with their plans: interested friends in Ironwood sent a young man named J. W. Lilius to Sparta. He had worked on a newspaper in Viipuri and had but recently come to the United States and was now working

for the *Kansan Lehti* in Ironwood, but he was prepared to resign to assume editorship of this new paper. With an editor already on the scene, the potential stockholders were called together, and so the Finnish-American Publishing Company was established with a capital of \$20,000, and a board of directors was elected: John Saari, president, Konstant Kykyri, secretary, August Perry, treasurer, and as members, Pastor Lehtonen and John Thompson (Kukko) from Ely.

Continuing these speedy developments, Lilius heard that the printing presses of the now defunct *Amerikan Kaiku* were available for purchase, and so he was sent to New York to inspect this property: it was in good condition, the typesetting machine of the newest type, the press likewise, and all available for \$3,000 cash. Within a matter of weeks the machinery was in Duluth and installed in ground floor quarters in the Metropole Building on Michigan Street, while personnel to run the shop were being interviewed and hired.

John Thompson, of the board of directors, was named business manager, and Lilius became officially the editor. However, the job of putting out a paper twice a week was soon too much for Lilius alone, so Reverend Erland Wirkki of Red Lodge was invited to become assistant editor. The only difficulty now was the ever-present financial one, and when Lilius informed the directors that expenses ought to be cut and income increased, the storm of criticism this aroused led to Wirkki's resignation. This move resulted in no cut in expenses, for Risto Lappala was engaged as the new assistant editor.

The newspaper continued to follow the policies originally laid down by its directors, but in practice it did not satisfy the various factions and tendencies. This, in turn, had a discouraging effect on the paper, already faced with financial problems, and so the business manager resigned. The directors and stockholders still refused to admit defeat and persuaded Kykyri, the secretary of the board to become the business manager. For almost a year more the paper struggled on, being forced to cut its staff, after all, to cut expenses, but in the end even this was not enough. A state of bankruptcy was eventually declared, with board president John Saari and treasurer August Perry, who held a mortgage for \$700 against the company, as administrators of an enterprise whose debts amounted to about \$12,000.

In reading old issues of the *Amerikan Kaiku* before and after its move to Duluth, it must be admitted that Sulkanen is in some respects right in claiming that in Erkko's hands the newspaper

was pro-labor, and that when it moved to Duluth it became simply an ordinary bourgeois paper.

Koti-Home: At about the time when the *Päivälehti* moved to Duluth, many Finnish-Americans held that the greatest deficiency in the Finnish-language press in America was the lack of a magazine which could have treated certain subjects with greater depth than the daily press. To meet this need, there was established in Duluth in 1922 a monthly illustrated magazine, *Koti-Home*. In its statement of policy in the first number it was said that "we will defend all good endeavors of the Finnish-Americans. We do not desire particularly to present any new or independent proposals or in any way to scorn previously made plans or work in progress. Naturally we will not make special pleas for any specific faction, sect or creed. We will give our impartial support to all. This magazine will be bilingual, since with neither one language alone will we be able to reach both parents and their children. If *Koti* were to appear in Finnish, our children would not read it; if it were to appear in English, the older people would not care for it."

Under the *Koti-Home* title was a sub-title, "Educational Monthly," and it had a motto stating, "Education produces good homes; good homes build a great nation." Annual subscription cost \$3.00; single copies, 30c. The size of the issue was usually 64 pages. It was published by a firm named the American Home Publishing Company, whose president was Dr. E. I. Lindgren; secretary, C. J. Tolonen; treasurer, Victor H. Gran. Combined business manager and editor was Jussi Hinkkanen. It took the company two years to come to the realization that there was not much possibility for success for a bilingual magazine such as this; it was moved to Hancock, Michigan, where it very shortly expired.

Siirtokansan Kalenteri: In the previous discussion of the MFAHS, the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* already received mention. The first issue of this annual appeared in 1917 in Brooklyn, New York, at the presses of the *New Yorkin Uutiset*, with Eetu Aaltio as editor. Moved to Duluth, the annual was produced and printed several years as an undertaking of the United States and Canada Newspapermen's League, with the *Päivälehti's* editors serving as the editors for the annual as well. Then the *Päivälehti* took over its publication altogether, and it was edited until 1940 by Carl H. Salminen. At that time Lauri Lemberg became its editor, and when the *Päivälehti* died in 1948 the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri*

remained in Lemberg's possession. He published it for two years and then in 1950 presented it to the MFAHS, which has continued to publish it from that time. For the 1951 and 1952 editions, it appeared under the joint editorship of Lemberg and Matti Erkkilä, but with Erkkilä then moving to California, Lemberg once more became sole editor. For a number of years the *Siertokansan Kalenteri* has been printed by the Amerikan Uutiset in New York Mills with Edward Riippa, editor, Russell Parta business manager and the MFAHS as publisher.

To complete the list being made, mention of several publications of more limited appeal and brief sojourn in Duluth is in order. First there was *Terveystemme* (Our Health), a monthly which began publication in 1918 but had a very brief life. A much longer life has been enjoyed by the *Veljeysviesti* (Brotherhood Messenger) which was born in Duluth circa 1925 but soon moved to Astoria, Oregon; in the 1950s, it continued to be edited in California but to be published in Superior. In 1926, a short-lived journal, the *Opas* (Guide) appeared in Duluth, and during the same decade several periodicals of religious nature made their appearance: one of them was *Totuus* (The Truth), which came out twice weekly during the 1920s as a Methodist publication. During the same time there was another *Totuus* appearing in Duluth also, a literary weekly edited and published by William Risto for several years. At the end of the decade a quarterly, *Etsijä* (The Seeker), made its appearance, promising an impartial treatment of ethical problems but in reality being a theosophist organ, published by Carl H. Salminen, with a life span of not much more than one year. A magazine, *Kristitty* (The Baptized) appeared during the mid-1920s, with publication in Duluth and Eveleth.

Still to be mentioned is the *Finska Mission Posten* (in Swedish), a Baptist periodical born in Duluth in 1906, with F. Esselström as editor; its body of subscribers had grown to some 1,400 when it moved to Chicago. *Uusi Aika* (The New Era), started by Pastor Risto Lappala in Duluth in 1914, was moved to Chicago, too — via New York. The *Kirkonkello* (Church Bell), now published at Finlayson, was published in Duluth throughout the 1930s, and during the 1940s another paper with the same name was edited and published in West Duluth by Pastor Lepistö. A periodical called *Kalevan Kansa* was published in Duluth from 1930 to 1933, and in 1937 there appeared for a few months an English-language *Finnish-American Weekly*, published by the *Päivälehti*. Finally, during 1938-39 there appeared, at times in

Duluth, at times in Floodwood, Minnesota, a political weekly called *Amerikan Farmari*: it was, frankly, a Republican Party organ, edited by Gust Saari, and profit from sales played no role in the enterprise, and once the elections were over the paper promptly folded.

The Radio as News Media: The Finnish Winter War (1939) brought to life a monthly magazine *Kuuluttaja* (The Announcer), also called at times the *Radio Kuuluttaja-Commentator*, which radio announcer and newscaster Onni Laine began as soon as the war started. As the only Finnish-language radio publication in America, the Finns were able to read in it news in their own language and see photographs of the hopeless war their former homeland was fighting. The *Kuuluttaja* cost \$1.00 per year, or 10c per copy, and it continued to appear as long as it was possible to obtain news from Finland, then broke off for a time when the war became world wide and it was impossible to receive mail from Finland, then resumed publication in 1944 when an armistice came between Finland and Russia. After this, however, interest gradually seemed to lessen, and after Finnish relief programs came to an end so did the *Kuuluttaja*, which had been edited from 1940 on by Heikki Karhu.

Onni Laine's Finnish-language radio programs had begun in Duluth in March 1937 over Station KDAL. There was not much enthusiasm on the part of the station for an interruption in schedule to give a foreign language program which might make regular listeners turn the dial elsewhere, so the program began with five minutes allotted to it at an early morning hour. Within three weeks the station was about to call off even this, unless the program succeeded in finding a sponsor. Laine did succeed in getting the big Occident Flour Milling Company to sponsor his program. Then, when the war came, the number of listeners grew greatly and the program became so popular that Occident continued its support for five years, during which time Laine's program was lengthened to 15 minutes a day, with news, commentary, interviews and Finnish music. The Occident sponsorship was followed by other advertisers, and after the war Laine made new arrangements for his program, transferring it to Station WDSM, from which he purchased 15 minutes time per day and retained the fees paid him by his sponsors.

Book Publication: Since Duluth had been the site of several fairly large publishing companies active in book publication during the last half century, and since all of Minnesota's Finnish-Americans who have ever written books have lived in Duluth

at some time or other, it would be very difficult to make an exhaustive listing of them all here. For example, the files of the Helsinki University Library show so many books that have come from Duluth that a simple checklist of them would come to more than 20 pages. Several have already been mentioned in these pages, or appear in the footnotes. Some offered their readers "a share in that wealth which is not prey to moths, or rust, and which thieves cannot steal"¹⁸ or claimed to present "a summary of well-known currents of thought given with realistic truthfulness."¹⁹ They have ranged from "A Dirge for the Dreadful Destruction of the Titanic" to "The Responsibilities of Finnish-Americans in the Nationality Question;" they have ranged from popular books on the interpretation of dreams to excellent dictionaries.

The Boardinghouses and the Growth of Business: The first Finnish business ventures of the Finns in Duluth were the Lake Avenue boardinghouses. The name *poikatalot* which is what the Finns came to call them is perhaps a more graphic description: 'Youth homes.' With hundreds of young Finns streaming into the city and very limited in their knowledge of the English language, it was natural that these boardinghouses became their homes. Nothing but Finnish was spoken, familiar foods were served, crude manners were condoned, and immediate expulsion did not threaten if one could not always pay one's bill on time.

These boardinghouses meant much more than a place to eat and sleep: they were home, where one lived sometimes for years on end, where one rejoiced with the rest, shared another's problems and trials in finding work, or where one even fell in love. At first these houses were run by individuals, but they soon developed into communal undertakings. The Duluth 'Toverila' home, for example, was started in 1909, was incorporated in 1912 and joined the Central Cooperative organization in 1930. It was organized with a board of directors, and on the original board Gust Kallio served as president; Edwin Leino, vice-president, Charles Sanden, treasurer; and Oscar Helenius, Jonas Hill and Charles Nyman. It was located originally on Lake Avenue but moved in 1917 to 108 East First Street. It continued to offer meals until 1934, and the home as such did not close its doors until 1942. During the long period of its existence, and particularly during the brisk early years, Toverila and other similar homes

18. Harju, Andrew A., *Rikkaudet*. Duluth, 1938. Preface.

19. Risto, William, *Kaivannosta hautaan*. Duluth, 1914. (Brochure)

bought huge quantities of food produced by Finnish farmers in the vicinity. It was not unusual for a whole sack of flour to be used for baking one day's bread, for according to Kolehmainen, in 1928 there were 338 persons who ate their meals regularly at the Toverila. The women working in the kitchens were very often young or new immigrants themselves, and depending on their ages they were mother-sister-bride images to the lonely men. Love did enter the picture, and it often happened that a boarding-house would lose a cook and one of its boarders as the newlyweds set forth to start a home of their own — and it often happened, that the new home of their own meant starting a boardinghouse of their own, modest at first, but one sure to grow.

Such a new boardinghouse usually meant a venture where most of the work was done by the wife. John Saarinen has related (*Duluth Herald*, 26 January 1954) that in the boarding-houses of the early period the wife usually had to get up at four in the morning to start work in the kitchen, because lunch boxes had to be gotten ready for those men who worked too far away to come back to eat at noon. Then there was breakfast before the men left, then lunch to prepare for those who could come home, and then there was dinner, with meat and fish, and potatoes, of course. There were also new foods for the immigrants to eat, strange things like tomatoes, for example, but usually the food was the familiar Finnish fare to which they were accustomed. The men were fed 21 meals a week, and for board and bed the weekly charge (in 1902) came to around \$3.50.

Nestor Hill has recalled that on one single block near the Point there were six Finnish boardinghouses. In the communal category there were, in addition to the Toverila (which, having closed its doors in 1942, was bought by Matti Wall and became Matt's Hotel and Bar), 'Rentola' in West Duluth, 'Two-Seventeen' at 217 St. Croix Avenue, and 'Koitto' on Lake Avenue, which was the last to remain open, not closing its doors until the 1950s. Most of them were transformed into ordinary restaurants for a new public or disappeared completely from the scene.

Even after this period of flourishing boardinghouses the Finns have continued to try their luck in the hotel and restaurant field. For example, Jalmar and Anni Laaksonen began by operating a simple restaurant and then bought the Nicollet Hotel in 1921 (with Hurme) and then later still, in 1924, built their own, the First Street Hotel, which they sold in 1947 to Axel E. Dahlberg. Meanwhile, the Nicollet Hotel was taken over by Urpo Richard Kytö together with Hurme in 1924 but later became Kytö's

exclusively. Moreover, Kytö in 1925 bought with John Salo the Grace Hotel, and in 1936 the Saratoga Hotel and Bar. Later still, in 1945, Kytö bought and remodelled the Fifth Avenue Hotel; after his accidental death in 1947, Mary Sophia (Kytö) Ellsworth continued to operate this hotel. Väinö J. Salo owned and operated the Salina Hotel and Bar, and in West Duluth, Teve (Toivo) Ray Pekkala had a big restaurant and bar, known as Teve's West Duluth Bar and Grill. The Lake Park Hotel, on South First Avenue East, was long owned by John and Fanny Saari, and across the street was a former 'house' which had become Heikkilä's boardinghouse and restaurant. John Vainio has owned the Astoria-Liberty-Maryland and the Sixth Avenue hotels, and after 1946, also the Saratoga Hotel and Bar. Vainio has also been active in other fields, having been a lumberman, then a barbershop owner, and together with Isak Johnson and Verner Lignell the proprietor of the Duluth Steam Bath Company, in which he initially had the biggest share invested and which he later owned outright.

Matti Pykäri had started the Kaleva soft drink company in 1910 in partnership with Alex Keto and later was a partner in the Pykäri-Suhonen General Mail Order House, after which he devoted himself to "managing forests." Pykäri's Kaleva enterprise changed its name in 1918 to City Bottling Company, and after that time it was owned by John Mäki and Emil Mäkelä, and later still by Theodor Mäki. The grocery business also attracted numerous Finns, at least temporarily, and of them the oldest and most permanent was Matt Newman's (before World War I), while those of Henry Antila and Charles Kauppi in West Duluth were also well known. From 1919 to 1929, Joki and Sundell had a store named the Table Supply Company, and at the "Point" there were shops owned by Hill, Johnson, Junttila, Kylmälä, as well as Ananias Väättänen's forge which used to manufacture well-known sauna heating units.

Antti Hiltunen and A. H. Markkanen both became well-known as importers. Hiltunen's specialty was the import of skis and knives from Finland, while Markkanen was associated with a Norwegian, one Haugsrut, and was probably the only Finn who had a long, successful career as a wholesaler. The Economic Supplies Company founded in 1920 by Frank Holappa, on the other hand, was one of northern Minnesota's largest auto supply houses even into the late 1950s.

Retailers have also been present and successful. Alex Kyyhky-nen, for example, started a candy store on West Sixth Avenue in 1913, later changing it into a men's clothing store. In the 1950s

he had his main store on Superior Street and a branch store on First Street. On Superior Street have also been Point and Axel-son's men's clothing store and also William Laakso's. Clothiers on the "Point" have been Ely Sampson and Aate Suhonen, while Edward Johnson kept a candy and tobacco store there. The Savolainen brothers — Peter, Abraham and Alex — bought in 1917 the jewelry store of Geist and Erd, which had been founded in 1882; it was renamed the Savolainen Company and for a time (1953-56) had a branch store in the West End. Lintula owned Johns' Jewelry, while the firm started in 1919 by Hagman and Laitinen remained in Otto Hagman's possession until 1925. For some ten years Merikanto and Heino had a large bakery in the West End, while Fred Sahlman had a bakery on Lake Avenue in the 1920s. Farther west there was John Pekkala's West Duluth Ice and Fuel Company, and Walter Salmio and Axel Edward Dahlberg had a paint store which came into Salmio's exclusive possession some twenty years later and became one of the state's largest stores of this kind. Wayne E. Käkälä has worked with the Retailers' Association and in 1936 was appointed Secretary of the Duluth Chamber of Commerce.

In the banking field, Charles Emil Taylor became bookkeeper with the Northern Minnesota National Bank in 1923, was promoted to auditor in 1942, assistant treasurer in 1946, and assistant vice-president in 1948; in 1961 he became president of the Hibbing First National Bank. Another Finn, Rudolf Jacobson, was in 1956 vice-president of the First and American National Bank.

Others in the banking field have been A. W. Havela and John Asiala, whose names have been cited in connection with the Red River banks. The careers of these two men began in real estate: in 1911 they founded the Pellervo Land Company in Duluth, procuring chiefly farm lands for Finns; they also sold large tracts in the Deer River region and in the Eveleth and Virginia areas. When land sales began to decrease after World War I, the two partners began to buy up forests in Minnesota and Michigan and exploited them for marketable timber. In 1938, Havela took over sole control of these interests; he sold off a part of the machinery and gave the remainder to his son, Aaro Havela. The work of A. W. Havela on behalf of Finland has been recognized by the granting of the Finnish White Rose decoration by the Finnish government.

Jacob (Jack) and John Saari have been engaged in forestry contracting. Parviainen and Riipakka (Riback), and later (1921) John Wiinamäki and Vaino Salo accepted contracts for state,

county and municipal highway and bridge building. Salo switched within a few years into the restaurant field, but Wiinamäki continued his construction work successfully for some three decades. Ojala and Laine were engaged in the same kind of work, and August Laine specialized in bridge building projects. Sanfrid Ruohoniemi has been a successful realtor in Duluth, and after World War II, Jack Salo has had an engineering firm in the city.

The Swedish-Finns who came to Duluth engaged by and large in the same activities as the rest of the Finns, but in addition many of them have also worked as fishermen on Lake Superior. This was a logical undertaking for them, for in Finland, too, a big percentage of them were fishermen in the Gulf of Finland and, particularly, in the Gulf of Bothnia. When sawmills began to appear in Duluth, a number of the Swedish-Finns found work there. Although the sawmills later gradually offered less and less opportunities, the Swedish-Finns, clever and skilled, learned to use many kinds of milling tools and were able to utilize their skills in the building construction field, where their services were in demand. Their names also appeared in business endeavors, of course, with William Holm in the management of the Mercantile Company, John A. Forsman as owner of the Realty Company, and Swedish-Finns as the majority owners of the Roller Harrow and Manufacturing Company. The best known of their enterprises, however, has been a firm called Jacobson Brothers.

The Cooperative Movement: The first cooperative enterprises to appear in Duluth were the residential clubs already mentioned, and then came the Farmers Exchange, started in 1919, and which became a member of the central organization in 1931. Its sales for the year 1938 amounted to \$44,000. The Arrowhead Cooperative Creamery Association, which was started in 1925 and joined the Cooperative Central in 1936, had a yearly business gross of \$379,000 in 1938. The Duluth Consumers Cooperative Society was established in 1936, and two years later when it joined the central organization its annual sales amounted to \$28,000. The Duluth Cooperative Society was born in 1940 and originally occupied premises on East First Street, but in 1947, when expansion was in order, a fairly large building was bought on West First Street. Members and customers have included many Americans, but the backbone of the business is its Finnish clientele. Business managers here have been Otto Niemi, Fred Champion, Leslie Harris, Joseph Guerin, Alfred Scott, Frank Biltonen, Gerald Wedland, Charles Mäkelä, Ray Tast and Einar Ruoko.

The Finnish-American Businessmen's Association: Almost from the beginning of their business careers, the Finnish businessmen of Duluth had been aware of the advantages that might be theirs in a centralization and unification of their efforts, through coordination and mutually acceptable procedures, and about 30 Finnish businessmen did get together on 6 August 1912 in Duluth to discuss their mutual problems. No hard and fast association was achieved at this meeting, but the proposal for such an association was made, its possible scope discussed, and a three member committee named to study the matter further: Kalle Kauppi, J. W. Lilius and A. H. Markkinen.

However, nine years were to pass before these men sat in meeting again, in August 1921, and even then their purpose was simply to organize a joint excursion to their old homeland, Finland. Nevertheless, the proposal to establish a Finnish-American Businessmen's Association was also definitely brought forth, by Charles Latvala of Nashwauk, although there was but little time to discuss it at the moment. However, a five-man committee was named to study the proposal as soon as possible after their return from Finland: Victor H. Gran, Jussi Hinkkanen, Charles Kauppi, John Ketola and John Raattama.

The meeting which officially organized the association was held in Duluth on 22 February 1922. Mr. Gran read a prepared statement, suggesting that the purposes and procedures of such an association should be "to foster the development of common resources, such as agriculture, factory production and new businesses, to provide members with information on credit sources, etc., in different communities, to suggest proper and honest business methods, and for all possible mutual aid to one another in business life, since one person's success was everyone's success."

The association elected a temporary board of directors, which in September 1922 called together the first annual meeting in Hancock, Michigan. The constitution prepared by this temporary board was presented and approved, and a new board of directors was elected — that is to say, the temporary appointments were made permanent and additional men were also elected to it.²⁰

In spite of the fine arguments presented to outline the need for an association like this — "the first undertaking of a businessmen's association ought to be to explain to its members the great strength which would be theirs through membership, the great possibilities which the association would possess for the collection,

20. Ilmonen, *op. cit.* II, pp 102-103 .

development and refinement of our material and spiritual reserves; united, very little would remain impossible to the Finnish-American businessmen" — the moment the association was born it promptly died, after the first enthusiasm displayed had abated.

On the whole, informal association for specific purposes proved more fruitful, in the form of joint exhibits, for example, where the Duluth Finns have displayed their products. Although attempts to collaborate for an exhibit at the Panama Pacific World Fair came to practically nothing, in spite of committees appointed to arrange it, on the local level results were better. In the summer of 1920, for example, there was an exhibition of Finnish arts and crafts in Duluth, and similar displays were presented for several years at the St. Louis County annual fair, but attention in these displays seemed to be focussed chiefly on individual handicraft and souvenirs from Finland. In 1935, however, Duluth saw a professional exhibition of Finnish arts and crafts, and similar exhibits have been repeated later. And Finnish businessmen have made numerous visits to all corners of Minnesota, individually and in groups, and over the years articles imported from Finland have had good sales in various Duluth stores and shops.

Professional Men and Political Personalities: Legal advice and aid has long been given to Finnish-Americans by lawyers of their own, by men such as Victor H. Gran, John R. Heino, John F. Mäki, Edward W. Peterson, Paul Sterling, A. A. Toivonen, Jerry Harri and Oscar John Larson. Of these men, Toivonen has taken part in political life, serving as Republican Party director for the Minnesota Eighth Congressional District during the 1938 campaign, for example. The most famous of these men, however, has been Larson, who received his Master of Science degree from Valparaiso University and studied law at the Michigan State University, receiving his degree in 1894 — the first Finn to so qualify in an American state university. He began his practice in Calumet, Michigan, and was soon elected Houghton County attorney. After this he entered politics actively, and in the 1900 presidential election campaigns, for example, he spoke at rallies in eleven states. He was a Republican, as were most Finnish immigrants at that time.

There have been various reasons for the misconception that the majority of Finnish-Americans have been Democrats. Factors such as Finnish-American Emil Hurja's position in the immediate circle of Franklin D. Roosevelt, or more properly, as Postmaster James A. Farley's "right-hand man" and campaign leader, have

probably been magnified to suggest that all Finns were Democrats. On the other hand, the Republican Party has been considered sometimes the party of 'big business,' which supposedly could offer no attraction to penniless Finnish immigrants. Finally, many Finns in this new home revealed very radical tendencies — or at least, their voice was the loudest among them. All these claims ignore the basic facts, above all, that the greatest centers of Finnish immigration were formed in the northern states which were almost exclusively Republican at the time. When Larson made his first campaign tour, for example, Republican William McKinley, the favorite of the Finns, was in the White House, and so popular was he that the Finns of Calumet commissioned one Isaac Arvonen to make a gold and silver inlay portrait of him at a cost of what was then 2,500 Finnish Marks as a gift to that president, and one poor shoemaker in East Tawas had sent him a pair of Finnish style slippers he had made.²¹

As far as Minnesota is concerned, the main trend there was also Republican at the time. Lauri Lemberg has analyzed the situation from the Finnish immigrants' point of view: "The era of President Cleveland, Democrat, was a time of severe depression, and the Democrats earned themselves a very poor name. The Finns knew nothing at that time about either Democrats or Republicans, but in the minds of those of them who had lived here in the Cleveland era there remained a fear of the Democrats, a fear passed on to later arrivals who heard tales of the misery which had prevailed. The Minnesota mine owners of the time were Republican, and, so it was said, at the turn of the century naturalization papers were handed out even on election day if one promised to go to the polls, and of course they all tended to vote Republican. The socialist workers, naturally, voted for the Socialist candidates.

"Not until 1928-30, during the Hoover administration, did the situation change, once more because of a great depression, comparable to the depression of the Cleveland era. Now the Republicans fell into bad repute. With the founding of a third party, first the Nonpartisan and then the Farmer-Labor Party, the Republican stronghold in Minnesota began to weaken. The Non-Partisans, who sired the Farmer-Labor Party, were effective primarily among the farming population, but the Farmer-Labor attracted both farmers and industrial laborers. When the Farmer-Laborites began to weaken during Governor Benson's administration they joined the Democrats, who had enjoyed but little support in Minnesota up

21. Työväen Osuustoimintalehti, 16 March 1946

to this time, and so was born the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party. From that time, the majority of Minnesota's Finnish labor force, as well as the majority of the state's Finnish farmers, have been supporters of this party."

In spite of the two-party system in the United States and the veritable impossibility of third-party candidates to succeed, the Finns were not accustomed to giving up without trying. In 1900, for example, their temperance groups put in Jacob Kaminen as candidate for Congress "on the dry ticket." In 1906 they tried unsuccessfully to get A. Simonen into the United States Senate on the Socialist ticket, and in 1924 to get V. S. Alanne elected Governor (of Wisconsin) with the help of the Workers' Party.

However, at the time (1907) when Larson moved from Michigan to continue his law practice in Duluth, and to continue his role in political life, Ilmonen's laconic statement in the preface to one of his books was certainly valid: "The nationalistically minded Finnish-American population is considered to belong to the Republican Party." After 20 years in Duluth, Larson risked becoming a candidate in Minnesota's Eighth Congressional District and became the first, and probably only, man born in Finland to be elected a member of the United States Congress. In 1922 he was re-elected with a 3,000 vote majority and remained in Washington for four more years. Afterwards Larson returned to Duluth, where he continued to practise law. He has always been proud of his ancestry and has many times stepped in to work for the good of the land of his birth, in the difficult years during the two world wars and the reconstruction periods following them. He was awarded the Order of the Finnish White Rose in 1920, and in 1933 was promoted to Commander in that order.

With the exception of Larson's seat in Congress, the Finns of Minnesota have not made their voices heard in either party. To be sure, John P. Erickson was named a member of the 1936 Democratic Convention, but very rarely does one hear of Democratic, or Republican, Finnish clubs. If there has been some joint, organized action it has been temporary, put together for the duration of a specific campaign. Jokinen has come to the conclusion that the second generation Finns have been largely pro-Republican, since outside of their homes, at school or college, they have, unlike their possibly more radical parents, come into more intimate contact with outside influences. But, as has been suggested above, their political aspirations have perforce been limited to attempts to gain office on a local level. Some offices have been appointive, such as the service of Matti Viitala of

Mountain Iron as Prohibition inspector in the Duluth region in the 1930s, but Finns have also competed successfully for elective office in St. Louis County. There the most significant office which has come into their hands has been that of Superintendent of County Schools.

In 1930, there were 152 rural schools in the county, and about \$700,000 per year were spent for them, a figure higher than that of any other county in the United States. When Arthur Lampe, aged 32, announced his candidacy for the position of Superintendent in 1930, his chances were considered very slim. The incumbent, C. H. Barnes, had been in the position for more than 10 years, and his qualifications were unquestioned. However, in the primaries Lampe received the second highest number of votes, almost as many as Barnes himself, and when it came to the election, Lampe received 19,902 votes, or 5,576 more than Barnes. It should also be noted, in reading these figures, that although the Superintendent's office is in Duluth, the voters of that city are not allowed to cast their votes for this position. Coming up for re-election in 1934, Lampe had but a slim margin over his opponent, Roy Norsted. Incidentally, during the campaign some of the Finnish press had supported Barnes, which caused the *Päivälehti* to scold 'such Finns' and to point out American statements that Lampe had created an unique school system, the best in the world, something that could not even have been imagined a decade earlier. Lampe was elected to a third term in 1938, and after World War II the position has been held by Finnish-American Wilfred W. Salmi.

In 1939, Ellen Mäki of Duluth received the *Washington Post* cup as 'the most capable woman' among the 119,000 women in government in the nation's capital.

The following Finnish doctors have served in Duluth: Doctors of Medicine: Kalle Wilhelm Arminen, Henry E. Bakkila, E. Bergroth, John Jackola, Erkki Leppo, E. Ilmari Lindgren, William T. Niemi, A. A. Pesonen, and Roy Juntunen; Doctors of Optometry: Richard Bäckman, Raymond T. Jaakola; Doctors of Dentistry: Henry Johnston, Yrjö Järvin, Leonard A. Sarvela; and as Doctor of Naturopathy, Jarru R. Jurva. Dr. Arminen, incidentally, author of a Finnish-English dictionary, was granted the Finnish Order of the White Rose in 1928 in recognition of his work.

The Finnish Consulate: When the older Finnish generation began to reach an age when their mortality began to rise, the Finnish government decided to establish a consular office in

Minnesota, to look after such matters as, principally, inheritance problems. The Finnish immigrants, of course, welcomed such a move, for up to the time of Finnish independence they had been almost like abandoned orphans in a strange land, for they were represented only by the Czarist Russian government, to whom no one turned for help of any sort, and which was in any case completely uninterested in problems they might have had. Duluth was seen as the logical site, and it has not been until after World War II that there have also been vice-consuls in Minneapolis and Virginia. The Duluth consulate was responsible originally also for Wisconsin and North and South Dakota. The first consular official was Carl Henrik Salminen, with appointment as Vice-Consul in 1921. He held the post for five years, with an ever increasing work load, until Finland sent A. J. Jalkanen to succeed him, and added a consulate secretary, F. A. Mustonen. Jalkanen was succeeded in 1930 by E. A. Aaltio, and at that time Mustonen was also promoted to rank of Vice-Consul. In 1932, when the Consulate in Seattle was closed, Duluth had the only



Mrs. Jutila pins Finland's Order of the Lion Honor Medal, First Class, onto the lapel of Consul Kyyhkynen. Matti Lepisto of Finland, Alex Kyyhkynen, Mrs. K. T. Jutila and Ambassador from Finland K. T. Jutila.

Finnish Consulate in addition to the office of the Consulate General in New York. Consul Aaltio began his tour in Duluth by undertaking an extensive trip throughout the area of his official responsibilities, making many speeches in which he out-

lined the course of developments inside Finland and thus, according to the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri*, dissipating suspicions held against that country.

During World War II the Consulate was ordered closed, and Consul Aaltio departed for Finland. In 1940, Alex Kyyhkynen, of Duluth, was named Vice-Consul of Finland, and later promoted to Consul.

As far as the relationship between Finland's official representation and the Finns of Minnesota are concerned, a little friction may have been present in the beginning, but that soon disappeared and, when Hjalmar J. Procope was Minister to Washington he became popular throughout the state. All subsequent Finnish ministers to Washington have visited Duluth and the other centers of Finnish population in Minnesota.

Visits to the Old Country: A person who leaves the country of his birth after he has reached adulthood generally finds it impossible to dismiss that country completely from his thoughts. Although conditions in the country might have been far from perfect, and his memories at first tinged with bitterness, years in a strange, foreign country tend to change these memories, and the result is often a feeling of homesickness for the old.

Before Finland became independent, there were many who even returned to their fatherland permanently, as has already been statistically cited in earlier chapters of this book, but at that time there was little travel that could fall under the category of simple visits. In the 1920s, however, when steamship lines began to encourage group travel, the practice of paying the old country a visit became general. The first big venture was that of the Cunard Line, whose *Andania* brought some 600 Finns from New York to Helsinki in a direct sailing. Thousands of relatives and friends gathered at the Helsinki waterfront, and with the music of bands and the flowing of tears the visitors were welcomed to the country which had once been home. In subsequent years the Cunard Line kept up this pattern, the Swedish-American Line joined in, and in 1929 the number of passengers had reached a new high: Ilmonen estimated that 3,390 persons were carried on the special sailings to Helsinki, while the number who travelled on their own remained impossible to guess.

Being in a position to compare the progress both countries had made and to note the differences which continued to exist between them, many Finns began to recognize the dichotomy in

their souls. There was, first, that longing which William Risto described: "Even though, as Finnish-Americans, we know that Finland is poor and will remain poor, that life there is disappointing, the working day long and the pay poor, as soon as we have saved a few hundred we just have to go off to look at that frostbitten, swampy Northland." Following the impatience of waiting for it, the longing for the first glimpse of land, the arrival and the excitement and rush of the first few days, a reaction was likely to set in. Even that corner of the land which had been home began to look strange, not as it had been remembered in dreams, and there were no familiar faces, what with old friends being dead and the younger people being total strangers. It was impossible to avoid a feeling of melancholy and alienation, and when there was added to that the feeling that this was the last time one would see these landscapes of Finland, the effect became funereal. And, of course, life was different, not what one had become accustomed to in America. Jokinen has written of one Finnish-American from Duluth who became so homesick for what had become home that he went off to see an American movie, "just to get a glimpse of life at home," hurried back to Minnesota, and after a week back home felt once more that he positively would have to visit Finland again the following summer.

Finland has, of course, done its best to make these visitors welcome and to feel at home; it has been their desire to build a bridge between the new and the old homeland. There are organizations in Finland, like the *Suomi Seura*, whose reason for being is just that, and there are organizations in America which foster the same cause.

Sometimes this bridge building takes unusual forms, as in the project proposed to the Finnish Hunting Association in 1932 by the then Finnish Consul in Duluth, E. A. Aaltio, that the white-tailed deer, *Cariarcus Virginianus*, whose native habitat was Minnesota, might be successfully introduced into Finland, because of similar terrain, climate and other conditions. The suggestion was studied in Finland and considered worth trying, and K. A. Paloheimo, a Finnish businessman, while visiting the United States, came to Duluth to discuss it with the interested parties there, a group of some two dozen enthusiastic hunters. By 1934 sufficient funds had been collected and three male and two female deer procured to be sent to Finland, where businessman Rafael Haarla offered them a home on his estates.

It was not until the animals were ready to be shipped off that difficulties appeared, the first of them a law just passed in Minnesota forbidding the removal of game from the state, with the exception of small numbers for scientific purposes. It was under this exception clause that permission was finally granted, and Lester Ketola and Eino Saranen prepared to leave with the deer in tow when they met a new difficulty: they could not take the animals on board the train until special permission was received from the railroad line headquarters in Chicago. By this time the deer had eaten up so much of the provisions being sent with them that a state of emergency ensued: the trainmen had to halt the train in open country to permit the Finns to get off and grab fistfuls of grass from alongside the tracks to feed their charges. By the time they reached New York two of the bucks had died, but the survivors were shipped off on the *Scanmail* and arrived at Helsinki safely enough. They were soon thereafter at their new home, and Mr. Haarla assured the Minnesota donors that "we shall take care here that your fine deed will remain on the pages of Finnish history and that this gift you have made to the people of Finland will be looked after as humanely as possible."

However, since the propagation of this species in Finland depended on one single buck, the situation was not without its inherent dangers, but the war years which followed made it impossible to import new blood to alleviate the situation. It was not until the spring of 1948, in the course of a Duluth visit, that Heikki Reenpää, executive director of the Finnish Hunting Association, was able to get help in this problem. Meanwhile, he awarded Association badges of merit to those who had been responsible for the original gift: John and Lester Ketola, Alex Kyyhkynen, John Räihälä, Eino and Verner Saranen; and he presented a gift to the widow of one, to Mrs. Urpo Kytö. Reenpää's visit was followed by a visit by Professor N. A. Osara, who took part in more formal discussions.

The project was to materialize, of course, but in a new age the shipment was to be made by air, and it was to be made with considerable fanfare. Newsmen, photographers, and Luther W. Youngdahl, Governor of Minnesota, were present at the Minneapolis airport to witness the start of the flight to New York of two 85-pound white-tailed Minnesota deer: other countries, the Governor said, came to America to ask for loans and weapons, but little Finland only asked for something with which it could build its future. From New York the transatlantic flight was to be by SAS plane, but a delay ensued, and a field day for newspaper-

men followed: the SAS pilot refused to take the deer — because of their offensive smell. Before the impasse was resolved there was a further crisis: the animals' rations were getting low; a wire had to be sent to Minnesota and instructions wired back; and quantities of alfalfa and crushed wheat had to be located somehow, and in a hurry. And to solve the quandary the Duluth representative of SAS had to hurry to New York to see that this goodwill project did not turn into a fiasco. Associated Press kept the public informed of developments with almost hourly bulletins, and in the interest of 'good public relations' the deer finally flew off by SAS as originally planned. The Helsinki newspapers greeted their arrival with the headline, "The Minnesota Deer Laugh Last . . ."

The Number of Finns in Duluth: Estimates of the number of Finns in Duluth have varied greatly. Many figures cited have been pure guesswork. The earliest reliable figure is probably that of the *Duluth Herald* on 6 April 1937, made on the basis of census statistics: 3,040 immigrants from Finland, 3,148 born in the United States of Finnish parents. The 1950 Census shows 2,117 foreign-born Finns living within the Duluth city limits. If those living in Superior are added the total rises to 2,585, and if the whole twin-city metropolitan area is included the sum is 9,678. This latter figure would also include the Swedish-Finns, estimated to be about 2,000.

According to the studies made by Jokinen, the majority of the Duluth Finns lived in the center of the city, but it must be noted that after World War II there was a move toward the outskirts. On the other hand, there has also been evident a move back into the city proper, particularly on the part of older, pensioned people, attracted by the greater ease of city living.

In 1950 there were 14,475 Finns in Minnesota. Of these, 6,259 were listed as urban residents, 4,433 as farmers, and 3,783 as non-farming rural residents. The majority of the latter were miners who owned their own homes in the country but who did not cultivate more than small home gardens. In 1950, then, the percentage of city dwellers was 43%, while ten years earlier it had been 34.7%; it may be assumed that the trend will continue.

The majority of Duluth's Finns in 1950 were men, although the difference is less than in rural areas. For the state as a whole, there were in 1930 a total of 139 men to every 100 women, in 1940 it was 130 to 100, and in 1950 the difference was even

smaller. In the rural, non-farming category, it was in 1940 a total of 153 men to every 100 women, and ten years earlier it had been 177. In urban areas, which would mean Duluth principally, the figure of men in both 1930 and 1940 had been 130.²²

Superior

The Center of the Finnish Cooperative Movement in the Middle West: Duluth's sister city, Superior, lies in Wisconsin, and as such the history of the Finns there does not belong in a history of Minnesota. But, as the center of the cooperative movement, it cannot be overlooked.

Louis Adamic wrote in his book, *From Many Lands*, that if one saw two Finns together one could be certain they were on their way to either a sauna or a cooperative store. Roland S. Vaile, Professor of Economics at the University of Minnesota, considers the cooperative movement in Minnesota to be the most significant in that field, and U. S. Labor Statistics state (1936) that 70% of the cooperative movement in the country is centered in Minnesota.

The first cooperative undertakings in the state were not made on Finnish initiative. Their origin goes back to the Grange movement, with more than 50 cooperative stores under the aegis of its Right Relationship League at the beginning of the century. During periods of labor strikes, temporary 'cooperative institutes' were also started, to die again after they had served their immediate purpose, but they planted the seed from which the important Finnish cooperative movement got its start. The beginning was made by cooperative stores in Menahga, Virginia and Cloquet, and hundreds of others have followed.²³ The Finnish cooperative movement was based on English precedents, and in general there are European as well as purely Finnish aspects apparent in it.

In 1844 there was founded in Rochdale, a small industrial center in northern England, the first cooperative store, established on principles which have come down as "the seven Rochdale principles." In accordance with them, membership is open to all, with increased membership leading to a bigger turnover, and a bigger turnover bringing better prices for the consumer. Regardless of his investment, every member has but one vote in policy matters, unless an enterprise grows to such proportions that all

22. U. S. Census of Population, 1930 and 1940

23. WPA, Ms: Where Finns are, there also are cooperatives.

members can no longer be present to vote, in which case they elect representatives to the various executive organs. A suitable but limited return is paid on invested capital, but when the most important feature of the business activity is emphasized in the degree to which members utilize the services of the cooperative, it is customary to return any possible accrued profit to the customers on the basis of their share of purchases. A cooperative functions independently of any political factions and is free to accept support from whatever direction it may be forthcoming, but this does not necessarily presuppose neutrality toward an economic situation which may exist, since the aim is to replace a capitalistic system with one on a cooperative basis. The cooperative system believes in both wholesale purchases and retail sales being made on a cash basis, but there has been a retreat from this as far as purchases are concerned. It is customary, also, that a portion of the profits are reserved for furthering the cooperative philosophy through educational and publicity work.

In his history of the Finns in Wisconsin, Professor Kolehmainen has stated that the Finnish-American cooperative movement "was born of estimable parents." Its grandparents were the "old country" and influences inherited there. In America its mother has been economic necessity; its father, socialism. In his study of the birth of Finnish cooperative activity in America, H. Haines Turner came to the conclusion that the 'mother' made herself apparent chiefly in the form of the unfair prices demanded by retailers, during periods of unemployment, and finally, through the conflicts between labor and management. In rural areas the movement generally spread without political factors playing a role, but in industrial centers the labor movement did in fact appear to be the 'father,' although it was not always eager to acknowledge its offspring. For example, at the October 1904 meeting of Finnish socialists at Cleveland, Ohio, the view was expressed that although the new movement ought to be kept under scrutiny, it was but a temporary, expedient measure to alleviate the problems of the workers, while the Hibbing meeting of 1909 commented on the relationship between the Socialist Party and the cooperative movement in the following terms: "In the programs of the socialist parties of some countries, including Finland, it has been stated that the cooperative movement must be fostered. The program of the Socialist Party of the United States makes no mention of this, probably because here the trend has been exclusively one which opposes all measures which are temporary and which do not lead directly to the main objective,

and because in their opinion they (the cooperatives) are not only steps to reinforce the capitalistic system and thereby only hinder economic development from reaching the point where it would become necessary to make all production facilities the property of the people. One can acknowledge this stand as being correct in part, and it would lead us with less trouble to the desired goal if the workers could be made to understand this and to fight for it. But it must be acknowledged that the workers, with the exception of a small minority, cannot be made to comprehend the necessity of the overthrow of the present order; it can much more easily be attracted to the cause by presenting small economic improvements." The statement was followed by two resolutions adopted by the meeting, "acknowledging completely the utility of the cooperative movement" and "considering itself not in a position to specifically urge cooperative establishments to be founded but leaving it as a matter for each local party unit to decide."

The *Työmies* newspaper had taken the stand that if the labor movement did not utilize the opportunities the cooperative movement offered then the enemies of the workers would use it as a weapon against this creed.²⁴ The *Työmies* published articles about the cooperative movement at very frequent intervals and later even provided a page set aside for such news. Furthermore, the publishers of the *Työmies* began to publish a monthly, *Pelto ja Koti* (Field and Home) devoted exclusively to the interests of farmers and cooperative folk. Its regular contributors were, among others, Professors A. S. Alexander and J. G. Halpin of the University of Wisconsin. Almost all cooperative movement periodicals appearing in England, Canada, or the United States were scanned and all usable articles were translated and offered to the Finnish readers.²⁵ And the slogan that cooperatives were "one important weapon in the socialist class struggle" was adopted at the Smithville meeting of 1912.

It is difficult to determine precisely when the Finnish-American cooperative 'baby' was born. F. J. Syrjälä has stated that in the 1890s the Astoria fishermen already had cooperative ventures,²⁶ and certainly after the turn of the century such ventures appeared in the Midwest with the profusion of 'mushrooms after rain,' as the *Pelto ja Koti* proudly stated. The strongest period of growth was at the end of World War I, when more than a

24. *Työmies*, 1 October 1904

25. Report of the Proceedings of the First American Cooperative Convention, Springfield, Ill. 1918. New York 1919. p 251

26. Syrjälä F. J. *Historia-Alheita Amerikan Suomalaisesta Työväenliikkeestä*. Fitchburg, Massachusetts, 1925

hundred Minnesota communities got their cooperatives, and which developed into important social factors in those communities, as the findings of Jokinen indicate. According to the latter, such an enterprise, and a society or organization which often was born as a result of it, were important factors not only to the economic well-being of the Finns but also contributed to their cultural and political life. This was particularly true in rural areas, while cooperatives in urban areas remained in a more isolated status.

At the start of many of their cooperative enterprises the Finns began to realize that the road was a difficult one. They lacked experience, and the possibilities of finding trained personnel was barely possible. In addition, there was much marking time because there was no cooperation between the various individual ventures in the various communities. In his study of the Cooperative Central Exchange, Erick Kendall noted that when to the lack of experience there was added a language difficulty, as well as the hostility of private business and the lack of any legislation on cooperative enterprises, the individual Finnish cooperatives at the beginning of the century were like helpless ships on the high seas. They were sadly in need of advice and mutual assistance.

William Risto was apparently the first to publicly cite the need for a mutual organizational body, if the abortive attempts in the East are left out of consideration: there had been a central association of eastern cooperatives for years, and they had attempted to establish a wholesale enterprise of their own in 1912 but were unable to raise the \$100,000 capital they felt was required for such an undertaking. It was in *Pelto ja Koti* in June 1914 that Risto wrote, "I should like to impress upon my readers, particularly those living in the Lake Superior area, the necessity of broadened mutual effort. There are now active more than twenty cooperatives, as well as more than ten men's residence clubs with their restaurants. But there is no close cooperation between these different organizations. A central body should be established and a central warehouse be set up in Superior or Duluth. And the funds for such a project? We would have to begin modestly, dismissing the idea of a huge central which could fulfill all demands immediately, because hundreds of thousands of dollars would be required for that. We could begin, however, with grain at first, and potatoes, and feed for livestock." Risto's article went on to discuss the chances of success of such an undertaking as a purely Finnish project. According to Kendall (in an unpublished MS) Risto is also said to have made a proposal

for a meeting of representatives from the various cooperatives to be held in Duluth in August 1914. In all the Finnish newspapers of Minnesota there appeared on 10 September 1914, "An Important Statement to all Finnish Cooperatives and other Similar Undertakings in the Middle Western States," outlining the situation much as Risto had explained it a few months earlier in his article: it was difficult for small cooperatives to operate successfully alone, so it was time to unite; a central organization, which could serve as a supply house, could buy in large quantities at lower prices, and distribute at a savings to local cooperatives according to their needs. The text of this statement, as printed in the *Päivälehti*, ended with a declaration that "several cooperatives have been sounded out about a meeting, and the following have already agreed to send their representatives to a meeting at Duluth on the 20th of September," and under it appeared the names of William Marttila and the names of three cooperatives, all located in Michigan.

Twelve cooperatives and the Workers' Institute did send representatives to Duluth. From Minnesota there were present Mauritz Lindgren from Biwabik; J. G. Maattala and Reino Salo from Cloquet; Gust Kallio, Otto Lahtinen and Arthur Point from Duluth; Gust Tuura from Embarrass; Adolf Wirkkula from Fairbanks; John H. Mattson from Kettle River; Antti Wallio from Virginia. As 'interested individuals' there were also present John Kolu, Axel Ohrn and Nikolai Visti. William Marttila, representing Rock, Michigan, presided at the meeting. The *Päivälehti* report on the first day's proceedings stated that under discussion was the necessity of "carrying on a strong campaign and thus awakening the majority of workers as supporters" before a cooperative venture was planned in any new community, followed by the necessity of "a continued program of enlightenment so that everyone would comprehend that the cooperative movement was a mass movement." In any such venture, agreed these delegates, the accounts should always be in the hands of professionally trained persons, and that in selecting a business manager "it always be kept in mind that persons be appointed who were supporters of the class struggle, even while they were clearly aware of the requirements of business life and methods." The following day the *Päivälehti*, the *Sosialisti*, the *Uusi Kotimaa* and *Pelto ja Koti* all reported that the so-called Cooperative League had been established. According to Kendall, its task was to be the procurement of supplies for member stores, to guide business managers and assist them in auditing, to work toward the establishment

of new cooperatives and help increase the awareness of members of cooperatives already in operation. According to the minutes, there was also long discussion anent the necessity of having their own news media, but since it was recognized that 'their organization was still weak' it was decided to request 'newspapers established by the workers,' the *Sosialisti*, the *Työmies* and the *Pelto ja Koti* to allot space to the discussion of cooperative movement issues. They were to be asked to do so under threat that 'any paper, which in any way misinterprets the aims of the organization now formed be declared an opponent of this organization.' As a matter of fact, however, the organization was not merely 'still weak,' it was nothing but a decision made on paper.

After this unsuccessful Minnesota attempt, a Finnish Cooperative Association was started in Waukegan, Illinois, and several Minnesota cooperatives joined this organization. However, it was an ambitious organization which hoped to embrace all America, but the only sector of its program that it succeeded in putting into action was a publicity program.

In 1917 the drive for a central organization once more gained momentum, and this time to meet a need which had suddenly become acute: the lack of Finnish bakeries in Minnesota had brought about a shortage of rusks and hard tack, so dear to the Finns. It was an appeal by one of the Minnesota cooperatives, the Farmers Coop Trading Company, which called all the rest to action: "The state of war once more gives speculators a greater opportunity to exploit the producers and the consumers. We have noted that prices go down when producers begin to place their products on the market. We are approaching harvest time, the time when these products will fall into the hands of the exploiters. Why shouldn't we take advantage of the opportunity and buy at the year's best prices? We believe that at least 10 of our cooperatives could buy goods to hold in storage for several months if not indeed for a whole year. Let's do our buying together, let's make one of our cooperatives the jobber through which we will buy for all the stores all that they think they can purchase. We could order several carloads of sugar; we could order a carload of salted fish from Astoria, as well as canned fish. We could order a carload or more of fruit, and canned and dried fruits. We could buy flour, or even the grain, while the prices are low, and have it milled and distributed to each, as much as they can purchase. We could buy soap, coffee, etc., and avoid the middleman. In order to get this project going, we herewith urge you to send your representatives, your business manager and a couple of members

of your board of directors, to a meeting which will be held in Superior on 30 July 1917. At that meeting all the orders from all the cooperatives will be put together and one will be appointed to be the central office."

Kendall interpreted the above to mean that those who made the call for this meeting did not yet dare to think in terms of a central organization proper but merely a mutual purchasing



Speakers at the formation of the Cooperative Central Exchange. In front are Hjalmar Kaikkonen and John Partanen. In back are Henry Koski and John Taipale.

agency. There did appear at the meeting 28 persons, representing 19 cooperatives. The Waukegan Association and the *Pelto ja Koti* were also represented. From Minnesota there were present John Niemi and John Partanen from the Cloquet Stock Merc. Company; Reino Salo from the Knife Falls Coop Association; William Ahola from the Fairbanks Finnish Supply Company; John Koski from the Nashwauk Elanto Coop Company; Hjalmar Kaikkonen and Frank Saari from the Petrell Farmers Store Associa-

tion. For two days various problems were discussed in committee, but it soon became obvious that if they wanted to make progress a central organization was necessary. It was founded therewith, and John Nummivuori was chosen the first business manager of what was given the name Cooperative Central Exchange. Kendall has pointed out that the word 'exchange' in the name was proof that the founders considered their organization primarily a marketing agency for agricultural products and only secondarily as a warehouse and production unit for the cooperatives. In practice, however, it soon became clear that the Central had to be expanded to meet the most critical need: the procurement of goods, and so the subsequent change in the name reflected this development: Central Cooperative Wholesale.

When the hat was passed at the Superior meeting, to raise funds to start the organization, the collection amounted to a mere \$15.50. With the exception of one Minnesota cooperative represented, all the delegates signed a pledge binding themselves to future financial support: "We, the undersigned, pledge on behalf of the cooperative we represent to guarantee \$10 a month for a period of three months as a basic capital for the Central, which money will be returned to us as soon as the Central begins to

operate at a profit.” The representatives of four cooperatives were a bit more cautious, pledging to “try to guarantee” this sum from their organizations.

During 1917 several additional cooperatives joined the central organization, so that by the end of the year there were 15 represented. The only property the Central possessed was a used typewriter on a desk made from a packing case and set up in a small rented room.²⁷ In its first annual report, business manager Nummivuori outlined what goods had been purchased: “a quantity of butter for Negaunee, oats for Hancock. Many have inquired about potatoes. We could have many orders for oats if only we could furnish them at the same prices the wholesalers ask.” The potatoes did show up, Kendall notes, but also caused the Central’s first loss, for a carload of them froze on the way to market. In 1917 an agreement was also made with a Duluth coffee roaster to furnish a quantity of coffee with the Central’s label on the packages, and this became the first article sold with the Finnish-Americans’ own cooperative organization’s name upon it. In 1918 the Central was able to buy a 3-story building in Superior, and there bookkeeping courses were held. The bakery, for those rusks and the hard tack, was in operation in 1919. In 1920 a special advisory bureau was started, headed by V. S. Alanne until 1925, and then continued by George Halonen. The cooperatives had become so well established that in the depression years which followed World War I only three cooperatives had to close down. Then, with the exception of the early 1930s and the immediate post-World War II period, statistics show a steady development in the strength of the cooperatives. Here follow a few statistics supplied by the Central to indicate the rise at stated intervals:

Year	Member firms	Gross sales	Net Profit
1919	31	\$ 313,664	\$ 7,330
1924	60	613,215	5,973
1929	90	1,755,627	35,798
1934	97	1,787,556	31,696
1939	116	3,426,459	85,983
1944	141	6,132,743	148,126
1949	206	10,375,387	36,653
1954	211	12,208,853	332,601

Nummivuori was succeeded as business manager in 1922 by Eskel Ronn, and it was during Ronn’s term in his post that the Central experienced a severe internal crisis. Following the Russian revolution, the *Työmies*, of Superior, fell into the hands of Finnish

27. Kendall, Erik, *And Into the Future: A Brief Story of Central Co-operative Wholesale’s 25 Years of Building towards a Better Tomorrow*. Superior, Wisconsin, 1944. p. 5

communists, as has already been mentioned, and this new leftist influence began to gain a foothold even in the cooperative movement. When the depression came at the end of the 1920s, the communists tried to make their hold on the Cooperative Central stronger. Kendall considers the first indication of this attempt to have been a proposal made in July 1929 that the Central donate \$5,000 to the Communist Party of America. The demand was refused, but the demands continued to be made and, indeed, to be increased to a demand that \$10,000 per year be given. At this point the issue became public, and two camps were formed. In one camp was the *Työmies*, and behind it the left wing of the Finnish Workers Federation; and behind them, according to Kolehmainen, stood the Communist Party of America, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, and ultimately, the Comintern.²⁸ In the other camp was the Cooperative Central itself, and its weekly paper which had been started in 1926, *The Cooperative (Pyramid) Builder*, and its Finnish language paper started in 1930, *Työväen Osuustoimintalehti*, edited originally by Henry Koski, together with the majority of the Finnish Workers Federation and numerous supporters of the cooperative movement. Of the members of the board of directors of the Central, only three were and remained faithful to the communists: Oscar Corgan, Matti Tenhunen and Jack Vainionpää. Business manager Ronn and his successor, H. V. Nurmi (1931-38), together with George Halonen, secretary of the educational office, belonged to the majority opposing the communist demands. The communist side of the case was described by William Marttila in his book (in Finnish), "Cooperatives and Their Significance in the Class Struggle," and the official point of view of the Cooperative Central was described in a book (also in Finnish) by George Halonen, "The Battle on the Cooperative Front." The final result was that, the communists having lost ground, which had already become apparent in the Central's annual meeting in the spring of 1930 where the communists held only 46 out of the 279 votes, they ended in complete defeat. Before the end of 1931 there disappeared for good from the labels on cooperative products the red, blue and white stars, and what had appeared later, the hammer and sickle, and they were replaced by a new trade mark: two pine trees.²⁹ Neutrality, from that time on, was endorsed by the whole movement. In accordance with this neutrality, the board of directors gave a stern warning to the *Työväen Osuustoi-*

28. Kolehmainen and Hill, *op. cit.* p. 136

29. Voice of America, radio broadcast, 15 October 1952

mintalehti which, in 1938, had expressed its sympathy for a proposed new political party uniting workers and farmers.³⁰

Business managers of the Central have included A. J. Hayes (1938-1948), J. E. Phillips (1949-1952) and from 1952, J. Waldemar Koski. Together with other regional cooperative central organizations, the Cooperative Central owns many production facilities where all sorts of things are produced, all the way from fertilizers to fuels. At the annual meeting held in Duluth in March 1957, the name of the organization was changed officially to read Central Cooperatives, Inc.

Publicity and educational work is the responsibility of the Co-op Publishing Association, which since 1937 has been headed by Jack K. Heino. In addition to the *Työväen Osuustoimintalehti* and numerous publications in Finnish, much material has also been published in English. Mention should be made here of the *Cooperative Builder*, which in the 1950s was printed in a weekly edition of up to 50,000 copies, distributed to customers of the cooperatives. Since World War II, the Finnish cooperative movement has been moving ever closer to the pattern of American organizations, which have acknowledged their debt to the Finns. Bertram B. Fowler, in his *Consumers Co-operatives in America*, has stated: "The American cooperative movement owes a debt to the Finns, who arrived in America toward the end of the nineteenth century, for the Finns were among the ones who brought a clearer conception of American democracy. In the opinion of these Finns, a consumers' cooperative movement was the only economic form for a true democracy, and through their cooperative movement they have performed an immeasurable service to American democracy."

30. Kolehmainen and Hill, *op. cit.* p. 147

Chapter VIII

St. Louis County: North from Duluth

The Southeastern Sections of St. Louis County

Before moving directly north from Duluth to consider the extensive Finnish settlements in St. Louis County, a glimpse must be given of the communities in the southeastern corner of the county, close to Duluth. This immediate area borders on Duluth but continues northward, along the borders of the county, up to the mining areas in the county. In several of these 16 townships, none of whose population ever grew to more than several hundred persons, the role of the Finns has been evident.

Midway: The official name of the area once called the Fond du Lac region has been Midway Township since 1898. Located between West Duluth and the western border of the county, it is in area one of the smallest townships in the state. This history of the Finns there began with Juho Drufva, Tuomas Heikurainen (Johnson), Kalle Kytömäki (Hendrickson) and William Lehto, who left Duluth in the early 1870s to look for land for themselves. They found what they liked about 10 miles west of the city, and Kytömäki was the first to take a homestead site into his name, in September 1872. According to the early maps (1857) his land lay on Pine Hill, some 863 feet above the level of Lake Superior. According to the regulations then in force, Kytömäki had to build himself a home at least 12' x 12' in size within six months, with a weatherproof roof, at least one window and one door and a wooden floor. This requirement was met, as was the further one that in his house he have a stove, a bed and a table, and much else that the lawmakers had not thought of requiring in advance: a well, and the clearing of at least an acre of land per year for five years for pasture and cultivation: Kytömäki promptly cleared 65 acres.

During his first years on the farm, Kytömäki used to go to Duluth to work in the winter, and walking along paths which avoided swamps and wet spots the going was somewhere between 10-15 miles. Everything that was bought for the farm had to be carried in along this path. Usually a gun had to be carried, because bears were frequently encountered. Indeed, if the whole family happened to be away from the farm, bears could even pay visits there. On one occasion a bear tore away the window and had climbed in, putting everything inside topsy-turvy; even the flour had been spilled all over the floor, and there was nothing for it but to go to Duluth for another sackful. From the very beginning, this trip used to be made on skis in the wintertime. Gradually, there were oxen available for making the trip with a wagon, and the oxen were also yoked to do the plowing. And when they were not being used in the fields or on trips to Duluth, they were busy



Timber cutting at Midway.

hauling forest products to the Fond du Lac station. The logs used to be made up into railroad ties, telephone poles, or cut up into firewood. And when the time came to build a road to Duluth, the oxen were busy there, too. At times it was easy to get good feed for them cheaply, salvaged from fires in the Duluth elevators.¹

Year after year there were more and more neighbors in the area. Drufva was the next to build, then Heikurainen, finally Lehto. While the other homes were being built, Kytömäki's hut

1. Aaltio, E. A. *A Study of the Midway Finns*. Ms, in MFAHS archives

was apt to be the place where the others stayed, sleeping on straw piled on the floor, with one's coat folded together for a pillow. The nearest neighbors then were Indians, though a few Germans had also settled down on land between Midway and Duluth; later, a few Swedes and Poles also came. The first white child to be born in Midway, on 5 January 1874, was Carl William Hendrickson, although the Kytömäki's were in time to have 10 children in all. Gradually the forests were pushed back, the cleared fields made larger. Kytömäki began to keep cows, too, and by 1884 he had some 20 head of cattle. Then came sheep, goats and poultry; horses a few years later. Hay was harvested first along the river banks and from forest clearings, and along the cleared strips along the farm border lines which had been cleared for "security



Midway's Finnish Pioneer Memorial on the lawn of the old Hendrickson homestead. Standing by the memorial are Hilja and Fred Hendrickson.

reasons." In the spring, new fields were cleared, and stumps were burned. Life followed the familiar pattern of farm life in Finland.

The women baked sour bread, flat round loaves with a hole in the middle, and the loaves were strung on poles suspended below the ceiling. At slaughtering time blood sausage was made, enough for several days. Hides were tanned at home, with the help of alder bark and sap from the oak, and soap and tar were made at home, too. The tar was useful for treating shoes, and mixed with pine resin and pitch oil it made a fine medicine.

In 1893, there were 190 inhabitants in Fond du Lac.² When the name was changed to Midway and a township organized, Kytömäki became one of the three selectmen. The first school in the area had been in John Berg's house, about 3 miles beyond Hendrickson's farm, but later there were four schools in all. The first preacher, of the Laestadian faith, was Juho Drufva, and the meetings were ususally held at Kytömäki's farm. A cemetery was

2. Duluth and St. Louis County, Minnesota. Their Story and People. By American Historical Society. Chicago, Ill. and New York, 1921. Vol II, p. 706

laid out in 1882, with a part of the land received as a gift, the rest purchased: ten acres for \$10.00.

In 1930 the population was just over a thousand, and in 1950 it rose to 1,497. The path which oxen had once used had become a highway, busy with the rush of traffic. Modern buildings dot the countryside, and where once a forest primeval fell to the axes of the Finns, a descendant of theirs, Dale Hendrickson, assistant sheriff of St. Louis County, directs the traffic of golfers going to the country club. The monument erected in the Hendrickson garden will soon be the only memory left of that which once was and never will return. On the bronze plaque of the monument there is written:

"In Memory of the Finnish Pioneers. On this site Kalle and Eva (Kytö-mäki) Hendrickson built their homestead camp on September 9, 1872. They were the first Finnish homesteaders at the Head of the Lakes. Erected and dedicated by Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society September 17, 1950."

Herman and Solway: The townships of Herman and Solway lie north of Midway. At the turn of the century, 625 persons lived in the former, and a few of them were Finns, and in 1897 Solway had been separated from Herman to make a new township with a population of 115, of whom, again, a few were Finns. There were also a few Finns, but only a few, to the north in Canosia, from which were organized, in 1895, Grand Lake, and in 1896, Dinham (which soon disappeared from the map) and in 1904, Fredenberg. The total population of this area was only 221 at the turn of the century; most of them lived along the numerous lake shores and river fronts, which have become popular sites since World War II for summer camps and cottages, among the Finns as well.³

To the east of this Canovia complex lies Rice Lake, one of the first incorporated townships (1873) in the county, bordering on the south on the city of Duluth. Before the close of the last century, when the population was 231, a few Finns had settled there. At one time they even had a small parish, founded in 1909, affiliated with the National Church. In 1937, when the congregation had about 60 members, they were able to get an old school house, which they remodelled into a church.

Directly east of the city of Duluth lies the Town of Duluth, one of the oldest incorporated towns in the county. At the turn of the century it still did not have more than 194 persons, but among them were several Finns living in its French River village.

3. Duluth and St. Louis County, Minnesota. op.cit. II, p. 724

During the Civil War, the first mining enterprises in Minnesota, the North Shore Mining Company, had carried out trial borings here, but whatever ore was found was not worth exploiting. For the Finns, therefore, there were no steady jobs in the offing here, but they continued to arrive nevertheless, and Ilmonen states that "a considerable number" of them were there by 1903. Actually, they must have come somewhat earlier, for in 1899 the Finns there started a temperance society, Onnen Tuki, with 18 founding members. (Later, a considerable number of Swedish-Finnish fishermen also lived there.) One Finn, Matti Jackson, used to be the local postmaster, having been appointed in 1911, and he also was local inspector of the railroad tracks along the shore of Lake Superior, the Duluth to Canada line, and he also kept a grocery store.

In nearby Palmer there were, according to Ilmonen, "several" Finnish farmers from 1910 on. At Sucker River there was even a Socialist Party chapter for some time. Later, in Clover Valley, there was a Finnish Aid Committee during World War II, and its minutes indicate that its "founding and active" members were Frank Aho, Adrian Heino, Charles Huhta, Hugo Korkki, Matti Pykäri, John Reini and Sam Saari, as well as their dedicated wives. When the activities of this committee were resumed in 1945, Matti Pykäri was chosen chairman, John Reini, vice-chairman, Martha Huhta, secretary, and Charles Huhta, treasurer, and when activities were terminated again for good two years later, the treasurer reported they had raised a sum of \$803 for Finnish aid purposes.

Lakewood: This township, formerly a part of Duluth township, was incorporated separately in 1901. Ten years later, Lakewood had a population of 224. During World War I, several Finns moved here from Duluth, buying themselves, usually, 40-acre plots. However, only a few were able to live off the land completely; others had to find jobs as lumberjacks or stevedores.

In a memorandum prepared for the MFAHS, Lauri Lemberg has listed the names of the following Finns as being among the first to live in the community: Liisa and Matti Aho, Kalle and Lillian Harjula, Esa and Aliina Harrison, William and Lillian Hill, Nante and Tyyne Hirvola, Antti and Miina Karvonen, Arthur and Lina Kivi (Stone), Oscar Laine, John and Lydia Lahtonen, John Lystilä, Antti and Wilhelmiina Niemi, Hjalmar, Ida and Matti Salmi, and Axel Vainio. If in most instances the children of these Finnish families have moved back to Duluth, after World War II

many other Duluth Finns have come to Lakewood to build themselves summer cottages.

In 1924 Axel Vainio built a hall in Lakewood, on the main highway, and it became a popular dance pavilion. It continued in the same capacity under the subsequent management of Ida Liukkonen, then Ilmari and Tilda Aho, and finally John Lystilä, until it became the property of the Farmers Hall Association, founded in 1934. At about this time, too, Bertha and Otto Saarinen began a cattle breeding service; Saarinen was a graduate of a Finnish agricultural school and brought professional knowledge to his undertaking to improve the herds of local cattle. Another Finn, Einar Nummi, began the Lakewood Nursery Association, while other business ventures included a sawmill put up by William Hill, a logging operation undertaken by Arthur Hill and his son, and a general store kept by Karl and Lillian Harjula. During the war years there was considerable Finnish relief work, with Lydia Hill as secretary of the responsible committee.

Gnesen and Normanna: Both lie to the north of Lakewood. The former was incorporated in 1879, the latter in 1904. The first Finns in these townships were Anna and Toivo Koski, Anton and Saima Mikkola, Jack Nurmi, Alex Tuohenmaa, and Ida and Gust Wikstad. Later, a few more Finns have settled here.

Alden: This township lies north of Duluth Township, on the edge of the county. It was not incorporated until 1920. The Finns, who used to call this place 'Manchuria,' first arrived here about the year 1912; Joonas Hill, Manase Isackson, Oscar Laine, Henry Lampela, Jacob Mäki, Ilmari Näppä and Toivo Virtanen. This group arrived on a stormy winter night and spent that night around a campfire, which perhaps accounts for the nickname the Finns gave the place. According to Ilmonen, there lived in Alden about 40 Finnish families. When the township was organized, its first officials were all Finns: Mike Hakkila, Henry Kantola, A. J. Näppä and Henry Lampela. The Finns in Alden had a hall of their own, a farmers' club, and a cattle breeding association; however, according to what Näppä has stated about Alden in the 1950s, in spite of its population of 125, it had 'neither church nor saloon.' There are now very few who earn their living by farming; most who live here have jobs elsewhere.

The Finns in Brimson

Continuing to move northward, the next places on the map are Ault, Fairbanks, Bassett and Argo. The first of these was

incorporated in 1906, Fairbanks was formed from Ault territory in 1918, Bassett began its existence in 1913, and Argo in 1920. A fairly significant Finnish settlement developed in Brimson, under which name the whole area is known, and which also includes Toimi, situated in Lake County.



Alfred Erickson, new settler at Palmer, plowing with his home made plow in 1910.

In 1890, there were no inhabitants in this, the Cloquet River valley. Arthur Wolfe then arrived, as the first stationmaster, and the Kuchtas, husband and wife, were the first to begin clearing land here for a farm; their child was the first white child born here. Erika Hassel and Charles Olson were the first couple to be married here. In the early years, when there was no post office between Two Harbors and Messaba, the mail used to be thrown off the moving train; in 1899, however, the Brimson post office was opened. The name, by the way, was that of the president of the Duluth Iron Range Railroad, and a little later the railroad stop of Cloquet River was also renamed Brimson.



Brimson's first home. This was built in 1903 by Kristian Rontto.

Two of the early arrivals, Matti Kuusisto and Christian Rondo, related in the 1930s how they happened to come to this stony, swampy region. It had started with an advertisement in the *Uusi Kotimaa*, placed by a Finn living in Eveleth, who offered lands for sale in Brimson. Kuusisto and Rondo, who were neigh-

bors living in Brantwood, Wisconsin, set off to look at the land. They had but little time at their disposal, but the owner brought them to the site, and pointing to a fine growth of huge pines, turned to Rondo and said, "and here you would have a pine grove from which you could easily earn your tobacco money." Rondo was every much taken by the place, and Kuusisto, too, was pleased by what he saw, so they went on to Eveleth to prepare the deeds. It was not until they returned to Brimson with the papers in their pockets that they realized the beautiful pine grove which had been pointed out to them did not belong to them after all:



Brimson: Postoffice. Katri and Nikolai Kylen's homestead in 1907. Children Kalter, Helmi and Urho. Bull's name is "Jyry."

they had only bought swamp and rocky fields. With Finnish determination, however, they set about to clear their land.

In 1903, George Ault and family moved to the area, and it was his name which was given to the township incorporated three years later. It was in 1903, also, that a post office was opened near the Bassett railroad stop, and this post office was named Fairbanks, after the then United States Vice-President. However, postal delivery over the swamps and bogs to the various farms was not established. The result was that in 1907 people began taking turns picking up the mail from the post office and delivering it to all their neighbors; with this system, mail was received three times a week, and the duty came but once a month to the parties involved. With everybody pitching in, a 'mail path' was cleared

it, as close to his cabin as possible. A new post office was made available in 1909, and because the postmistress was named Olga Petrell, the whole countryside began to be called after her name. John Aho was the first mail carrier of the Petrell post office.

An earlier improvement had already made the ties between Brimson and the outside world a bit closer: a station house had been built at Breda, in 1906. Up to that time goods delivered by train had simply been unloaded beside the tracks, no matter what the weather, and had been left there to be picked up and hauled by the pioneers to their cabins as best they could: on their backs, if need be, over hills and across swamps, or hauled with ox and wagon.

Hjalmar Kaikkonen has related that when he came to Fairbanks in 1906 there was but one solitary horse in the village. Later there were more, usually at least one to every farmer. Sometimes this affluence also brought its problems, as appeared to one Finnish newcomer with a small, one-room cabin: when he bought a horse, he had no stall, and he finally decided to share his cabin with his equine friend.

The Finns in this area would have demonstrated their usual enthusiasm for clearing limitless stretches of land, but the soil proved so poor that it was not worth trying to bring very much of it under cultivation. Some tried dairy farming, but that did not prove profitable either, although there were breeding centers in both Fairbanks and Bassett. Primarily the Finns gained their livelihood from paid labor, for years from lumbering, somewhat less from the railroad, and then finally from mining.

Very early in this Brimson forest setting the Finns began to show the usual signs of group activity, with 1906 seeing the beginning of the first Finnish religious services in the area and the beginning of a group called the 'Knowledge Society.' Representing the religious activity, the Reverend J. Rankila began to visit the community once a month to hold services, and in 1909 there was founded the National Church congregation with some 80 members. They built their own church in 1918 and have been served, in addition to Rankila, by pastors Ström, Rissanen, Hirvi, Vilenius, Ruotsalainen and E. V. Niemi. A second church, congregationalist, was founded in 1935, but ten years later it had but 22 members; this church has had as pastor, Victor Holopainen.

The Knowledge Society, meanwhile, was transformed in 1910 into a chapter of the Socialist Party (with a membership of 28 in 1912) but was dissolved four years later in the wake of party dissensions which cast their influence even in this wilderness.

It should be stated, however, that this society tried to continue the tradition of Finnish organizations with their musical and dramatic evenings. (They had a hall to perform in, of course, since the Finns had built one in Fairbanks village in 1908 — a second was built in 1918 farther north to serve Bassett — and later a third in nearby Lake County.) The Brimson thespians had no permanent director, of course, but whoever was interested enough assembled a cast and put on a play. Musical activity was a bit more formally organized, with a band started in 1923 by William Ahola, who had previously conducted the band in Hibbing, and there was also a choral group, directed by Reino Koski. The band performed so credibly at the Hibbing Fair that it won a first prize, while the chorus gave performances not only locally but sang at summer festivals at Ely and Virginia.

St. Louis County Superintendent of Schools Arthur Lampe, who supported all cultural activities eagerly and was a warm friend of the Finns, opened an evening school at Brimson in 1938, with courses particularly in agriculture and dairy farming, with Felix Nylund as instructor. There was also a more informal group for a time in Brimson, with an interest in home economics; the county agricultural extension service used to send instructors to address meetings of this group, of which Selma Kaikkonen was chairman.

The first cooperative enterprise in Brimson saw its beginnings in 1908 in the form of a consumers' group, started with a capital of \$125. By the following year it purchased the one-room camp owned by John Pernu, and in that the store was set up, under the name Finnish Supply Company, with Saku Kärki as its first business manager. The store was open three days a week, and supplies were brought in from the station in Fairbanks, 8 miles away, over the road made for logging operations. Obviously, in an enterprise this small, one of the main difficulties was in keeping competent business managers, because there was not enough business to make a decent salary possible. However, with the enterprise prospering slightly, a new building was planned in 1910: a two-story affair, with a hall for meetings on the ground floor.

Because of the complicated geographical picture of the Brimson area, a second cooperative was established in 1913: the Farmers Store Association (its first business manager was Ed. Petrell, to be succeeded by August Mankinen and then Konsta Nyman) which was also kept open three days a week. If this new enterprise also prospered enough to build itself new business premises in Brimson, it was also caught in the dissension within the

cooperative movement: one meeting of its members would approve joining the cooperative central, the next meeting would upset the previous decision. The result was that the Farmers Store Association remained outside the Central for many years, even though it sold products supplied by the Central. This reluctance to join resulted finally in the establishment of a third cooperative in the town in 1932. Meanwhile, the Finnish Supply Company and the Farmers Store Association had for years discussed merging, but nothing came of these efforts, and in the end the Finnish Supply Company went out of business. In addition to these cooperative enterprises, however, there were also four privately owned stores in Brimson, one of them being the general store of Gust Tuura.

Brimson also had a Finnish temperance society, founded in 1936, with Alex Nisula as chairman, but it was short-lived. The Finnish Aid Committee during World War II had Uno Kivi as chairman. A local chapter of the MFAHS was organized in Brimson in 1946.

Lake Vermillion and its Iron Mines

One of the remarkable geographical features left in the north-east corner of St. Louis County by the Ice Age is the striking chain of lakes and waterways, with its center formed by the Vermilion Lake basin, which filled with water as the ice retreated northward. The shoreline is broken up by numerous islands and promontories which break up any widespread waves into patches of mirror-smooth water between the steep banks and the islands, unusual in that one will be all dark with fir, another thick with pine, a third all birch. These islands silhouetted against the sky form the background for beautiful sunsets, a part of the lure which has attracted sportsmen and vacationers to build their cabins here where the Indians once used to roam.

The interest of the white man in this region was originally a more utilitarian one, a search for copper made by the expedition of J. G. Norwood up the St. Louis River valley and its tributaries. No copper was found, but Norwood's report suggested that iron might be there. In 1863, the blacksmith son of a trapper was given small samples of iron ore by the Indians, and he sent them to the surveyor, George R. Stuntz, to look over, but the latter's first opinion was that the find was insignificant. It was not until he made a trip to the area himself with Captain Pratt and brought back many pounds of sample ore that Stuntz became convinced that mineral resources actually were there in quantity. In 1865

a geologist, H. H. Eames, made a trip to the area, and in his report mentioned the possibility that significant quantities of precious metals might be there also. The result of this report was a veritable gold rush: expedition after expedition was readied, and huge sums of money were spent for machinery and equipment. It was with great difficulty that all this material was brought to the scene, for although it was but some 40 miles as the crow flies from the nearest permanent settlements, the lack of roads made the trip often twice as long. Of course, the equipment could not have been brought to the destination without a road, so a road was built, for no efforts were spared. It has been estimated that thousands of men set out on this search, and for a year or two they searched and dug feverishly — but without results. In all probability there was gold there — and still is — but in such small quantities that it is not worth the effort. The only ones who profited from the Vermilion Lake gold rush were the purveyors of equipment and the boardinghouse keepers. Within a year or two the fever died down, and only the road cleared through the wilderness remained.

Aware that mineral wealth was hidden in the Vermilion Lake region, Stuntz staunchly supported the maintaining of a good road to the area. It was due to his interest, and to General Warren's orders, that in 1869 the Vermilion Trail was made into a permanent road. It was in 1875 that the area received its first white inhabitant, the Indian agent George E. Wheeler, who established himself in what is now known as Tower. In 1880, Stuntz and Professor Chester were in the region, investigating it further, and in 1882 George C. Stone sent a small group to make trial borings there: Peter Erickson and Andrew Sandell, and a lad named Thomas J. Walsh. This party of three set out on foot from Duluth, carrying everything they needed on their backs. They bored for lodes in the region which later became the Lee Mine and the town of Soudan. Their work progressed slowly, however, for they had nothing but hand drills, which had to be sharpened constantly, but they did get results: one of them was that the Minnesota Iron Mining Company was organized in Duluth, by Messrs. Breitung, Lee, Stone, Stuntz and Tower, whose names eventually all became place names in the Vermilion region. Mining operations were begun promptly, on a modest scale at first, but expanding gradually over all northern Minnesota to form the world's major production of iron ore.

In an article on the Soudan-Tower region, the *Duluth News-Tribune* (4 July 1954) began with the statement that "there are not many regions in Minnesota which have had a history as

colorful as this one." The same might well be said in terms of the history of the Finns involved in the region.

It was in 1882 that the company sent John Owens to set up a sawmill on the shores of Vermilion, so that timber would be available for building purposes and for mining operations. It took six days to haul the 1,660-pound machinery from Duluth to the site. The sawmill began its operations, and in short order it was possible to erect some 30 buildings. Stuntz laid out the plans for a town, and he named it after one of the directors, Charlemagne Tower. Tower became, in 1883, the first established community in St. Louis County north of Duluth. From the same year dates the incorporation of Breitung Township (named after Edward N. Breitung) of which Tower is a part. The other mining townships were incorporated later: Morse, 1887; Kugler in 1904; Vermilion Lake in 1912.

All supplies for this new mining town had to be brought from Duluth. The first stop on this trip of several days was usually Cloquet River; mail in winter reached its destination by dog sled. In 1884, however, things had progressed to the point where the railroad was brought from Two Harbors to Tower, which also got its first store, and a bank. The first school was built in 1885, the first newspaper appeared in 1888, and in 1889 Tower became a city. The mines themselves, however, are located nearer another spot which later was given the name Soudan.

Incidentally, since several mines were important for the Finns and many Finnish families, it would be in order to list the most significant ones here: Soudan Mine, begun in 1884, which produced at least 14,780,092 tons of ore up to 1956; Consolidated Vermilion, opened in 1916, producing 22,893 tons, (closed); McComber, opened 1917, producing 8,386 tons, (closed); Armstrong Bay, opened 1915, producing 4,748 tons, (closed.)⁴ Although the first borings were made at what was known as the Lee Mine, where considerable ore was indicated, not a ton has been extracted from Lee since 1888.

The distance from Tower to Soudan was enough to make it quite a hardship to walk to the mines every day and back home again, so a small-gauge railroad was built in 1890 to connect the two. It made about 10 trips per day, but three years later, proving to operate at a loss, it was discontinued. With or without this tie between them, there were several apparent differences between the two. In the first place, Soudan had practically no

4. Bulletin of The University of Minnesota. Mining Directory Issue. Minnesota, 1956

stores, and all shopping had to be done in Tower; in the second place, there were no saloons in Soudan, which in this and other respects had to cede first place to Tower. In 1900, the total population of Breitung Township was 2,034 — and of these 1,366 lived in Tower. Ten years later Tower's share was even larger: 1,111 out of a total of 1,214. Since Breitung also had many other little villages in addition to Soudan, it was apparent that "one lived in Tower and went to work in Soudan."

It was to Tower, then, that the first Finns arrived in 1883 (Ilmonen claims 1884) in the following order: Olof and Peter Halonen, Erick Hiukka, Mikko Kiviniemi, Abram Kitti, Nels and Matt Hepola, August Myllymäki, John and Oscar Wäisänen, Evert Piutsu and Paul Leinonen. It is apparent that the Finns arrived as soon as the mining operations were begun, and they probably participated in the filling of those first five carloads of iron ore which left for Two Harbors on 13 July 1884. Many more trainloads followed, until the year 1892 saw more than half a million tons of ore loaded on the trains in one season. The number of Finnish miners also grew, and many of them were experienced men, and some of them had worked in Michigan's copper mines, and some were even veterans of the 'rat holes' of Norway. Many of them regarded the mines as a necessary evil, into which one had to descend if one wanted to live. But after staying on for any length of time one got used to one's surroundings, and the place began to be 'home.'

It was, however, a hard and drab life at best, and the life of the Finns under these conditions was apt to show little restraint. Heavy drinking, in particular, was prevalent and caused disaster for many a home. And it was to do away with this evil that the Finns began to start their temperance societies, the first one of which, in Minnesota, actually began its history in Soudan. With no precedent to go by, August Myllymäki, one of the first Finnish miners to arrive in Soudan, sent to Republic, Michigan, to have a speaker of that society, Herman Helander, come to Soudan to address the Finns, with Myllymäki paying the expenses of the trip. The result was the birth in Soudan of the Northern Flame Temperance Society, founded in a meeting at the home of William Erickson in May 1886. It joined, first, the Scandinavian-American Temperance League, later the Finnish league of temperance societies.

The Temperance Movement Among the Finnish-Americans

In many Finnish areas of settlement conditions had gone to wrack and ruin. When it is kept in mind that the majority of the immigrants from Finland were young, unmarried men, that they knew little English, worked extremely long hours in the most arduous of labor, one can understand the grim picture which was drawn of their lives: the money that was supposed to be sent home was spent in the saloons; the money set aside for a rainy day was quickly spent; the pay envelope seemed to slip out of one's hands. In the saloons and in dark alleys Finnish knives used to flash, terrorizing whole communities. This restless life centered in the saloons, into which newcomers from Finland were so often drawn, threatened not only to destroy numerous promising young men but also threatened to brand the Finns as a whole.

Fortunately some realized the social abuses and were prepared to fight against them. The Finns by no means originated the idea of temperance, for the first such society in America had been started in Connecticut in 1789, a society advocating moderation in the use of alcoholic beverages was founded in Boston in 1826, and ten years later total abstinence pledges were made in Saratoga. Before this latter event, the first temperance conference had been held in Philadelphia, in 1833, with some 400 representatives from 21 (out of a total of 24) states.

Local temperance groups were gradually joined into one of various temperance leagues, some of them of almost secret society nature. One of these was the Scandinavian, Good Templar organization, established in 1851. And when Neal Dow was elected mayor of Portland, the first legal prohibition appeared in Maine in 1855. The National Prohibition Party was founded in 1869, and it served as an insistent 'third party' for decades, putting up candidates for election to offices up to and including the presidency. The Anti-Saloon League, founded later, did not have its own political candidates but urged its supporters to vote for those candidates of the big parties who also supported prohibition. By the beginning of World War I, the National Prohibition Party and the Anti-Saloon League had succeeded in making 9 states 'dry', while 15 states had limiting laws, making for partial prohibition. The rest were called the 'saloon states,' and in this group belonged Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, among others. To be sure, the Federal Government had made two agreements with the Indians (in 1854 and 1863) making illegal the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in Duluth and Northern Minnesota,

but these agreements were no longer enforced toward the end of the century, and saloons were everywhere to be seen. In fact, by 1911 consumption rose to 23 gallons per person in Minnesota, compared to one-half of that in, for example, Michigan. There were, then, evils to be fought in the 'saloon states.'

As early as the 1870s, Finns were members of various Norwegian and Swedish temperance societies. In the Tornea Temperance Society in Allouez, Michigan, for example, the majority of the members were Finns, and so even the meetings were held in Finnish. On 22 February 1885 the friends of temperance established the first Finnish-American temperance society, named the Northern Star, in Hancock, Michigan. That same year three other societies were also founded, and the following year eight more, including three in Minnesota: in Soudan, Duluth and New York Mills. Almost without exception these early societies were affiliated with the Good Templar movement: Good Templar procedures were also adopted in the Finnish societies, and so the business meetings were closed, with only members permitted to attend, while other events, program nights and such, were open to the public. Meetings were opened with a song, followed by a prayer led by the chapter's elected chaplain.

Finnish affiliation in a league whose official languages were English and Swedish tended to cause certain difficulties as time went on. These difficulties were increased, no doubt, by the action of the 'Age of Joy' Temperance Society in Republic, Michigan, which published a Finnish translation of the Good Templars' manual, for the Templars, considering this to be their exclusive property, took offense. At about the same time articles began to appear in the *Uusi Kotimaa*, urging the Finns to quit the Scandinavian league and to form one of their own. The Republic society took the initiative in this matter, sounding out other Finnish societies about the idea, and since the response was encouraging, it invited them to be represented in a meeting held in Republic in January 1888, which resulted in the establishment of a Finnish league: the Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood Association. Since no preparatory measures had been taken for this step, it was decided that the Hancock temperance society was to prepare a constitution, based on Good Templar precedents. The Association held its first annual meeting in Hancock on 23 June 1888, with only a modest number of delegates present, but these 15 did approve the new constitution and added to it the amendments that "the temperance societies are not to sponsor amusements or parades on Sundays" and that "dancing

will be completely forbidden by the temperance societies.” Some features were, however, adapted from the American example without alteration — for example, that on the death of a member the society would contribute \$50 toward burial expenses. This annual meeting was brought to a close by a picnic in the country, and this at least set a precedent, for midsummer festivals (24 June) were held every year of the league’s existence. New local societies were founded in many communities after this event, and within three years the Association included 39 local societies with a membership of 1,500. Men who served the Association as chairmen for long periods include Isaac Sillberg, Mikko Skyttä, Matti Manner, Esa Torkko and Frank Mattson.⁵

The Association did not, however, enjoy a monopoly in its field, for a second league was soon in the making, due, according to Ilmonen, “to minor basic differences on such matters as Sunday entertainments, on prayers held at meetings, and chiefly on the power exerted by the newspapers.” In the beginning, for example, the Association supported the *Työmies* with a \$150 gift and promised a \$100 annual subsidy, but the *Työmies* adopted a cool stand toward the Association and, once the subsidy was stopped, became inimical. The paper finally urged the creation of another league, and when the Good Hope of Calumet resigned from the Association in 1890 it proclaimed the establishment of a new central organization, the League of Finnish Friends of Temperance. Contrary to expectations, however, its constitution did not differ greatly from that of the Association, and it did not even do away with the prayers, but it did adopt a slightly more liberal attitude toward Sunday festivities.

The presence of a second central league led to several larger communities now having two temperance societies, one affiliated with the Brotherhood Association, the other with the League of Finnish Friends, while single societies in smaller communities had a choice of which affiliation to make. Ilmonen was of the opinion that this situation led to beneficial results on the whole, for the competition between them led to a keen battle to recruit more new members, and both leagues sent speakers on tours to address groups in towns where no temperance society still existed. Among the early speakers sent out by the Association were J. Bäck, J. H. Jasberg, N. A. Lempsä and Isaac Silberg.

5. Ilmonen, *S. Sivistyshistoria*, I, pp 36-43, and *Juhlajulkaisu Suomalaisen Kansalliss-Raittius-Veljeysseuran 25-vuotisen toiminnan muistoksi*, Ishpeming, Michigan, 1912, pp 321-55.

As if two leagues were not enough, in January 1897 there was established in Fitchburg, Massachusetts the Eastern Finnish Temperance League of America, and then a fourth one united the Finnish-Swedish societies, of which there were many, in Michigan and Minnesota particularly. By and large, these societies had joined the Brotherhood Association, with 20 joining in 1897 alone, to be followed by more in subsequent years. For their use the Association produced manuals and the constitution in the Swedish language, even though their affiliation was considered to be but temporary. In fact, in 1902 they did separate, establishing the Svens-Finska Nykerhetsförbundet av Amerika. The Finnish societies granted \$50 to this new association upon its establishment, when it consisted of 18 local societies, with only one from Minnesota, represented by Herman Holm of Eveleth, who became the association's first president. In 1905 there were 35 local chapters in the league, with a total of 1,476 members, and slightly more than \$1,000 in the treasury. At that time it was decided to start a publication, too, and so the *Ledstjärnan* began to appear, first twice a month, later monthly. In 1905, also, John Wickström was elected president, to be succeeded in 1906 by C. W. Silverberg. At the 1906 meeting Minnesota chapters present included the societies of Chisholm, Eveleth, Hibbing and West Duluth. At that time also it was decided to cooperate with its opposite number in Finland, the Finlands Svenska Nykerhetsförbundet, and in 1907 it was decided to sponsor the tour of a temperance lecturer from Finland, Johannes Blockars, who travelled throughout the United States at the association's expense. Later speakers included J. E. Antel and John Udell, who did much to help in the establishment of further local chapters. In addition to the presidents of the association mentioned above, the following have also held that office: C. O. Smith, Victor Jacobson, John Udell, Andr. Ostrand and John E. Smith.

Coming into the 20th century, the Finnish-Swedish League also set up sickness aid and assistance programs for its members. Later still, Swedish-Finnish temperance work has been under the aegis of the Order of Runeberg.

The Finns, meanwhile, continued to expand their temperance activities. There was an active publications program, for example, with educational materials, leaflets, temperance lectures, volumes of poetry, song books being published — in short, everything which pointed out the differences between drunkenness and the ideals of abstinence. The *Raittiuskalenteri*, yearbook of the Brotherhood Association, first appeared in 1897, and continued to

appear annually for decades, sometimes with a slightly altered title: *Raittiuskansan Kalenteri* or *Suomalainen Raittiuskansan Kalenteri*. In addition, the League of Friends and the Eastern League cooperated to publish numerous yearbooks, monthly journals and other publications, while the Brotherhood Association even held a competition offering prizes for the best writing on a temperance theme, prizes won by Aino Kukkonen and A. W. Havela. To encourage reading, most local chapters organized lending libraries for their members, and a survey made in 1900 indicated that there were 70 of them, with a total of over 20,000 volumes between them. And since the meetings required temperance speakers and lecturers on every occasion, special oratorical groups were set up to train new talents. All this activity reflected the continuing growth of the temperance movement: the Brotherhood Association was made up of 89 local societies, with about 4,100 members in all, while the Friends had 16 societies and about 640 members, the Eastern League 15 societies and 600 members. In addition there were some 30 independent local societies, with about 1,000 members. All this added up to a figure of some 150 local societies and some 6,500 members, and the growth was still continuing.⁶

The annual meetings of these temperance leagues became true folk festivals, midsummer festivals. Typical of what they were like was, for example, the Ishpeming, Michigan meeting of 1903, to which the Finns of northern Minnesota arrived by special train. Choruses, bands, track teams made a colorful spectacle of this meeting of some 1,500 persons.

Just as the Swedish-Finns had done, the Finnish leagues sponsored visits of temperance lecturers from Finland. The first to come was Kalle Hyttinen, who spoke in many American communities in 1903. Three years later came Vilho Reima, and in 1908 came Alma Hinkkanen, who broke previous records by visiting more than 100 local chapters and making more than 400 speeches. In 1904, however, a more scientific approach to temperance problems became apparent in the arrival of Heikki Ananias, of Finland, who gave technical courses, three weeks long, with lectures covering all aspects of temperance work from a survey of its foundations and history to temperance training in the schools and the role of song and music in fostering temperance. Such courses of study were continued for several years under the sponsorship and expense of the Brotherhood

6. Ilmonen, *op. cit.* I, p. 56 and *Amerikan Suomalaisen Raittiusliikkeen historia*, p. 144

Association, and those who took part in them carried on the work in their local chapters, particularly among young people and children.

Ilmonen had mentioned the "road of stimulating competition" which the presence of more than one league of temperance societies brought about, but it must be admitted that friction soon became the dominating fact in their mutual relations. To eradicate this friction, the Brotherhood Association tried to get all the leagues to join in one association, and succeeded to the point where initial joint talks were held in DeKalb, Illinois, in January 1908. All the delegates present were unanimous on the need for joining together but remained in disagreement on how and on what terms it was to be effected. There was lengthy discussion of trivial issues, such as what the name of the new organization should be, indicating that this 'peace meeting' was to be nothing but a gesture and that the basic issue was to be quietly buried.

Since the pattern of organizations remained unchanged, the most powerful one, the Brotherhood Association, began to intensify its work with a grouping of regional leagues. The first to be formed was the Copper Country league of Upper Michigan, and then came the Minnesota Temperance League, for which the Eveleth temperance society took the initiative. This league was formed at a meeting held in January 1907, with the following local societies and their delegates present: Aurora, with J. Han-nula and John Salin; Biwabik, Antti Kojonen; Chisholm, Oscar Pohjanen and J. Saari; Duluth, J. W. Lilius and J. Mattson; Ely, F. Nikkola and John Palmgard; Eveleth, J. F. Isotalo, Maria Järvinen, John Kangas, V. Kyllönen, Maria Lampi, Frank Mattson and K. F. Tuomi; Hibbing, Hilma Luoma, Jaakko Rajala and Kusti Saari; Sparta, J. Hattunen and C. Kykyri; Tower, John Korpela; and Virginia, Johan Haaro, Toivo Huttu and August Junnulin. Practically speaking, all the temperance societies in Minnesota and a few in Wisconsin eventually joined this league which, according to Ilmonen, had in 1908 a total membership of 1,648. Other regional leagues in other parts of the country subsequently came into existence, following the same pattern.

The Minnesota temperance league did not come into being until the Finnish-American temperance movement as a whole had reached its maturity, and this was a great help in its subsequent smooth development. When a slackening of interest became apparent during the first World War (in 1916 only four societies sent delegates to the annual meeting) speedy steps were taken to revive the program. In the first place, fixed dues to the league

were abolished in favor of voluntary contributions any society might wish to make to the league, and in the second place, societies were authorized to send as many delegates as they wished to the league meetings, which resulted in a far greater participation in these meetings and also brought other organizations, the churches and the Kaleva Order, for example, into active participation in temperance work. The first elected chairman of the Minnesota League was J. E. Isotalo, with Toivo Hattu serving as secretary, Maria Järvelä as treasurer, and J. W. Lilius and Kaarlo Nikkilä being members of the board. However, the chairman and treasurer both soon left for Finland and were replaced by Esa Torkko and Kalle Steckman. Later chairmen have been John Hassi, Frans Koski, Olavi Laulaja, Alex Keto, Jacob Rajala, J. E. Laukka, Sam Koskela, Conrad Mattson, John Romppainen, Gust Gustafson, Charles Sandberg, J. E. Isotalo and Väinö Alfred Salo. Almost every year the Minnesota League, either on its own or in cooperation with the Brotherhood Association, sent temperance speakers to tour the state. The first of these was Heikki Moilanen, and others who followed included Ivar Ahonen, Alma Hinkkanen (Mrs. Lipsanen), Risto Lappala, Matti Lehtonen, Hilma Hamina, Salomon Ilmonen, A. J. Jalkanen, Matti Kokkonen, Vera Tiura, Minnie P. Mäki, John Wargelin, Marja Salmela, Onni Syrjäniemi, Milma Lappala and Matti Helenius-Seppälä.

In 1941 the Minnesota League joined the American temperance organization of the state, the Minnesota Temperance Movement, to which belonged a dozen or so temperance groups of various nationality backgrounds. This membership has strengthened the Finnish-American movement and at the same time has put it in a position to participate in legislative matters of state-wide interest.

Before the enactment of Prohibition, the Finns were almost unanimously supporters of the Anti-Saloon League. The only significant exception was in Minnesota, where most of the temperance-minded Finnish-Americans supported candidates of the Prohibition Party. In the final weeks, when the constitutional amendment was up for consideration, all the Finnish newspapers carried big advertisements, warning the temperance-minded not to be satisfied with the war-time restrictions which had been put upon alcoholic beverages: these restrictions would be removed when the war was over, and without an amendment to the constitution "many of our boys, who have fought so bravely against the enemy, will be victims of the saloons, will become drunkards and will die a shameful death, a sadder death than if they had fallen in war. Make Minnesota dry — make America dry." When

Prohibition became law, many Finns, like so many Americans, left the temperance movement, convinced that their mission was completed. In the early 1920s the number of Finnish temperance societies was but a fraction of what it had been, and membership must have dropped to below a thousand persons. During the later years of Prohibition, however, there was somewhat more interest again, but in the 1930s and the 1940s the movement never regained the strength it had once possessed, and after World War II the



Soudan's Finnish Band.

whole Finnish temperance movement was but history: in Minnesota there were only 6 local chapters 'active' in 1953, and in the case of some of them even the term 'active' had to be taken with a grain of salt.

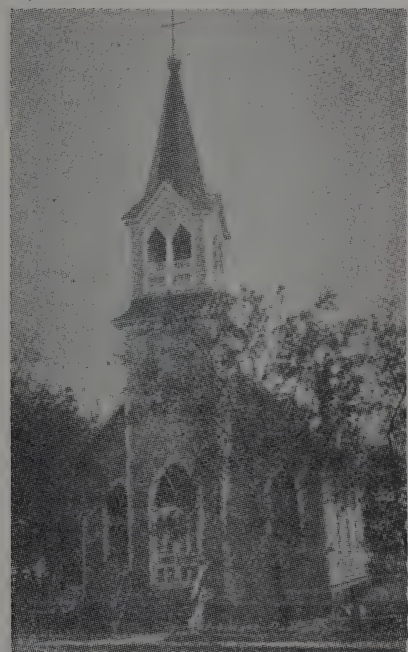
It is difficult to say how effective the Finnish temperance societies have been in keeping their immigrants on the straight and narrow path, but in the early decades of their existence they certainly formed the arena in which budding cultural activities were brought forth and produced the social environment in which newcomers in a strange environment could find solace in their loneliness.

Soudan and Ely

To return to the portrayal of the role of the Finns in Soudan, the temperance society in this community experienced all the phases of the movement's existence, passed through the period of its greatest glory with the holding of many successful annual

meetings and festivals, took part in the organized state and national program, and then gradually withered away as its number of supporters was reduced. At its maximum, it had 273 members to its credit; at the end of World War II its membership was made up of 12 women and 4 men.

The Northern Flame, a day after it was founded, began to discuss the building of a hall to house its activities, and the following spring (1887) the decision was reached: it was to be a building 44 feet long and 28 feet wide, erected on a plot donated by the Minnesota Iron Company, whose superintendent, John



**Finnish Ev. Luth. Church in
Soudan.**

Pengilly, was favorably disposed toward the Finns. A construction loan was taken, at an interest rate of 10%, but most of the money was raised in pledges and donations — \$5 was the largest gift received, 2c was said to be the smallest. The building, ready for use in March 1887, was probably the first of its kind in Minnesota, served its purpose for decades, being enlarged and improved as the situation demanded, until this building which had cost the Finns \$1200 to build was valued at many thousands.

In Soudan, as in so many other different communities, a socialist group was founded here in 1906. Three years later this group had its own home and somewhere between 25 members, which was the figure at its birth, and 58, which was the

membership figure 6 years later. It was active with its own dramatics group and choruses, but when the schism came into the labor party ranks, the activity here came to an end.

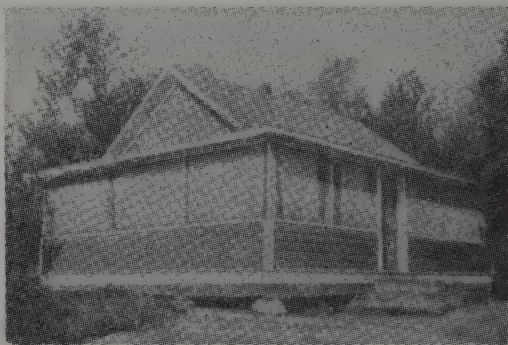
If the socialists were in a sense in opposition with the Soudan temperance followers, religious activity in the beginning cooperated wholeheartedly with the temperance society. Indeed, the early religious services were held at the temperance hall, under its first, itinerant pastors, Heikki Sarvela, W. Williamson and A. Sandström. The congregation was incorporated in 1890, and a church was built in 1897, big enough to seat 150 worshippers. Affiliated originally with the Suomi Synod (Evangelical), it became inde-

pendent for a period after 1901, and finally rejoined the Synod in 1922. Since that date membership has varied between 150-190, with approximately 50 more members from the town of Tower. The pastors of the church in Ely have regularly served this church also.

In addition, there was established in 1901 an independent church in Soudan, calling itself the St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Congregation. It joined the National Church in 1910. Its first pastors were Jaakko Hirvi, then D. Ruotsalainen, G. A. Aho, and E. A. Heino. This congregation, which in 1923 had 75 members and 40 in 1948, has also had its own church building.

Finally, among the Finns of Soudan there were also many who leaned toward the teachings of Laestadius. Their religious activity apparently preceded the congregations mentioned above, but no records of it have remained available.

To turn to another aspect of Finnish activity, the temperance hall also served as the meeting place for the local chapter of the Kaleva Order. It may appear strange that in a mining community like Soudan there should have been both a chapter of the Kaleva Knights and the Kaleva Ladies, but both were in fact founded here in 1908. Among the first members in the Knights were Frans Alen, Kustaa Anderson, Antti Hiiri, Frank Korpi, John Kortesmaa, Gustaa Lapinoja, Charles Miettunen, Heikki Lämpsä, Heikki Oja, Evert Peltola, Eli Rautio and August Saarela. There were more members subsequently, but 40 years later the local activity was on the verge of collapse and membership was transferred to the Virginia chapter.



Kaleva Island and Camp at Soudan.

Among the Ladies, the first sponsoring members were Sanna Saarela and Hilma and Sofia Saari. Apparently there were 13 members in all when the chapter was founded, and in the course of its existence it had 62 members in all, but in 1953 only 16 were left. Although the Ladies first held their meetings at the temperance hall, as did the men, then in homes of the members to save money, they maintained, together with the Knights, a summer camp on the shores of Vermilion Lake in the period preceding World War II. Even after that date the Kaleva members

were particularly active in Finnish aid activities, sponsoring a chapter of the Help Finland organization, under the guidance of Peter Hiltunen and Konster Marttila.

For a time an athletic club, founded by Antti Räsänen, was active in Soudan, but it was short lived. The Soudan band, started by Pekka Westerinen in 1888, was conspicuously successful, however; it was, moreover, the first of many bands to be founded in Minnesota.

While the great majority of the Finns in Soudan and Tower earned their livelihood in the mines — a few making records like Heikki Arola, who worked in the mines for 45 years — many Finns were also employed in the early years in the numerous sawmills in the area. Many of the younger generation, however, have had the benefit of much more extensive education and have gone on to make other careers for themselves, in their own community as well as elsewhere. One who might be mentioned in this connection is Gust A. Koski, who maintained a law practice in Tower before he moved to Washington to serve in the FBI.

From Breitung Township the Vermilion iron ore area extends eastward to Morse, which contains the important Finnish centers of Ely and Winton, both of which owe their birth as well as their growth to the presence of this mineral wealth. Of the mines operating around Ely, the most significant have been perhaps these: the Pioneer, opened in 1888 and producing 32,928,392 tons of ore by 1956; Chandler, also opened in 1888 and producing 2,392,048 tons before running dry; Zenith, opened in 1892 and producing 19,565,402 tons; and finally, Sibley, opened in 1899 and producing 9,808,202 tons before being closed.

Ely became a village in 1888 and a city in 1891. It was named after Samuel P. Ely, and became, after Tower, the second oldest incorporated area north of Duluth. In 1887 there were 177 persons living here, but 2 years later there were 901, and at the turn of the century there were 3,717. Whereas in 1887 there was but one general store, and a suggestion of a road leading to Ely, by the autumn of 1888 there was a railroad to Tower, and the following year the first child was born here and several scores of Finns arrived on the scene, coming on the traces of John Seikkula and John Turija, who had arrived in 1887. Other sources have mentioned that Sakri Kamunen, Johan Kylvälä and Knut August Juusola were the first Finnish workers in the Ely mines, and one Elizabeth Pete (Perttunen) stated in an interview (in 1950) that Jacob Perttula "arrived on foot from Two Harbors

before a railroad was here, and that was in 1884 or 1885,” while still other sources indicate that Perttula arrived in 1888, which is more likely, since that would have still put him on the scene before the opening of the railroad.

The pay the Finns received in Ely was not large. Jacob Jacobson told E. A. Pulli in an interview that when he came to the mines in 1890 he received \$1.50 for a hard, 10-hour working day, while Matt P. Lahti, who managed to be taken on in a “timber gang” received 15c more per day. Fabian Mäenpää has stated that at the turn of the century he received \$1.80 per day up on ground level, \$2.00 per day when he was down in the mines. Some more enterprising Finns used their meager savings to buy themselves a horse, with which they found themselves easier work and an easier \$2.00 per day as far back as 1890; however, the horse still had to be fed from that money. For humans, board and room in Ely cost \$15-16 per month, which meant that a third of one’s wages went automatically for this basic maintenance on the simplest level. There were lumbering jobs to be had near Ely, too, and here the pay was about the same as in the mines. Women usually began as maids or dishwashers in boardinghouses, receiving, according to Anna Sofia Frant, \$12 per month in 1902, or else they worked as milkmaids on farms. It was no wonder if girls and women “were shocked and wept a lot when they first came here, thinking they were coming to a city and landing instead in the wilderness,” as Maria Mäenpää related. The families used to keep a cow or two in the early days, because it was impossible to buy milk; they bought hay for the winter, but the rest of the year the cows used to graze in the fields outside Ely. The Slavs, who came later, even kept pigs, and even in the center of town.

The Ely Finnish temperance society was founded in 1889, and it affiliated itself with the Brotherhood Association. Here, too, the mining company donated land for the Finns to build their hall, and everyone took part in clearing the land, in excavating, and in building a modest hall. When interest grew, the hall proved too small and was replaced by a new one. Gifts to the building fund were so many that the new building was made quite large, 38’x80’. The *Raittiuskalenteri* of 1899 described the new building as “elegant as an opera house. It is heated with steam stoves and lighted with electricity. In the middle of the lobby is a box office, a storeroom on the left, and archive on the right, plus stairs to the balcony, with armchairs for 80, and in the back of the balcony the society’s lending library. On the main floor

there are seats for 350, a platform with a lectern, several tables, and a piano. At the end is a stage, large and completely equipped, with curtains, drapes, scenery, and behind the stage two large dressing rooms. It is estimated that the building cost \$3,000 to erect, and there is insurance for \$1,800."

It was in this building that the temperance society continued to be active for some 30 years. After that the hall was rented out for various functions, but maintenance costs became too high for a society which had shrunk, and so the building was eventually sold. However, in its long history the hall saw a great deal of activity. The Ely society was particularly interested in the welfare of its own members, and even though dues were insignificant even in the 1930s (men paid \$1 per year, women 75c, to which each added 25c to a burial fund) whenever a member died his family was given a sum of money: between 1889 and 1937 as many as 62 families of members had received \$50 each, and 17 families had received \$100 each. In addition, a great deal of money was used for sickness benefits. At its maximum, the society had 337 members, with 80 more at that time who were in arrears in their club dues. When the building was sold, the large library of the society was donated to the Ely Public Library.



Suomi Synod Church in Ely.

The year that saw the start of the temperance society, 1889, also saw the start of the first church in Ely. Services were held at the temperance hall until a building was bought, and when that in turn became crowded it was sold to the Laestadius sect in 1896. A new church was built, and a parsonage was bought, and it seemed as if the church could expect an even wider field and more expansion, but this growth had been accompanied by dissension

over what affiliation the church was to make: all attempts to achieve affiliation ended before any results were achieved. As long as Heikki Sarvela, a member of the Suomi Synod, remained pastor, the congregation remained intact, but upon his resignation the church was split in two on the issue of naming a successor.

In the final election, Peter Wuori received 54 votes, O. Stadius 36, and J. Wikman a solitary vote, but after this election the supporters of Stadius, who were also sympathetic to the Suomi Synod, resigned to form a new congregation, known as Our Savior Lutheran Church, while the majority which had supported Wuori the following year adopted a new name also, the Independent Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ely. This latter congregation continued to debate the question of eventual affiliation for years, and it was not until 1938 that it joined the National Church in a vote of 68 to 26. Even then, the minority considered that an injustice had occurred and took the matter to court. To understand these dissensions through the decades in the religious life of the Finns in Minnesota, and the trends behind them, it is necessary to discuss briefly the main aspects of the Finnish-American religious community and its history.

Finnish-American Religious Activity

Even before the beginning of the mass wave of Finnish immigration, some measure of religious activity had been carried on by the earlier arrivals. There might be cited, for example, the name of Uno Cygnaeus, who served as pastor in Sitka, Alaska, from 1840 to 1845. When the first permanent settlements of Finns were formed after the Civil War, their religious activity began almost from the moment of their settlement. In 1867, for example, it is known that the Finns participated in the establishment of a Scandinavian church at Quincy, near Hancock, Michigan. According to the records, about half of those who signed the document were Finns, the rest were Norwegians and Swedes. This was the church known as "The Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Church of Quincy and the Surrounding Areas of Houghton County, Michigan." The first pastors of the church were A. E. Fredericksen and H. Roernaes, of whom the first preached to the Finns through an interpreter, while the latter could speak a little Finnish himself. However, these early arrivals from Northern Finland, and Finns arriving from Swedish and Norwegian Lapland, were overwhelmingly adherents of the preachings of Laestadius, and they soon realized that they disagreed in many respects with their pastors in the Copper Country, and they resigned from the Quincy church in 1871 to found their own church. Simultaneously, pro-Laestadius teachings were introduced into various other communities, including several places in Minnesota. This was by no means done with any

actual campaign being involved, but it soon became customary for gifted speakers from one community to be invited to address meetings in neighboring communities. When the first Laestadian congregations were formed, they attracted many worshippers, and perhaps they could eventually have developed into a powerful group and a unified church if other factors had not been present to lead developments into other directions.

The Apostolic Lutheran Church: During the latter years of the life of the well known northern Finnish lay preacher, Juhani Raattamaa, a certain amount of tension began to build up between the western Laestadians and their eastern brethren. The town of Gellivaara, in Swedish Lapland, formed the center of the former trend, while the Torneo River valley and Northern Finland were the strongholds of the eastern wing. From the western center the immigrants brought to America their stern attitudes toward life, while the 'conservatives' from the eastern areas were more liberal in various things like dress, etc. In America, the promised land of religious liberty, these differences became magnified and developed into disruptive factors. The Calumet Apostolic Lutherans, as the Laestadians began to label themselves, divided into two camps in 1888: one wing elected Johan Roanpää as pastor, the other wing Johan Takkinen. A number of friends of the latter then joined the 'western' wing under the direction of Henrik Koleri, Olli Matoniemi, Matti Uuskoski and others, while another group under the influence of Torsten Estensen, Johan Henrik Lumijärvi, Kalle Ojala and others travelled the other road.

There was an attempt in Calumet, in 1908, to resolve the differences between these badly split Apostolic Lutherans, but the meeting resulted in a still further split, with a new movement born around the person of A. L. Heideman. There were several preachers of this wing in Minnesota, of whom William Alajoki, Isak Lamppa, Johan Pollari, Alex Puotinen and Pekka Raattamaa deserve mention. Of these men, Pollari went out still farther on his own, and he in turn attracted a group of disciples, of whom Minnesota members were Kristian Valter Isaacs (Kuoppala, also called 'Kuoppa Valteri'), Johan Koskela, Sam Kovala, Isak Lamppa (but only briefly), and Alex Puotinen.

With the failure of the peace meeting, home mission work was begun out of Calumet, directed to those areas where there was scant Apostolic Lutheran support: one phase of it took the form of the *Kristillinen Kuukausilehti*, a monthly religious journal which began publication in 1915, and was accompanied by the

Walvoja, which carried news. In return, the Heideman group began to publish a religious monthly, too, in 1922, the *Rauhan Tervehdys*. And so the two factions went on their separate ways until 1928, when a turning point was reached in the Laestadian movement: that year saw both the death of Heideman and the founding of the Apostolic Lutheran Church.

This new church managed to take but very few local congregations into binding union, for the local groups still were allowed to choose their own pastors, invite whom they chose to preach to them as long as these preachers stayed within the 'broad concepts' of the Apostolic Lutheran faith. However, this church did bring about the biggest Laestadian grouping, and in 1947 it had 18 ordained ministers and 23 lay preachers. Johan Oberg became the first head of the church, and he was succeeded in 1942 by Andrew Mickelsen. A strong Sunday School program was begun, and teachers were trained at annual assembly sessions. In addition, a publishing program was begun, bringing out as its first major work a new hymnal. Publication of the *Kristillinen Kuukausilehti* was continued (Evert Määttä, Jacob Uitti and W. A. Karvonen have been its editors) and in 1944 the English-language *Christian Monthly* was introduced, with Karvonen as editor. Meanwhile, the Heideman faction had begun in 1931 the *Opas*, as competition to the *Walvoja* (which had John G. Tuira, E. A. Miller and Reino Suojanen as editors) and both papers were edited from headquarters on the same street in Calumet. It was in 1957 that the *Opas* and the *Walvoja* were finally merged, into the Northland Publishing Company, which then started publication of the *Pohjolan Sanomat*.

Throughout these decades, the Heideman movement has constituted the second largest Apostolic Lutheran grouping, which has also stressed the importance of Sunday schools and which has had as its organ the *Rauhan Tervehdys*, continuing publication in an English-language version in 1934 under the title, *Greetings of Peace*. Actually, this movement has had but one ordained minister, but in 1947 it still had 17 lay preachers.

The third largest Apostolic Lutheran group has been that of the former Heideman followers, who parted company in 1921, being called the "Evangelists" or the Pollari followers, and who have been significant in Minnesota particularly. In 1940 this group once more split in two, with the original group counting among its leaders not only Pollari but also Walter Isaacs, Sam Kovala and Matti Reed, while the off-shoot group has included

Johan Koskela and Victor Mäki. In 1947, the former still had 4 preachers, the latter group 7.

The supporters of Olli Matoniemi in America have been active in publishing and disseminating the pastoral letters of the Lapland elders: for example, the *New Homilies* and other writings of Laestadius have been published in English, having been translated by Arthur Niska of Minneapolis. The sect has attracted relatively many American followers, in spite of the fact that, in many respects, it scorns worldliness, apparent in such things as dress: men do not wear neckties, women do not wear hats. In the home, windows must not be completely curtained off, photographs may not be hung on walls, Christmas trees are forbidden. To have a life insurance policy is a sign of lack of faith. There are no ordained ministers. In 1947 this sect had 25 lay preachers, and of these, 7 had English as their native language.

The new pietists have also been a separate group. Among their preachers have been Lars Levi Aaltonen and Leonard Estola.

When the Laestadius followers left the Scandinavian church, a few Finns were left to it, and they began to build a joint church in 1876. With additional support, they began to look for a minister of their own and found him in the person of Alfred Eliesser Backman, upon his arrival from Finland to the United States. Although this first Evangelical-Lutheran clergyman's center was Michigan's copper country, he frequently visited Minnesota and held services there, before his return to Finland in 1883. That same year there was ordained as the first Finnish minister in the United States, Jaakoppi Juhonpoika Hoikka, at the Norwegian Hauge Synod in Red Wing, Minnesota. In 1890 there followed the ordaining of Heikki Sarvela, who found his pioneer territory in the northern Minnesota mining areas.

The Suomi Synod: It was in Minneapolis, in 1886, in connection with a meeting of the Augustana Synod, that the Finns first discussed the necessity of joint action among Finnish congregations. This discussion took place at the home of H. Bergstad, and in the presence of three ministers, J. J. Hoikka, J. K. Nikander and W. Williamson. Indeed, the first of these three is said to have had ready even the name for such an organization — Suomi Synod — although Ilmonen suggests the name was first suggested by Gustaf Wilson (Henni), Russian Vice-Consul in Portland. The idea, in any event, began to attract much attention, and much was written about it, particularly by Hoikka, who pointed

out the practices current in American synods. Although there was also a proposal (made by J. W. Eloheimo) that a bishopric be established, the synod idea won out, and the Synod was established on 7 November 1889. At that time were laid down the decisive power of synod meetings and the duties of the consistory, and these directives have remained in force to the present. With each representative at synod meetings to have one vote, and decisions to be based on majority decision, the only exceptions to this rule were to be in questions concerning the constitutional basis of the synod itself, where any changes would involve three-fourths of the votes to be enacted, and in the appointment of members to the consistory, the naming of teachers of the faith, and budgetary matters, where a two-thirds majority was to be required. Furthermore, the number of pastors to be allowed to vote at meetings was to be limited to one-third of the delegates present at meetings; if there were not enough pastors present to make this proportion, the chairman was to have sufficient votes to make up the difference, but this measure never had to be taken, and the regulation was removed from the books in 1894.

By 1890, four congregations had joined the Synod, so that the minimum number to make the new body operative was assured, and J. W. Eloheimo was elected temporary chairman of the consistory; J. K. Nikander, secretary; K. L. Tolonen, treasurer; and J. J. Hoikka, notary.

This new church body received a cool reception in many quarters, and the *Kansan Lehti* and the *Työmies* attacked it in strong terms, claiming that the Synod would levy such big sums that church members would be impoverished; other criticisms were directed at the power of the clergy within the Synod, and still other objections were directed at the very name 'synod' which seemed to suggest the autonomous power of the Russian Orthodox Church.

It was not until the turn of the century that the Suomi Synod began to grow significantly. In 1906 it consisted of 110 congregations, with a total of 24,989 members and 26 pastors, and property consisting of 41 churches and 17 parsonages. Ten years later, there were 138 congregations with 28,569 members, 30 pastors, 89 churches, 19 parsonages. In 1925, there were 181 congregations, with 35,280 members, 56 pastors, 143 churches, 39 parsonages. In Minnesota there were 33 Synod congregations in 1952.

The Suomi Opisto: The very first meeting of the Synod had taken up the question of a church school, and the consistory was requested to probe the possibility further. Very soon G. F. Bergstad, who lived in Minneapolis, reported that in neighboring St. Paul there was available a suitable property, a building bordering on a park, to be had at a satisfactory price. Although the matter was investigated, no decision was reached, until a 1892 meeting in Ishpeming, Michigan, decided that the school should be located in the 'Copper Island' area of Michigan, but since the personnel for such an undertaking was not on hand, that fell through in turn. Four years later, however, J. K. Nikander agreed to take charge of such a school until a suitable educator should arrive from Finland, and so the school was opened in Hancock, Michigan, with an initial enrollment of 11 students, and including 22 (15 men, 7 women) before the first semester was finished. The official name of the institution was Suomi College and Theological Seminary, and its plans included three separate levels: a college preparatory section, a junior and senior college, and a seminary, to be divided into junior and senior sections.

In curriculum matters, American precedents were followed, and the language of instruction was English. In the beginning, the eventual permanent location of the facility still remained in doubt, and although several sites in Minnesota were proposed, among others, the final decision was to make Hancock the permanent home, and it was there that the first, new permanent building of the Suomi Opisto was opened in the year 1900. The capacity of this new institution to supply sufficient clergy, however, remained limited, and in most instances even congregations which belonged to the Synod had to advertise in Finnish newspapers when there was an appointment available, and it was in this way that young, newly ordained clergymen or divinity students about to complete their studies in Finland were attracted to pastorates in Finnish-American churches.

Youth Work: When the first congregations were being founded, there was no apparent need for youth work as such: all those who came to America were young adults, and only a few had family ties of any kind. Rautanen⁷ has stated that one H. Leiviskä began a youth program at the turn of the century, and at about the same time H. Sjöblom had started a group within the

7. Rautanen, V. *Amerikan suomalainen kirkko*, II. (Unpublished MS, Hancock, Michigan, 1950) Library of the University of Helsinki, Finland

YMCA at Allston, Massachusetts. The church gradually began to realize the importance of this field, too, and began a large-scale educational program, particularly outstanding in the field of summer schools, the first of which was held at Hancock in 1896. Three years later there were eight summer schools in the Middle West, with a total of 368 pupils, and a decade later there were 39 schools with 2,438 pupils, and in 1920 as many as 80 schools and 3,364 pupils. Many of these were in Minnesota. The subjects always included reading and writing, composition work, basic instruction in Finnish grammar and usage, the geography and history of Finland, plus practice in translation from English to Finnish. Many of the Minnesota schools operated on extremely limited budgets, sometimes even without any textbooks at all, but gradually including at least blackboards and chalk for the teachers and notebooks and pencils for the pupils. For years, the works of Topelius (a natural history and a Finnish reader) served as basic textbooks, and sometimes it was possible to order teaching manuals from Finland, until the period of World War I saw the publication of educational materials under Synod auspices, a primary reader in 1915 and a more advanced one in 1916, with supplementary materials coming from the Sunday School hymnals and from newspapers and magazines published by the church.

The Amerikan Suometar: The newspaper originally authorized by the Synod was called the *Paimen Sanomat*. Ten years later J. Bäck, J. Holmlund, J. K. Nikander, K. L. Tolonen and R. Ylönen established the *Amerikan Suometar* as a publishing company, and began publication of a newspaper of the same name on 8 June 1899, with N. J. Ahlman as editor. A year later the Synod purchased both papers and established the Suomalais-Luterilainen Kustannusliike (The Finnish-Lutheran Publishing Company) in Hancock, and the Synod thus was able to reach a wide audience of readers. In later years, this publishing company has continued to publish a considerable number of religious works. Among them has been the *Kirkollinen Kalenteri*, which began to appear in 1903 and has continued to appear every year since then.

Regional Conference Areas: When the activity of the Suomi Synod was at its peak, on the eve of World War I, it became apparent that work carried out on a nation-wide basis was not sufficiently effective. Even the arranging of meetings brought

about great difficulties, not to speak of the economic problems and the time expenditure involved. These reasons led the Synod to discuss dividing the church work into smaller, geographical units, as proposed by Pastor J. J. Hoikka; accepted by the 1909 Synod annual meeting, regional conferences thus came into being, that of the Western Conference being the first to be formed, followed by an Ohio-Pennsylvania Conference, the Eastern Conference, in 1912 the Michigan Conference and finally, in 1917, the Minnesota Conference, including the areas of South and North Dakota and Wisconsin. The Minnesota Conference, like the others, established its own governing body with a board of directors, annual meetings, etc., but still belonging to the higher Suomi Synod Consistory and under the jurisdiction of the decisions of the Synod annual meeting.

The Suomi Synod has had J. K. Nikander, K. L. Tolonen, J. Wargelin, A. Rautalahti, A. Haapanen, and Raymond Wargelin as its chairmen.

The Fenno-American Church: Parallel with the Suomi Synod there were other early church organizations, including that of the Fenno-American Church, the history of which dates back to the early 1890s, when Pastor J. W. Eloheimo, already mentioned, began suggesting a church body to be headed by a bishop. When he issued a sort of pamphlet of revelation, "Declaration of that Divine Kingdom which will appear in the next Millenium," he was ousted from the Synod, and when this occurred he founded his new church, supported by several congregations which followed him. He ordained several lay preachers to serve in his church, and the last of them, Mikko Kivi, preached in several Minnesota churches. In 1895, when this church was at its largest, it had more than 10 churches and 6 pastors, but when Eloheimo was elected chairman of the still younger National Church in 1898, the Fenno-American Church was dissolved, with its congregations joining the new body.

The National Church: The first 'national' congregation was born when several members of the Calumet Evangelical Lutheran Church, opposed to its joining the Suomi Synod, founded a congregation of their own in 1890. After that, many other similar independent parishes were born. Reluctant to join the Suomi Synod and not lured by the Fenno-American Church, they remained without any central organization in the beginning. However, in 1898, Pastor K. A. Koski of the Rock Springs, Wyoming, inde-

pendent church sent invitations to other independent groups to meet to discuss the establishment of a central organization of their own. Seven churches sent representatives to the meeting Koski called, among them O. W. Ikola from Charve Lake, Minnesota. In discussing an organizational structure, one of the decisions reached was to avoid using 'Synod' in its name, and so the new body became the Finnish-American Evangelical-Lutheran National Church, but in spite of its name it did not differ much from the Suomi Synod. Its creed was almost the same, word for word. Its structure also followed the Synod pattern inasmuch as pertinent issues were decided by an annual meeting, whose decisions were implemented by a consistory elected by majority votes. These National Church rules were adopted in Minnesota in 1901, and indeed, the largest National Church congregations have been in that state. Beginning in 1900 with 29 congregations with 6,210 members and 9 pastors, the church grew to almost 70 congregations and 9,072 members in the 1930s. With the stoppage of immigration, the numbers have begun to decrease, as has already been indicated in many particular instances.

The first publication of the National Church was a purely religious weekly, *Todistuksen Joukko*, which began appearing in Ironwood, Michigan, in 1901, with Pastor W. A. Mandellöf as its editor; soon after, a children's paper, *Lasten Ystävä*, also began to appear. In February 1903 there began publication of a newspaper, *Kansan Lehti*, with M. A. Päiviö and E. Kristianson as editors. After struggling along for a couple of years, it was succeeded by a paper called *Auttaja Meidän Ilomme*, later known more succinctly as the *Auttaja*, which still was in publication as a newspaper even after World War II. In addition, Christmas and Easter periodicals and calendars were published in considerable number.

A seminary was started in Ironwood, Michigan, in 1918, to prepare clergy for the National Church. The first director was K. E. Salonen, who also established the curriculum. Admission qualifications required a high school diploma, though exceptions were allowed. The first class was graduated in 1921. Later, when Salonen returned to Finland, the Seminary closed down completely for a time, but it was re-activated in Springfield, Illinois, with the assistance of the Missouri Church. At that time, a 4-year curriculum was set up.

Since the Suomi Synod carried on missionary work in China, the National Church began a similar program in Japan.

Chairmen of the organization have been J. Eloheimo, W. A.

Mandellöf, W. Williamson, K. G. Rissanen, P. Vuori and A. Vasunta. Eloheimo, as has been mentioned, was previously head of the Fenno-American Church, and Williamson also had his own church body for a while. Serving in Ohio at the time the National Church was founded, it appeared to him that this church was unlikely to materialize, so he considered the moment opportune to establish his own. Receiving the support of several congregations, he established in 1900 what was called the Evangelical Lutheran Free Peoples' Church and became its first chairman. Pastors of this short-lived body included several who were known in Minnesota: J. Huuskonen, E. V. Niemi and J. Rankila. When Williamson realized that the National Church did materialize contrary to his expectations, he proposed that the two bodies merge, under the stipulation that the National Church include the word 'Free' in its name. Although this stipulation was rejected, the two churches did join in 1902, and the Finnish-American church continued to develop under three major bodies: the Suomi Synod, the National Church and the Apostolic Lutheran Church. In addition to these three main lines, however, many smaller groups continued their independent existence.

The Methodists: One of the oldest groups outside the big three has been that of the Methodists. The first significant development here came in the late 1880s, when John H. Michaelson joined this movement, already widespread in America. Michaelson went on to preach in New York Mills, Duluth and Moose Lake, and in 1891 the first Finnish Methodist congregation in Minnesota was established in Carlton County. At the turn of the century a Methodist pastor, Gust A. Hiden, arrived from Finland to continue the work, and he was followed two years later by another arrival from Finland, Hjalmar Saari. While Hiden took over the original parish, Saari established a new chain of parishes in the Hibbing and Duluth areas before his return to Finland in 1906. At the same time Pastor Matti Lehtonen, whose name has been mentioned several times in these pages, began the parishes in the mining region, in which region Hjalmar Ketonen, coming from Finland in 1909, continued to labor. By 1911 there were 9 Methodist churches among the Finns in Minnesota, with a membership somewhere between 500 and 800 — a small figure compared to the 4,000,000 Methodists in the United States at that time. After World War I the Finnish membership rose to about 1,000 but then began a gradual decline. Although the Finns even had a religious literature in their own language,

Salmi's *Rauhan Sointuja*, published in 1906, and Ketonen's *Rauhan Kilpi*, published in 1910, the later Finnish Methodist movement has been but a branch of the American Methodist Church. The Salvation Army, an offshoot of the Methodist movement, gained little significant foothold among the Finns.

The Congregational Church: In point of time, the next movement to appear among the Finns was the Congregational. The Finnish name of this movement is the 'Missionary Church,' derived in part from the 'missionary' work which the Congregational Church began among the Finnish Americans in 1889 and in part from its close relationship with the 'Finnish Free Mission' movement. The first figures among the Finns in this movement were Fredrik Franson, who was followed by Frans Karl Lehtinen, Andrew Groop, John J. Lundell and K. F. Hendrickson. A meeting held in Quincy, Massachusetts in June 1900 made this Finnish-American Congregational movement an organized church.

Following the pattern of the Suomi Synod, the Congregational Church is divided into regional geographical conferences; however, since they have no common superior central body, the organization is more in the nature of a league of churches than a church body proper. Furthermore, each congregation is a member of the American Congregational Church in its own state, and in general is under the jurisdiction of that body's state secretary. Finally, very few Finnish Congregational bodies are economically independent but generally depend heavily for assistance from the American church. Of the regional conferences, that of the Eastern States is the biggest and oldest, while the Middle Western conference, founded some time after 1910, is the youngest. The latter still counted 11 local churches in 1947, and of these 9 had their own church buildings and 1 owned its own parsonage. For all America, the Finnish Americans had 38 parishes on the eve of World War II, with 1,639 members and 20 pastors; their Sunday Schools had 976 pupils, and there were 402 members in the youth groups. Preachers were formerly schooled in Quincy, Massachusetts at a Finnish school organized for that purpose, but later this task was taken over by the American theological seminary of the Congregationalists in Chicago. It should be mentioned that a couple of women have availed themselves of this training and have served as ministers in Finnish-American churches. Indeed, the Congregational Church has emphasized the role of women in the church, and in Finnish-American churches the Women's League has often been the focal point of

the church. In addition to its local mission work, there has also been missionary work in China, India and the Himalaya region. Domestically, the church has had several papers: *Totuus*, *Uusi Totuus*, *Lähetysystävä*, and the *Palvelija*.

The Baptists: The Baptist movement has had its strength particularly among Swedish Finns. The movement had its start at the beginning of the century, and by 1909 there were 15 churches with 677 members, which relied heavily on the American Baptist body, particularly the American Baptist Home Mission Society, for material support and spiritual guidance. The Finnish churches were informed of each other's activities through their paper, the *Finska Missionen*. Under consideration has been the establishment of a Finnish section at some Baptist seminary, but at least for the time being this has not materialized. This movement has had most of its strength in the Middle West, particularly in Minnesota.

The Unitarians: The world's first Finnish Unitarian church was born in Virginia, Minnesota in December, 1911, at the home of Pastor Risto Lappala. This event will be discussed in more detail when the history of Virginia is taken up, but it should be mentioned here that the spread of Unitarianism among the Finns has been principally in Minnesota and to a lesser degree throughout the Middle West, but usually on such a small scale that most parishes have had to depend on the American Unitarian Association for support.

The Pentecostal Church: The Pentecostal movement was born among the Negro population of California early in the century, but from there it spread rapidly among many white people, too, to the extent that during the World War II period its supporters were said to have numbered about 5,000,000 persons. However, since the Pentecostal creed denies the religious validity of an organizational structure and a controlling body, it is difficult to furnish statistics of its extent and importance among Finnish-Americans. The Finns, nevertheless, have had their own Pentecostal League, which concerned itself with plans for sending out Pentecostal pastors, issuing publications, and mission work: the *Totuuden Todistaja* has had some thousand subscribers or more, missionary work has been carried on in Burma and India, and scores of (non-ordained) preachers have spread the faith, in Minnesota as well as elsewhere. Preachers, evangelists, representatives and supporters of the movement hold their annual 'brotherhood' meetings, including usually a week-long Bible course; such meetings have often been held in Duluth, where the Pente-

costals have their own fixed quarters, and elsewhere in Finnish centers in Minnesota.

Catholicism: Although there have been considerable numbers of Catholics in the regions of Finnish settlement, and contact with Catholics has been constant, that faith has made almost no headway among the Finns. The only exceptions have been those who have been converted as a result of marriage with Catholics. In such mixed marriages, the children have been claimed by the Catholic faith almost without exception.

In examining Finnish-American church activity as a whole, one may consider the evaluation of Robin M. Williams: "In their new homeland the Finnish-Americans have not changed into opponents of religion; they have merely joined that large body of Americans which is more or less indifferent toward religion." However, this statement is valid only in respect to the younger generation. There have indeed been many conflicts when the elders have preserved their cherished religious convictions but their children have been unwilling or unable, because of language difficulties, to remain like their parents. "My position is very difficult. My mother is very religious and considers my ideas to be tearing her heart to pieces. I have my own ideas, which I learned in school, and of which she knows nothing, and I would rather attend dances with English-speaking people than take part in religious services of which I understand nothing," so stated a younger generation Finn in 1933 in an interview in H. G. Duncan's study on *Immigration and Assimilation*. In another instance, Antti J. Pietilä, in his *Amerikankävijän havainnot ja ajatuksia*, states the observations of a Finn to the effect that Finnish-Americans by and large cannot be considered to be frequent church goers. According to him, perhaps one out of three is truly religious, the rest indifferent (and only in a very few instances anti-religious.) In October 1914, the *Päivälehti* had already devoted a lead editorial to the empty pews in Finnish-American churches and had come to the conclusion that the causes were to be found in the many trivial conflicts which had fragmented the church into so many directions and in the intolerance of preachers toward those of different faiths. However, if one were to take into consideration the hundreds of Finnish churches in Minnesota, and that great perseverance which has been devoted on various sectors in the religious field, one cannot deny the positive results of this colorful chapter in the Finnish-American chronicle.

The Finns in Ely

The Kaleva Order: Ely is among the first communities in Minnesota where the Kaleva Order became active. In 1901, Frank Standinger arrived in the community with news of this



Knights of Kaleva "Wäinön Maja" members: Front row: Gust Helbacka, Toimi Ahola, Theodore Luhtanen, John W. Palmgard Jr., Henry Ranta, Victor Thompson, Henry Paakkari. Second row: John E. Porthan, Otto Ranta, Henry Pietilä, John E. Skantz, John Palmgard Sr., Antti Saari, Adam Mattola, Jacob Miettunen, Emil Ahola, Ernest Phillips, William B. Mäki. Third row: Robert A. Porthan, John Sorjanen, Lauri O. Manni, Elias Saisa, Matt Vierimaa, William Lepistö, Anselm Tolonen, Herman Hakala, Matt Luhtanen, Mike Somero, William Mills, Robert W. Mäki. Fourth row: Einar Nikkinen, Arne Kangas, Heino Larson, Walter Järvi, Otto W. Särkipato, Fabian Mäenpää, Antti Tuomikoski, Gust A. Mäki, John Lintula, Frans Luhtanen, Charles Lampi. Fifth row: Arne Pennala, Richard Kukko, Alfred Pietilä, Elias Rajamäki, Emil Mäkipiha, Salmon Virta, Jacob Kakkuri, Paul W. Martin, Harold A. Salminen, Isaac Martell. Sixth row: Charles Skantz, Konstu Hänninen, Arvo A. Riikola, Robert W. Mäki, Frank F. Sikala, Jacob L. Pete, Julius Pietilä, Nick Mattila, John N. Mäki. Back row: Dr. T. Ahola, Urho Tuomikoski, John Kangas, Jalmer N. Oja, Arvo M. Erickson, Arne A. Lynn, William Martell, Victor Vuotimäki.

new society which had been founded in Montana, and after a considerable number of men gathered to discuss the matter they decided to organize a local chapter: a sufficient number

were on hand to form the minimum membership, but there was a delay of some weeks until a few of the prospective members became of age. However, on the first of January, 1902, when



Ladies of Kaleva "Vellamo Tupa" members: Seated: Hilma Ullakko, Henriika Mäki, Anna Leino, Lydia Kakkuri, Aino Johnson, Tilda Kauppi, Mary Mäenpää, Senja Mäki, Fiia Jokela, Hilma Mills, Helmi Helpakka. Center: Helmi Tabell, Liina Lundein, Viena Tanttari, Martta Siren, Naimi Metsäpelto, Sanna Ranta, Helmi Lintula, Greeta Sihto, Helmi Mäkelä, Ida Erickson, Maria Marttila, Anna Puskala, Aino Porthan, Jennie Thompson, Hilda Virta. Back row: Anna Pöksylä, Annie Wilmonen, Martta Järvi, Jennie Manni, Vivien Mäenpää (Tuomikoski), Jennie Luhtanen, Ruth Nikkinen, Viena Mäkelä, Violet Lassi, Sanni Mäkipiha, Maria Kivipelto, Lily Forselius.

everything was ready, Konstant Kykyri and Hans Laine of the Sparta Chapter arrived to conduct the ritual of installation of the members of this new chapter: Fabian Mäenpää, Isack Ekorn, Alex Haapajoki, Toivo Hattu, Alex Jaaksi, Mauritz Kangasniemi, Matt Koskela, Matti Lehtola, A. Luhtanen, Adolf Ollila, Mikko

Sihto, plus Heikki and John Sihtola. The sentiments of these founders (as related by William E. Mäki in 1939 in the *Kalevainen*) seemed to be that "many different analyses had been made of the Finnish-Americans. As varied as these statements were, one fact was constant in all of them: that we had not won the social position which should have been ours. The tradition of Kaleva heroes would not lift us out of the mire unless we ourselves worked to strengthen our own cultural position. We had to create our own formulas and our own magic mill."

Less than a year after the founding of the Ely group, it purchased its own clubhouse, and in 1929 it procured more property, land on the shores of Burntside Lake, where summer quarters complete with sauna were built.

Parallel with the Kaleva Order there also developed the ladies' auxiliary: Minnie Hannula and Selma Puutio conducted the ritual calling into being the Ladies Chapter in May 1905 with eight founding members. From the beginning, a relaxed, home-like feeling prevailed in this group. The activities have included production of plays, the arranging of exhibitions of Finnish arts and crafts at the City Hall, the purchase of books in English about Finland for the Public Library, the carrying on of aid and assistance for Finland in its trying times, and the holding of many a program and social for the Finnish-Americans, such as sponsorship of Mothers' Day programs annually. For a time, beginning in 1933, the Ladies also sponsored a youth group for both boys and girls, but this was terminated in 1945, when many of the boys were in the armed services and the girls off to jobs. The Ladies have had a maximum membership of 67, and in 1954 it was still 58, a relatively high figure. Ely Ladies holding positions of rank in the Order outside the local chapter have included Anna Leino, Maria Särkipato, Sofia Savolainen, Senja Mäki, Matilda Kauppi and Helmi Lintula.

A meeting of delegates of the Kaleva Order was held in Ely in 1916, and in 1948 it was host to the 50th anniversary of the Order, with members from all over the United States gathering in Ely. On the general committee in charge of this celebration were H. Lintula, S. Mäki and H. Tabell among the Ladies, and A. Mattola, F. Mäenpää, H. Ranta and A. Saari among the men.

The Labor Movement in Ely: The character of Ely as a mining area naturally led to the Finns promptly organizing a local workers' society. Actually the activity got its start in Ely even before the Hibbing meeting previously cited, for in 1902 A. F. Tanner, whose

name has already appeared on these pages, made several enthusiastically received speeches here, and in 1904 the society Imatra was founded. Its first slate of officers included O. W. Myyryläinen, chairman; David Jacobson, vice-chairman; Henry Koskela, secretary; G. Vikander, assistant secretary; A. F. Tanner, treasurer, assisted by John Dyhr; and A. Tikkanen and A. Töyrä as members at large. Meeting originally in rented quarters, the society built its own hall in 1906, giving impetus to a full program of activities. Originally a member of the Imatra League, it soon proclaimed itself a socialist organization, and in 1914 it found itself in the same position as almost all Northern Minnesota socialist chapters: having accepted the *Sosialisti* as its official newspaper, having refused to support the *Työmies* and refusing to help pay the costs of its meetings of delegates, it was put under ban and, in the chaos which followed, became an IWW body. Activity, however, continued to remain brisk within the society. With 20 members at the moment of its founding, it had 84 in 1906, and 112 in 1912. In 1911, some 70 copies of the *Työmies* were received by subscribers in Ely. Within the society, the dramatics group was particularly active: in 1910 it alone had 25 members of its own. Athletic activities remain to be discussed below, following a glimpse at the particularly strong and varied musical activities in Ely.

Cultural Activities: Choral activity had already begun at the time when the temperance societies were leading the field. In Ely, for example, according to F. Mäenpää, the Vesi Society had its chorus as early as 1886, for the minutes of its meetings for November of that year mentioned that "Peter Jurva had been called to direct its chorus, as well as to teach writing and arithmetic." If valid, this would rob Peter Westerinen of the honor of having founded the first choral group among Minnesota Finns, for his group did not come into being until 1887. However, some confusion in this matter certainly exists, for there never was a Peter Jurva who directed a chorus; apparently the reference is to a teacher, K. L. Jurva, who in 1887 was still the director of the Ishpeming, Michigan, chorus and who in 1888 did begin a chorus in Tower, Minnesota. In any case, Ely did develop into a real choral music community, and this development was due in great part to the arrival in Ely of Emil S. Björkman.

Björkman was one of those rare Finnish musicians of Minnesota who had come to this country with a real musical education behind him. Having first attended the school for sacred music (choir work and organ) in Oulu, and having served as assistant

organist at the Oulu church, he went on to study at the Helsinki Conservatory, while auditing courses at the Helsinki Normal Lyceum as well. During the time that he was organist of the church of St. Nicholas in Helsinki he also composed several works for choral groups, but then came his move to the United States, a brief stay in Michigan followed by his settling down in Minnesota. Björkman came to Ely in 1902, and a few years later he moved



Ely's S. S. Luther League choir. Front row: Miriam Vatile (East), Violet Mäki (Lassey), Helmi Koivumäki (Lintula), director, Viena Hill (Virtanen), Lilja Mäki (Hendrickson). Second row: Esther Porthan (Nixon), Viena Somero (Suoja), Martha Mäki (Koski), Ida Porthan (Bevins), Laila Ritola, Martha Mattola (Erickson), Aune Palmgard, Sylvia Koski (Isaakson). Back row: Charles Lassey, Uno Jokinen, William Lassey, Kauko Luhtanen, Lauri Leino, Toimi Lepistö.

from there to Virginia. He was decorated by the Finnish Government in 1930 for his contributions to musical culture, receiving the Order of the White Rose of Finland.

Björkman's devotion to his work in Ely came to its fruition in 1904, when the male chorus (Elyn Kaiku, the Ely Echo) of 26 voices and the mixed chorus (Viesti, the Message) of 20 voices,

both of which he had trained, took a special train to the temperance summer festival at Ishpeming and both choruses won the first prize in their class. From 1906 the male chorus rehearsed at the workers' hall, and its activity from that time on was within the framework of the socialist society, which also had its own mixed chorus. The mixed chorus, by the way, had a successor, begun by Kristiina Herranen in 1929.

Almost simultaneously with the choruses, brass bands were also given their start in Ely. They, too, continued in existence for long years, even if with many changes of name and membership. Once more according to Mäenpää, the first band was started in 1890 by Oskar Castren, "who was its conductor for some time." After him, presumably, came 'Nick' Miettunen, who resigned in 1894 and was succeeded by John Farihoff. On the other hand, Matti Edward Pyylampi (Matt P. Lampi) made the statement in an interview with E. A. Aaltio in 1950 that he was present when the Ely Finnish band was started — in 1894. According to him, it was conducted in its earliest years by Erkki Laitila, Jack Castren, Oskar Castren, and Kalle Kleimola (read: Kleemola.) Both statements, however, contradict the account of S. Ilmonen, made 30 years earlier than the others, in his *Sivistyshistoria*, according to which the Ely band was started in 1889 by Nikolai Miettunen, and there are other sources which support Ilmonen's claim and thus make Ely's band one of the earliest Finnish-American bands in existence. Information in the Suomi Opisto archives also supports the Ilmonen account and furnishes biographical details about Miettunen: born in the parish of Simo in 1862, he is said to have arrived in America in 1887, to have started bands in Ishpeming and Republic in Michigan, after which he moved to Ely, "where the band he organized is one of the oldest Finnish-American bands." According to Mäenpää, the Ely band had Viglund and then Erick Laitala as successors to Farihoff, and other sources confirm Mäenpää's statement that K. Kleemola was the conductor of the band during the Ishpeming festival appearances, where they won first prize. Mäenpää goes on to say that "Matti Pyylampi awakened the band out of a torpor in 1904," that Liimatainen directed the group until it came to an end in 1907. After that, once more according to Mäenpää, "Itkonen arrived here in 1910 and started a band," while Pulli was told in interviews that "Kleemola started a 30-man band which was later to become the municipal band," and finally, it is known that John Salo in 1929 began a small orchestra which went on to play for several years.

Although all the above bands by no means limited themselves only to the workers' hall, it was in every case their headquarters after its establishment. When the hall was sold in 1939 to the cooperative, the various bands had also lived their day and were heard no more.

Sports in Finnish-American Life

Located near the northern border of Minnesota, Ely has always offered the Finns there an opportunity to take part in those winter sports which they had already learned in Finland. Of the early Finns in Ely, the name of A. Autio is remembered particularly, for he was a very fine long distance skier. He made his own skis and equipment, made his own ski waxes, and participated successfully in many big competitions. His supple and smooth style became known far and wide, and he taught many other Finns the proper way to make skis. Athletics in general, however, did not begin to gain any significant ground until the athletic societies Jyry (started in 1904) and Eteenpäin (1907) appeared on the scene.

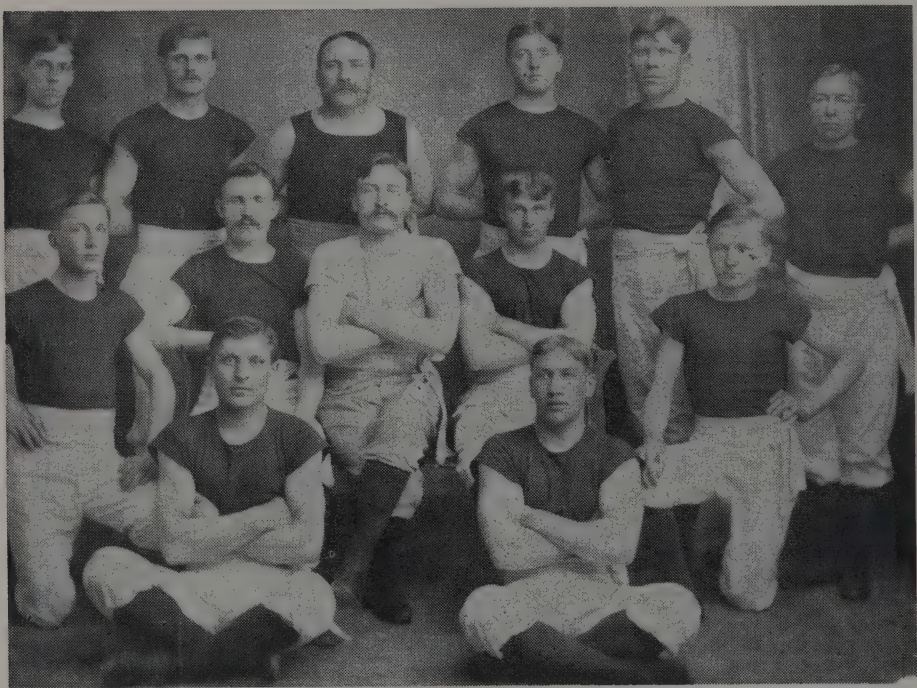
Prior to this development, sports had been a purely individual concern, and the new surroundings and the hard work meant that little interest was on hand. Not until the number of Finns had grown large enough to make possible the temperance society and later the socialist chapter did the instinct for competitive sports appear among the young and cause them to practice and then measure themselves against each other within the framework of the athletic groups started among the various societies. As soon as these societies managed to have their own halls, the era of physical culture really began.

Those societies which happened to be started in the first decade of the century generally tended to give encouragement to gymnastics, and many exhibitions of the skills developed in this field were displayed at special evening programs. Just before World War I, however, there was a gradual change, and gymnastics gave way to athletics. Wrestling was in vogue, and track sports also gained support, and in winter skiing and skating grew in popularity.

"Although the Atlantic separates the Finns of Finland from those in America, it has never been wide enough to break the bonds which tie these people of Kaleva together. These ties have been closest in the hearts of the athletes, for they have felt more strongly and visibly than have others the strength which

lies in the Finn. No matter where they have lived the men of Finland have gone forth arm in arm to face the world," wrote the *Suomen Urheilulehti* in March 1923. Finland has contributed many a fine athlete to America, and the achievements of the Finns in international competition have served as example and inspiration.

Long distance foot races demanding considerable endurance have been particularly favored in Finland. Having won three gold medals in the Stockholm Olympics in 1912, and having given successful exhibitions in many European countries, Hannes Kolehmainen (with his brother William) arrived in the United



Vesi Temperance Society gymnastic group. In front: Oskar Walli, Andrew Watilo. Center: John Mäki (Hulme), Otto Mäki, Erick Anttila, director, Thomas Harri, Emil Isotalo. Back row: Wigander, unknown, J. Kantola, Gust Mäki, G. Sirvio, Pekka Sopenen.

States, and for three years he took part in competition in this country, creating considerable enthusiasm for sports everywhere among Finnish-Americans. Although offers were made to Kolehmainen to turn professional, and \$5000 per year, considerable money at the time, was offered him, he decided to remain an amateur and to take part in the next Olympic Games. His biggest success in the United States was probably the 12-mile

run in New York in 1914, when he won over a field of 1,300 starters. Having gone back to Finland, he returned once more to the United States in 1915, to marry a Finnish-American girl, Alma A. Johnson. His last race in the United States was the marathon sponsored by the *Evening Mail*, for which President Woodrow Wilson gave the signal for the start by pressing a button at the White House, and the 'Flying Finn' came in first, followed by his compatriot Wille Kyrönen. After his return to Finland, Kolehmainen once more won the gold medal for the marathon at the Antwerp Olympics in 1920.

After Kolehmainen, the name of Paavo Nurmi, seven times Olympic champion, was to inspire the Finnish-Americans. Nurmi, too, visited America, and he was given the kind of reception granted to only a few famous persons: an official launch landed him in New York, where he was taken direct to City Hall to be greeted by Mayor Hylan, who gave him the keys to the city. The reception he received everywhere was an enthusiastic one, and Harvard University coach Jaakko Mikkola described one of them: "The vast stadium was filled to the last seat, and a big crowd still milled about outside. When Nurmi arrived on the track to limber up, the spectators greeted him with resounding cheers." In Minnesota, Nurmi appeared at Minneapolis on 18 April 1924, but his greatest race was probably the one at the Los Angeles stadium, with 100,000 spectators present. While he was in America he also competed against the Hopi Indians, known for their fleetness, but he won easily over them. Even the English-language newspapers of Minnesota had increasingly more laudatory articles about this phantom-like Finn, this 'unbeatable Paavo,' day after day. For months his name remained in the newspaper columns, and time after time people looked over their maps of Europe to see where they could find Suomi, the Nurmi Land. And in many a school, particularly in Minnesota, whenever the teachers spoke of Nurmi, hands here and there would rise and voices speak up, "I am a Finn, too."

When it came to the era of World War II, it was the Finn Taisto Mäki who had replaced Nurmi in the sport world, and it was Nurmi who escorted this younger Finn to America in the spring of 1940, for a series of exhibition races, at the invitation of the Hoover Relief Committee. In Minneapolis, Mäki took part in a meet between the universities of Minnesota and Iowa, and although he did not win that particular race, the event raised considerable funds for Finnish relief.

Over the years many successful long distance runners have come out of Finland to compete successfully in the world. They have been almost annual contestants, for example, in the Boston marathon, and there, in 1956, for example, Antti Viskari came in first, setting a new record of 2 hours, 14 minutes and 4 seconds. But there have been others whose ties with America have been closer, and Wille Ritola, to name one, was considered a Finnish-American by his admirers here, and with his expenses paid by them he took part in the Olympics, although he represented Finland in them. A completely Finnish-American athlete was Wille Kyrönen, a long distance runner whose major victories were in the Boston marathon and in New York. Another was John Salo, who was twice among the first in the monster transcontinental marathons, achieving considerable fame for himself.

The success of Finnish athletes in outstanding sporting events did not fail to stimulate the athletic programs of the Finns of Minnesota. Their newspapers began to report regularly on sports activities, and in particular the Duluth papers, the *Industrialist* and the *Päivälehti* followed developments on the sports front very closely.

Competitive athletics was very limited in the beginning. Men practiced and trained within the framework of their own clubs, but now and then one of the better ones did take part in some American meet. Then athletic competitions were added to the annual midsummer festivals, there was an opportunity to match strength, endurance and speed with fellow Finns on a larger scale, generally on the most impromptu of fields, roughly cleared for the purpose.

Names which are remembered from those early days include such as Sam Kukka, in the javelin, Erick Anttila with the shotput, Jussi Stieg and Kalle Tanner as distance runners, together with Samuel Koskela. Other names include Antti Ahlfors, Vilho Karvonen, Matti Kunnari, Edwin Lehti and Adolf Ottelin.

These programs of athletic events in connection with the midsummer festivals were carried out successfully for over three decades before a falling off began to become increasingly apparent: the immigrant athletes were getting too old, and that meant the falling off and then complete lack of interest in sports in general.

It should be stated, however, that as far as Minnesota is concerned, the midsummer festivals did not represent the only high point in Finnish-American athletic activities. There were many local sports groups in the state, each with particular factors making for enthusiastic effort or causing their speedy disappearance.

Furthermore, this Finnish-American sports activity was by no means limited to Minnesota or the Middle West: New York had its Finnish-American Athletic Club, Massachusetts a league of clubs, Chicago its Finnish-American Athletic Association (founded in 1924) and leagues existed in Ohio-Pennsylvania and in West Virginia, and a Kaleva Athletic Club was active in Brooklyn, to cite a few examples. Finnish socialist groups had their own Labor Sports Union, and Minnesota was active in the Mid-West Sports League. However, with Finnish settlement dispersed far and wide in a country of vast size, it is clear that working together on a larger scale was impossible: attempts were made to establish a big, joint athletic league, to work in cooperation with the counterpart in Finland, but in spite of proposals made and preliminary attempts begun, results remained negative.

In addition to general sports, Minnesota also showed considerable interest and progress in skiing and ski-jumping. Much of it, of course, derived from individual enthusiasts here and there in the state: "With plenty of snow and fine hills, skiing is popular among all of us," wrote E. J. Koljonen from the New York Mills region, adding also that the sport had its hazards: "Pioneer Kalle Wapola fell, and his ski pole went through his throat and caused immediate death, while John Arola was permanently injured by a bad fall."

There is no precise information available on the beginning of Finnish skiing competitions in Minnesota. There are some who claim to remember that the newly founded socialist club in Ely arranged a ski meet for members in 1905, but it is more certain that in 1906 one A. Autio, Finnish skiing champion for the 10-kilometer distance, easily won the 15-mile race in Virginia, with his pupil Lampinen coming in second. Subsequent victorious Finns have included Vilho Karvonen, Samuel Koskela, Arthur Peltokangas and Väinö Rantanen. Finns of the younger generation have been successful in school competitions.

Matti Hyvänen, Antti Hiltunen, Albin Parti, John Suomela and William Risto started a shop in Duluth in 1906, selling skis which they made themselves.

In slalom racing, the Swedes and Norwegians were usually the aces in the early years in Minnesota, but once the Finns began to show enthusiasm for this branch of the sport, they began to offer considerable opposition. The Halonen brothers from Virginia — Antti, Eino, Hjalmar and Matti — were outstanding, while many other good performers were developed on the Ely and Cloquet slopes.

Finally, champions from Finland have also raced in Minnesota. In 1949, for example, the Duluth Finns invited Leo Laakso and Matti Pietikäinen to enter the Fond du Lac meet, with Walter Salmio as chairman of the committee arranging for their visit. The same committee arranged the visits of Pentti Heino, L. Johanson, Olavi Kuronen and Matti Pietikäinen the following winter, and although the best skiers of America were entered in the competition, the Finns took the first prizes.

Similarly, ice-skating has had its enthusiasts, with crowds on the ice as soon as the lakes froze over in the autumn. While the children skated their 'merry go round' the older ones went out for speed. Several of the better ones entered the races in skating carnivals with good results. The younger generation has shown even greater enthusiasm for this sport and have taken part on school teams.

Moving indoors, the vogue for wrestling began to appear among the Finnish-Americans about the year 1910. A few years before that, a group of Finns had arrived from Tampere, where they had become wrestlers in the Pyrintö Club: Gunnar Grönlund, Matt Kangas, Väinö Ketonen, Karl Lehto, Jooseppi Lehtonen, Kalle Rantala and Karl J. Wirtanen. In the spring of 1909 there was an announcement in the *Urheiluviesti*, the sports paper which Wirtanen had begun to edit, stating that Grönlund, Lehto, Rantala and Wirtanen had formed a group and would put on exhibition matches in the Minnesota mining region. Between performances they also taught other interested Finns the art of wrestling, gave shows all over the Middle West, and often took part in matches against other champions. That wrestling was not just a sport popular among a few but was enjoyed by vast crowds is claimed in the series of articles written by "G. A." (Gust Aakula) and K. J. Wirtanen in the *Industrialisti* in the spring of 1955, amplified with an article in the *Ironwood Daily Globe* of 26 February 1955.

Boxing was far from achieving the popularity among Finnish-Americans that wrestling enjoyed. However, crowds did turn out to see a Finnish boxer: at Gunnar Bärlund's first bout in Minneapolis there was a big Finnish cheering section present, but when he lost on points to his opponent Hartnek his second appearance, in April 1939, according to the *Canadian Uutiset*, attracted "a small audience, although there were six other bouts on the program in addition to that between Bärlund and Negro Charley Neaves." This time Bärlund won with a knockout in the second. He made no other appearances in Minnesota, although he did stay for a considerable time in the United States.

The second generation Finns have also gone in for swimming, a sport which has gained popularity after the first pools were built in schools, from 1912 on. The names of Charles, Edmond and Lester Ketola, of William Lofback and Hugo and Verner Mattson deserve mention.

In the early years it appeared as if Finnish sports would remain constant and unchanging. The sports forms brought from the old country were preserved, even though they might not have been of interest to anyone but members of their own groups. Prevailing American sports patterns hardly influenced them at all. There was no ball throwing, and almost as little ball kicking. Baseball, for example, was a sport only young boys played, having learned it in the schoolyard. It was not until this generation matured that a change began to appear, and it was due to them that basketball also came into vogue. Lines were painted on the floors of Finnish halls, the windows covered with wire nets, lights were lifted up to the ceilings, and basketball practice got under way. So popular did it become that often there were not enough evening hours for everyone to get a chance to play. It was played in church groups, encouraged by the cooperatives. For years the Duluth Finnish-American Athletic Club team was the top one in the league. From 1927 to 1935 the team was coached by Jack Salo, and during his time the team won the local YMCA championship in 1929, the Duluth championship from 1931 to 1934, and the Mid-Western championship during the same years.

The Finns in Ely: Organizations for Finnish Aid: Ely has had represented in it all the kinds of societies and organizations which Finnish settlements have had, and of which numerous examples have been given. It has had its own Civic Club, its Delaware Committee, its Townsend Club, its Finnish relief organization. (The latter, with Jacob L. Pete as chairman, worked chiefly among the American population.) There have also been many other organizations, and a revealing cross-section of them is provided in the listing of the societies which sent delegates to a joint meeting on 11 February 1940 to organize Finnish relief, to which they had been invited on the initiative of the Ely Kaleva society. According to the minutes, the following societies were represented:

Ely Cooperative Society: A. Tuomikoski

Kaleva Knights, Väinö Lodge: P. Martin, H. Pietilä, A. Saari and O. Särkipato

Kaleva Ladies, Vellamo Lodge: L. Kakkuri, M. Kivipelto, A. Leino and S. Ranta

Temperance Society Vesli: K. Franti, H. Hakko, I. Koski, O. Laakko, A. Mäki, A. Perämäki, S. Pohjonen and M. Somero

Apostolic-Lutheran Congregation: M. Pyylampi and M. Saari
 Finnish Accident and Sickness Benefit Association: H. Hakala, O. Hakko, J. Kalkuri, M. Laitila, E. Lepistö, O. Länkinen, E. Nikkinen, M. Saari and A. Tuomikoski
 Finnish-American Club: T. Ahola, O. Lahti, R. Vilmonen and G. Voltti
 Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church: E. Lepistö
 Luther League: V. Starkman
 Suomi Synod Congregation: H. Metsäpelto and William Palmgard; Sewing Circle: M. Laitala; Luther Guild: E. Martin, H. Mills and N. Riikola
 Ely Workers Society: A. Huhta and J. Korpela
 Ely Educational Committee: A. Huhta
 Ely Finnish Reading Club: I. Erickson, C. Kuitunen and A. Ruskala

These groups appointed a joint committee entrusted with the planning of the collection of funds and goods. This activity went on for a full two years, and before it came to an end temporarily in March 1942, more than \$3,400 in money as well as quantities of goods, whose value it is impossible to even estimate, had been sent to Finland.

In January 1945 this relief committee was summoned once more to a meeting, at which it was proposed that the activities be resumed. At this meeting J. Porthan was elected chairman, V. Starkman secretary, A. Kivipelto treasurer, and A. Leino, H. and J. Lintula, S. Mäki, H. Pietilä, A. Porthan, S. Ranta and A. Saari to the executive board. Work was resumed with the enthusiasm that had been shown earlier, and it was not until January 1951 that the work was once more at an end.

MFAHS, Chapter 15: The Ely Chapter of the Minnesota Finnish American Historical Society was established with 27 persons present on 28 January 1947. The first chairman was Fabian Mäenpää, with William B. Mäki as secretary and Senja Mäki as treasurer.

Finnish Newspapers: A couple of Finnish newspapers were published for a time in Ely. The first of these, a conservative paper called the *Suomalainen* attempted an appearance at the turn of the century. Soon beset by economic difficulties, Toivo Hiltunen and some friends of his tried to continue publication of the *Suomalainen* in 1903 as a pro-labor paper. In August of that year the *Työmies* published the following news item: "Another paper for the workers: on the 9th of this month the newspaper committee elected at the Duluth workers' meeting had invited attendance at a meeting to discuss the founding of a cooperative workers' paper at Hibbing. Those present at the meeting decided to establish their own workers' paper, to be conducted along socialistic principles. It was unanimously decided to purchase for this purpose the *Suomalainen* and its presses from the present owners, Hiltunen and Lindberg, of Ely, for

\$700. The paper, and its presses, are to be moved to Duluth as soon as circumstances permit. We for our part wish the greatest of success to this newspaper. We have both been born in the same era, one in the East, one in the West." The *Suomalainen* expired soon after this, but the same fate soon befell its successor.

The other Finnish newspaper of Ely began its career as an organ of the workers: *Aatteita*, which owed its birth to A. Tanner, was able to continue publication for only some three months.

Sulkanen attributes the failure of these enterprises basically to the fact that the period of political oppression in Finland had brought to America "educated, liberal men, fighting for national freedom, who devoted themselves to the newspaper field and devoted space in their papers to the problems of labor," and in this connection Sulkanen mentions Eero Erkko and his paper, *Amerikan Kaiku*, which was of relatively high niveau and as such "took the bread out of the mouths of the Ely papers." Looking at local conditions, however, one must conclude that newspapers printed far away in the eastern states were in no way able to influence the situation, however liberal they might have been and no matter what their quality, and one must find the reason principally in the fact that in 1903-04 Ely and its surrounding area simply did not have enough supporters of the workers' creed, who would have subscribed to these new newspapers, and secondarily to their difficulty in finding advertisers to give them the necessary revenues.

Cooperative Activity and Finnish Businessmen: Cooperative activity in Ely began at a very early stage. The first undertakings were boardinghouses, and the oldest of them, Anila, was in operation from 1899 to the first World War, while a newer one, Junula, was started in 1910. Meanwhile, an article in the *Työmies* in December 1905 reported that "it has been decided to try out a consumers' circle in Ely and, as is known, this system involves requesting consumers in a given community to patronize one single store for each branch of merchandise. In this way it is possible to bring about socializing changes in production. The lists will be prepared with the heading, 'We, the undersigned, join herewith the Ely socialist consumers' group, promising during the months of December, January and February to patronize and to urge others to patronize the following 18 stores exclusively.'" This endeavor was followed by the founding of a cooperative store proper, the Ely Merchants Grocery, whose first business manager was John Kukko. The founding of the Ely Cooperative Association followed in 1924. The latter joined the Cooperative

Central two years later, and two years later still its annual sales totalled \$147,000. In 1926, its board of directors included two Finnish-born members and two Minnesota natives of Finnish descent, while the corresponding figures in 1952 were three and four. Finally, in connection with cooperative activity in Ely, it should be mentioned that Ely had one of the oldest Finnish-American farmers' electric light companies: power was purchased from the city of Ely, but the lines were put up and paid for cooperatively. The farmers also had their joint telephone company, a 'Farmers Club,' plus a cattle breeding association.

The community has always had numerous independent Finnish businessmen, some working alone, others forming partnerships. The Finnish Stock Company, for example, which had been founded in 1898, was still active in the 1950s. One of



Dr. A. F. Tanner's hospital in Ely.

its founders, John E. Porthan, served in the community in numerous responsible positions among the Finns, and for 4 years he was also a member of the municipal government. Language difficulties, however, were the chief reason why Finns in Ely did not fill such positions in the very beginning:

in an article published in 1892 an Ely Finn regretted the fact that "the Finns, although thousands of them live in the city, hold no important political posts, while the Yankees, of whom there are but a handful, have calmly been able to grab almost every position and office." Gradually, however, there were Finns who were able to fill these positions: Jacob Pete (Perttula) was St. Louis County Commissioner, 1927-35 and 1937-42; Farm Bureau director, 1931-35, etc. Furthermore, he was active all his life as a businessman in Ely, owned the last stables in the city, which he did not give up until the 1920s, when he began selling Dodge automobiles and simultaneously operating a coal company. Pete also had business interests in Minneapolis, where he participated in the starting of machine shops, and in the Red River Valley, where

he took part in the administration of Finnish banks. The man who defeated Pete in the 1942 elections for the St. Louis County Fourth District Commissioner was also a Finn, Toimi Ahola. In addition to the Commissioner post, Ahola has also served two terms as an Ely alderman. Other Finns who have served in the latter capacity include Andrew Watilo, G. A. Mäki and John P. Erickson, while John A. Harri was Ely city manager from 1914 to 1916.

The Finns of Ely have also found themselves capable in many other fields. Ever since Anna Leino was the first Finn appointed to teach in a state educational institution, a great number of her compatriots have followed her in this field. In 1914 the *Päivälehti* reported from Ely that "our city has many Finnish teachers, and there are many more in the surrounding areas. Omitting mention of those serving in the municipal schools, the following Finns are active in the region: Meidi Takkunen in the 3rd School District, Lillian Nieminen in the 74th, Selma Nuopponen in the 9th, Ida Porthan in the 11th, Elma Harju in the 36th, and Hilma Kajuutti in the 49th." In the banking field, G. T. Somero has been president of the First National Bank. Another Finn, Arvo Theodore Thompson, served in the U.S. Army, being commissioned in 1932 and receiving promotion to captain three years later.

Military Service: Finnish participation in the armed services of the United States began in Ely with the Spanish-American War. Lieutenant, later Captain, George Gibson, arrived in Ely in the summer of 1899 to open a recruiting office above Gust Mäki's clothing store. One of his first recruits was John A. (Juha Aapo) Harri, who in turn got several of his fellow-Finns interested: Matti Ekola (born in Ala-Härmä), Oscar Hakko (from Keskikylä, Laihia), Juha Heikkilä, Herman Hill (Mäki), Juho Järvi (from Jalasjärvi), Antti Kamunen (from Kalajoki), Oscar Kauppi (Laihia), Jaakko Kujala, Mikko Lehtinen (from Kylänpää, Laihia), Juho Mattila (from Jurva), Juha Nylund (from Evijärvi), Iisakki Tiura (from Kemi), and Matti Tusa (from Alavus.) Gibson took all these Finns into his own group with a sense of satisfaction: they were all handsome young men, and tall, with Kauppi and Tusa 6 foot 2, and all the rest over 6 feet. With the exception of Harri, they were all recent immigrants to America and spoke very little English. To this group was added Matti Kero, a former resident of Ely, who spent the last years of his life in Duluth, and Peter Oksa of Hancock, Michigan, who spent the rest of his life in Ely. (Even later the group was joined by Oscar Lake, Finnish name Järvi, from Butte, Montana, and a few

Swedes.) When the group left Ely there was a big throng at the station to wish them well, and there was an unexpected touch when the Ely mines all blew their whistles in salute just before the train pulled out.

The group was taken first to a basic training camp in Denver, Colorado, and training was continued in San Francisco. It was here that they embarked on the *Belgian King* and sailed to Honolulu, as part of a regiment but kept intact in a 105-man detachment commanded by Gibson, who tried to keep his men fit with shipboard calisthenics. What pleased the Finns most was their first Army payday on shipboard: \$15.60 pay per month, with free room and board, "and all for having done nothing."

The regiment eventually landed in Manila and began its march into the hinterland. On a couple of occasions one of the battalion commanders, Colonel Sonck, had tried to give orders to the Finns, who stood at attention but did not understand what was required of them. When Sonck complained to Gibson for having recruited men who didn't comprehend a word of English, Gibson replied that he had seen his men brawling with some Irish soldiers at camp and was convinced that if he had had just one company full of Finns it would have been all the expeditionary force the Americans would have required in the Philippines. The colonel finally had to agree with Gibson when the battalion transportation was stuck in a swamp and was rescued by the efforts of these Finns with scant help from anyone else. The first casualty among them was Matti Ekola, who came down with malaria, was discharged from a hospital, overate in a restaurant, had a relapse and died.

In the course of 20 months in the Philippines the Finnish group suffered 15 dead and 31 wounded. The return of the survivors to Ely came with the men arriving together as a group, on a Saturday evening in April, 1901, to a reception arranged by their fellow-Finns, with dancing until late that night at the Kaleva hall.

Later, both World War I and II saw Finns of Ely serving in the American armed forces. In the first, George E. Porthan lost his life in France at the battle of Argonne. In the second, Lieutenant Julia Hakko served as a nurse in the Philippines her father had fought in during the Spanish-American War, while Teuvo A. Ahola flew as a squadron leader with the Green Hornets in the Pacific, was promoted to major at the age of 25, and later served as U.S. Air Attache in Helsinki. Captain Walter B. Leino served as instructor in the OCS at Fargo, North Dakota;

Lieutenant Oiva Kivipelto was a bomber pilot; Lieutenant Paul E. Hendrickson was navigator in a 'flying boxcar'; Lieutenant Bennet W. Kantola belonged to the Air Force medical corps; Robert William Mäki earned the Purple Heart.

Finns serving in the Philippines toward the end of World War II tell of a compatriot who became famous as a sharpshooter in the mopping-up operations: he had a knack for pinpointing Japs hiding behind trees and up in the branches, and shooting them with lightning speed. It was an easy thing, he claimed: "War is not hard, because you just have to keep your eye on one thing at a time; it was different back home in the Minnesota forest, where you had to keep one eye on the game and with the other watch out for the game warden."

Regarding the number of Finns living in Ely, there have naturally been various figures given over the course of the years. In a survey conducted in 1910 in connection with socialist party activities, it was estimated that there were 650 Finns in Ely, out of a total population of 3,572. Ilmonen, in another connection, stated there were never more than 2,000 Finns in Ely. Finally, and for a later date, the official 1950 Census indicated there were 272 Finnish-born residents in Ely, including a few Swedish-Finns, out of a total population of 5,474.

Winton and its Sawmills

Four miles removed from Ely, and nineteen miles from the Canadian border, lies Winton, where Finns began to arrive after the setting up of big sawmills in 1898. At first some 400 men were employed at these saws, but the figure soon climbed to over a thousand. Work at the mills was seasonal, but the mills did take the men to the forests for logging in the winter months, so year-round employment was assured. The area was organized as a village in the year 1900.

As soon as there were enough Finns in Winton to guarantee not only performers for an evening's social but also for an audience to be present, group activities were begun. The mills gave the Finns a plot of land free of charge, and so the building of the Peoples' Hall was begun in 1902. In spite of its name, it was not originally dependent on socialist support exclusively, although another, a temperance society, was founded soon after the hall was built. However, the latter was active only for 2 or 3 years, until lack of interest and dwindling membership



Air view of Winton.

forced its termination. Although it is no longer even clear what the name of the temperance society was — was it Vellamo or Aallotar? — Ilmonen does mention that it joined the temperance league in 1908, but since even he makes no further mention of the society, this membership must have been short-lived.

However, social activity at the hall itself continued to grow and expand, and as the activity assumed more facets, only the brisk dramatics work suffered because of the cramped stage facilities. Support for the workers' movement grew (in 1911 the *Työmies* was delivered to 30 subscribers in Winton) and led to the organization of the Workers' Society in 1913. This group purchased land from the village authorities for a fairly large hall, finished on the eve of the war. John Joutsen worked there as director of the drama group, and later, during Jack Stark's incumbency, the group performed in many nearby communities and was always well received.

Mention should also be made of the lending library included in this hall endeavor. Before its end it had over 400 volumes, purchased with the proceeds from evening socials; it was available to all, with members of the Workers' Society taking turns serving as librarians. In 1913 an athletic group was also set up, directed in its earlier phases by John Niemi and John Helenius.

Winton did not have Finnish churches, however, and according to C. Kuitinen, it did not even have organized church bodies but went on with pastors of various faiths visiting Winton from time to time to hold services for those who were interested, at the hall or, in winter when the hall was too difficult to heat, in

private homes. At the present time the Finns belong to various Ely congregations and attend services of the Community Church, held at the Ely Methodist Church. However, records of the Suomi Synod do show that at the turn of the century there seems to have been a small organized parish, started by H. Anias, and which joined the Synod in 1907.

The only other joint effort to be found in Winton was a choral group, directed by Christine Herranen, which had been established in connection with the cooperative store. Actually, this cooperative enterprise was not an independent undertaking, either, but a branch of the Ely organization. Although this reflects the small size of Winton, smallness has not prevented individual Finns from showing their initiative. In 1900, Antti Hendrickson (Vuohelainen), who had come to Winton 5 years earlier, started the first restaurant, and reports have it that it began to be filled with customers as soon as the walls and roof were up, and as soon as this business was properly open, Gust Johnson (Kustaa Marttila) began to build one, also. Johnson's became the leading place and remained in business for 40 years. Tomi Kukko, meanwhile, opened the first candy store in 1901, and John Marks the first clothing store 4 years later, while Mooses Hokkanen ran a grocery store. In 1915 there was started the boardinghouse Tarmo, made by expanding the Hendrickson restaurant building; this house was in business for 12 years.

In community life, Finns Mooses Hokkanen and Väinö Niemelä both served as mayors, and Kalle Erickson was a longtime member of the municipal council. Victor Hill (Siivonen) was Commissioner of Lake County (east of Winton.)

When the sawmills were working at capacity, the population of Winton rose to over 2,000, but when the mills were closed down, the exodus began: in 1950 the population was down to 184. The Finns moved away, too, to find jobs elsewhere. The Finnish hall was deeded to the community, which was unable to maintain it and sold it: it has become a tourist lodge. In the history of the Winton Finns, everything belongs to the past.

Chapter IX

St. Louis County: The Iron Hills

State Highway 53 threads its way northward from Duluth. Driving along this highway, it is easy to imagine how the surrounding forests must have looked before the axe and the flame brought down the majestic pines and firs, replaced now by deciduous trees and hemlock and thick undergrowth of brush. After a long steady climb one reaches the divide: the waters on the northern slope flow into Canada and Hudson's Bay, those on the south into the Mississippi. On the horizon loom the bare, rust-brown uplands of the Mesabi.

Long ago those uplands were covered with magnificent forests, but during the centuries and the millenia the mountains eroded to leave behind them the heavy, iron-rich earth, the 'red earth' whose iron content has proven to be the richest in the world. Then came the ice ages and the might of glaciers, forming the surface of the earth anew, and this red earth was buried, and over it grew once more a gigantic forest. A cross section cut into this earth shows how cleverly nature hid her riches: at times the lodes of ore run many feet under the earth, at times they seem to reach up to the roots of the grass cover. It has been but a scant century that this reserve of fantastic wealth has been known to man.

The Mesabi is much richer than the Cuyuna and Vermilion areas which have been discussed; it is the largest iron-laden area in the United States. It begins at Biwabik, some 60 miles north of Duluth or, in other words, in the geographical center of St. Louis County. It curls and twists in a narrow band by way of Virginia, Eveleth and Mountain Iron to Hibbing, and continues from there

to Nashwauk, in Itasca County. Historically, Mountain Iron (Mt. Iron) is the point where the Mesabi 'begins.'

It was Professor H. H. Eames, state geologist, who first reported the presence of iron in connection with his report in the mid-1860s from the Vermilion area, where he was looking for possible gold. And early prospectors searching in vain for gold also reported that iron was to be found every time they dug into the earth. Such reports led to the first systematic exploration of the Mesabi in 1875, under Professor Albert H. Chester, whose report suggested, however, that the Vermilion region was richer in iron than the Mesabi. While the Mesabi was ignored and forgotten for a few years, digging began at Vermilion. In 1882 it was announced in Duluth that Charlemagne Tower had decided to build a railroad to the Vermilion mines, a railroad which would cross the Mesabi Range. Immediately afterwards (15 January 1882) the Mesabi Iron Company was formed, following reports that red earth had been found everywhere that the railroad had to excavate for the rail bed. A new search for the iron began, with the most enthusiastic searchers being the Merritt brothers, John McKinley and Frank Hibbing.

The Merritt story goes back to Lewis Merritt and his wooded homestead at Oneota, near Duluth. In his treks through the wilderness he had come across this red earth and had told his seven sons that someday it would mean much to Minnesota. When Lewis Merritt died in 1880, his sons roamed far and wide over that remarkable upland, which the Chippewa Indians called the Missabay. In time the Merritt brothers bought tools and wagons and hired men to clear a road from Tower to Mesabi. Then they began to probe into the earth, with an expert, J. A. Nichols, to evaluate their finds. Their industry led to success when they found the first real Mesabi lode on 16 November 1890: the samples of ore proved to be 64% pure iron.

The next developmental phase which began immediately followed the pattern common to mining areas: doubt and firm conviction joined in a daring gamble, demanding personal and financial sacrifices, then the mining 'fever' phase, the dream of riches overnight, the buying and selling of shares, with more expended than produced, with the speculation ending at last in a crash, taking many with it into ruin. Then the strong, serious financiers enter the picture, and with their capital the work progresses and expands, bringing a phase once more with moments of jubilation for some, scenes of tragedy at times for others.

Mountain Iron

On 11 July 1890 the Merritt brothers organized the Mountain Iron Company, but when old iron miners from Upper Michigan moved here to work for them they shook their heads in doubt: "There's iron here, but it won't be dug out; there's no slate in this soil, not to mention granite: the whole mine will cave in soon." But the Merritts persevered, and two years later the branch railroad they had built brought their mines into contact with the rest of the world. This, however, hardly seemed to profit them much, because the following year economic depression brought serious difficulties to the brothers.

The only possible hope for rescue seemed to lie in John D. Rockefeller, the oil king who had interested himself to a limited degree in mines, in Michigan, even in Cuba, and including a \$250,000 investment in the Vermilion area and "a little" elsewhere in Minnesota. He agreed to advance the Merritts \$3,000,000 under the condition that the entire complex of mines be united into one big firm, the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines. Rockefeller got the decisive voice in their administration, and finally the entire \$200,000,000 enterprise was in his hands. Only by recourse to law were the Merritts finally able to get \$500,000 for themselves. Later, Andrew Carnegie and Henry V. Oliver, both of Pittsburgh, also came into the Mesabi, and the Lake Superior Consolidated was now sharing the wealth with the Oliver Mining Company. A third enterprise came into the picture when the Minnesota Iron Company, whose chief holdings had been in Vermilion, bought into the Mesabi and changed its company name to Federal Steel Company. In 1901 all three joined together to become a subsidiary of the United States Steel Company. According to the 1920 statistics of the University of Minnesota School of Mines, United States Steel owned 125 iron mines in Minnesota.

The Mesabi legend also includes the name of steel king James J. Hill. His participation here also came as if by necessity: the owners of a rail line, which led from Grand Rapids deep into the forests, and which had once been profitable, during the era of forest exploitation, found their line a burden and urged Hill to add it to his railroad empire. Although Hill protested he did not know what to do with a railroad "which didn't lead anywhere," he did take it over finally, unaware that his purchase included several thousand acres of land — worthless-looking land which

contained so much iron ore that its value was soon estimated at \$100,000,000.

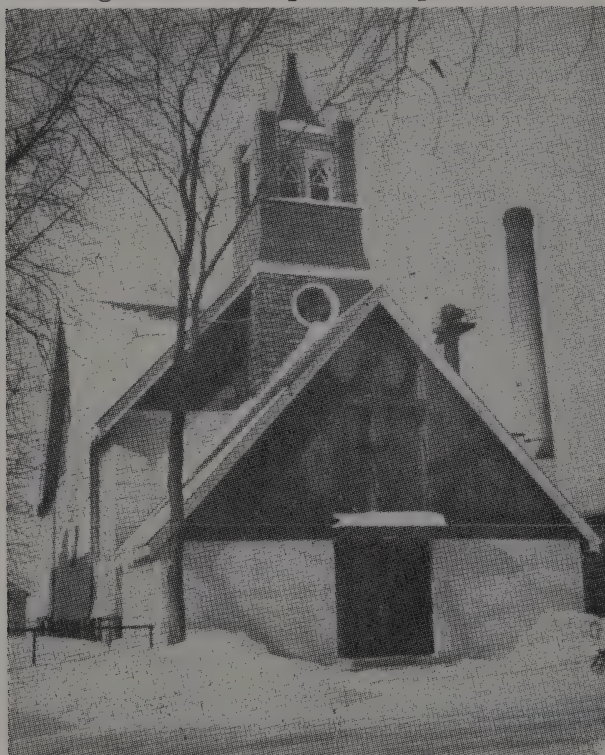
After the first discovery of ore had been made at Mt. Iron, the initial probing remained exploratory in nature. In October 1892 the first carload of Mesabi ore was sent out, more or less as a sample, for full operations were not scheduled to begin until the following spring. This carload of ore stood at the Union Station in Duluth for all to marvel at; later a bronze replica of it was made, and in the 1950s it still stood on a massive granite pedestal in front of the Mt. Iron High School. The total ore production in 1892 was a mere 4,245 tons; a year later it was 119,818 tons; by 1956, as much as 48,118,501 tons had been dug out.

Mt. Iron was naturally nothing but wilderness when mining operations began there, but in 1892 the forest was being cleared away from what was to be Main Street of the new community. In August, when the first train arrived, there were already seven buildings of some size in Mt. Iron, all built with materials hauled from the nearest town, 27 miles away. In addition, there were numerous tents and a few log huts. But as soon as the real riches became apparent, a city rose as if by magic: 15 hotels, department stores, buildings everywhere. When the local government was organized in 1892, the place was called Grant, but the name was soon changed to Mt. Iron — for J. A. Nichols in 1890 had called this spot 'Mountain of Iron.'

Finns began to arrive at Mt. Iron as soon as it became apparent that work opportunities were on hand. Hans R. Renfors, who did research on the Mt. Iron Finns in 1954 under the sponsorship of the mines, reported that at the end of 1891 at least the following Finns already lived in Mt. Iron: Matti Anderson, Otto Haapasaari, Abraham Harju, Erick Harmala, Matti Hilden, Erick Keisti, John Kinttu, Juho Kreussi, Simeon Kujansuu, August Leppi (Leppä), Matti Mattson, Jacob Märsylä, August Närvälä, Antti Osnanbryk, Matt Palo, Antti Palola, Adolf and Kaarlo Pernu, Matt and Olli Pääkkö, Antti and Stefanias Rahkola, Charles Suo, and John Takala. Not until somewhat later did the first Finns risk bringing their families to the place, and even as late as 1899 there were 6 men there to every woman. The first white child born there was Arthur Kangas, whose father Henry Kangas was considered by J. A. Mattinen to have been the first Finn in Mt. Iron.

The first organized Finnish activity in Mt. Iron was a temperance society, Rauhan Koti (Home of Peace), founded in

July 1893. It immediately joined the temperance league and only resigned from the league in 1927 as a result of personality conflicts. Thirteen persons had been present at the founding meeting, and Henry Kangas was elected first president of the society. In a study of the Finnish temperance societies in Minnesota, Kolehmainen indicates that the Mt. Iron group had 72 members in 1911, but only 15 in 1941. The society built its own hall in 1895, another in 1905, erected on land purchased by the mine in 1940, which resulted in the hall being torn down. A feature of the society was its lending library of 300 books from Finland, procured in 1905, with Kalle Nissi serving as the first librarian. The society also had children's and youth groups working under its sponsorship.



Suomi Synod Church in Mt. Iron.

Religious activity got its start immediately on the heels of the temperance work: in February 1894 a group of Finns met at Adolph Pernu's home, and there Henry Kangas proposed they begin collecting names for the founding of a congregation. Since 31 signatures were obtained, the project materialized: religious services were held in the beginning at members' homes, later at the temperance hall; the decision to join the Suomi Synod was taken unanimously

in 1898; a church was built in 1916, and expanded in 1923. In 1940 the land on which the church stood was also bought by the mine, but the church was promptly moved to a new site and has served subsequently as the only Finnish meeting place in Mt. Iron. Up to 1942 the church was a part of the Virginia regional organization. Its former pastors were H. Sarvela, J.

Bäck, M. Havukainen, S. W. Renfors, K. Salovaara, J. Wargelin, P. Keränen, M. E. Merijärvi and V. Kuusisto. After declaring its independence from Virginia, the church elected D. Könönen as pastor, to be succeeded by F. Pelkonen, J. F. Saarinen and Karl M. Aho. A special feature of the church program has been missionary work among the miners. It has also had a Ladies Aid, established in 1910, a Sunday School, 1914, a Deacons of the Church and Luther League, 1921, and the Bethany Guild, 1936. In 1906 the church had 244 members; in 1927 the figure was 365, and in 1953 it was 259. In 1953, also, its Sunday School had 115 pupils.

The Mt. Iron socialist chapter was started in January 1906, and it built a hall for itself the following year, providing facilities in particular for an active dramatics group. However, the chapter always had difficulty in finding sufficient members; initially there had been 25, and at the end of the first year the number had increased to 48. Then, however, when the local mines shut down after 1908, the Finns went elsewhere to seek work, and membership dropped to 13 in 1912, then rose slightly to 18 the following year. However, the hall was maintained until 1940 when its land, too, was taken over by the mine.

Other Finnish groups included a chorus, the Surina, which was active during the World War I era, more or less under the temperance society sponsorship. Its first directors were John Luoto and W. J. Kukkola. Other organizations have been a Civic Club, a Finnish Aid Committee, with Hans R. Renfors as chairman, and a local chapter of the MFAHS. The latter group was organized in 1946, with Oscar Hill serving as chairman, Alex Keto as secretary, and John Otava as treasurer.

Finnish businessmen have included Albert Anderson, G. Apuli, Nick Hill, George Kakela, John Ketola, A. W. Saari, and Victor Vanhala. Of these, the first two cited have also taken part in community affairs, with Anderson serving several years in the city council, and Apuli as a member of the board of directors and as president of the Iron State Bank, and as mayor of Mt. Iron. Elmer Saari has served as city manager, and Kaarlo Otava was named director of the Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Commission in 1955. Mt. Iron was also the home of Matt Viitala, a well-known official of the one-time federal prohibition enforcement agency.

The population of Mt. Iron was about 200 in 1892, and at the turn of the century it was 470, and climbed to 1,343 in 1920, and slowly to 1,377 in 1950. Renfors has estimated that the

Finns have always made up about a quarter of the total. It should also be stated, however, that all the Finns in the area have not lived in Mt. Iron itself, but that there have also been others at nearby Leonidas and above all in the nearby countryside.

Around the Leonidas Mine, out of which 21,454,608 tons of ore had been dug out by 1956, a town grew up in the latter years of World War I, and it, too, was named Leonidas. A Finnish Aid Committee was active there at the beginning of World War II, under the chairmanship of Jack Lintula.

Virginia

Missabe Mountain Township lies east of Nichols, which was organized in 1892 out of wilderness, out of which have developed four population centers: Virginia, Eveleth, Franklin and Gilbert. If one were to say that Mt. Iron is the beginning and end of Mesabi, then Missabe Mountain is its heart.

The first discoveries of ore at the place where the city of Virginia later rose, were made in March 1892 by John C. Cohoe, employed at that time by the Merritts. The lode lay at a depth of about 13 feet. Whereas the Merritt brothers had founded the Missabe Mountain Iron Company a couple of months earlier and had been prepared to spend up to \$150,000 in locating ore, it cost them only \$41. It was at a time when the Pittsburgh steel manufacturer Henry W. Oliver happened to be in Minneapolis, and since there had been much talk of the new iron finds in Minnesota, Oliver decided to investigate in person. He set out with two other men from Pittsburgh, C. D. Fraser and George T. Tener but when they reached the Cincinnati mine, Fraser and Tener had had enough and refused to go farther, while Oliver continued on as far as the Missabe Mountain mines. He was deeply impressed by the new discoveries, and he offered the Merritts 65c royalties per ton of ore for the privilege of mining the find for 10 years. The Merritts accepted gladly. In 1893 there were 123,015 tons of ore dug, but after this first year Oliver succeeded in getting the Rockefeller controlled Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines, to which the Merritt interests had meantime passed, to lower the per-ton royalty to 25c, plus another 25c for tax payments. That year (1894) there were 505,955 tons produced. However, in spite of the great reserves, by 1917 only about 3,000,000 tons had been excavated. Toward the end of World War I the pace quickened, and in another two years an additional 2,500,000 tons had been mined. Even this was only a beginning, for the

pace continued to increase, until by the end of 1956 the Missabe Mountain Mine had brought forth a total of 72,201,605 tons of ore. And this mine was by no means the only one. The list of mines that follows names those in which Finns were known to have worked:¹

Mine:	Opened:	Produced by 1956 (in tons):
Alpena	1889	11,706,386 (operations ended)
Auburn	1894	5,702,919
Commodore	1893	7,836,542
Columbia	1901	7,114,599
Franklin	1893	2,241,761 (exhausted)
Higgins No. 2	1914	842,067 (operations ended)
Larkin (Tesora)	1906	264,948 (exhausted)
Lincoln	1902	7,481,430 (operations ended)
Lone Jack	1895	5,554,638
Minnewas	1893	12,804,665
Minorca	1902	1,526,126
Missabe Mountain	1893	72,201,605
Moose	1926	14,777,914
Norman	1894	7,210,533
Ohio	1895	6,870,665
Onondaga	1907	228,127 (exhausted)
Rouchleau	1920	33,449,467
Sauntry	1898	5,705,581 (operations ended)
Shaw	1917	7,298,473
Union	1900	3,818,360 (exhausted)
Victoria	1906	687,326 (operations ended)

Of all these millions of tons of ore brought out of the earth, a significant portion has been dug by Finnish miners. Their demand that they receive an adequate pay for their work, a fair share justly belonging to labor from all these profits, often brought them into conflict with the various mine managements. Their moving on to other means of earning a livelihood, and above all their role in clearing the St. Louis County wilderness, a logical consequence of their first decision, are proof that the contribution of the Finns to the development of Virginia and the areas surrounding it have not been insignificant.

The Finnish Settlement in Virginia: Finns were among the first arrivals, setting up temporary camps on the Mesabi ridge early in the 1890s, when mining was still a prospecting activity. The first rich finds immediately altered the picture, and as early as August 1892 the official announcement was forthcoming in Duluth that a so-called Virginia Incorporation Company had been established. Two weeks later all newspapers carried big advertisements highlighting the desirability of the lands offered for sale in the center of the world's richest iron deposits: "The

1. Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, Mining Directory Issue, Minnesota, 1956.

greatest opportunity of all times is at hand," proclaimed the advertisements, stating that auctioning of the lands would begin the following day in Duluth. Interest in the offering had grown to such a fever pitch that the whole group of lots (a total of 80 acres of land) was sold within a few hours. Businessmen and laborers rushed to pay \$335 to \$430 for plots of land they had never seen, located in a community which was still non-existent but which did have a future, for 20 years later those same lots could be sold at an average of \$15,000 each. However, when buyers went in the winter of 1892 to look over their new purchases, "their eyes opened wide when they saw their journey, so full of



Missabe Mountain open pit mine in Virginia.

expectation, end in deep forest."² The railroad, which had been extended as far as Mt. Iron by the end of the summer 1892, reached as far as 'Virginia' by December of that year, and the first train brought in 16 carloads of machinery and building materials. A prosperous saloonkeeper began to build a rather large 'concert hall,' and Palm states that the saloon became the most important community center in the town. There friends and strangers met, meetings were held, the latest news reported and repeated. There Pastor E. N. Raymond spent his first Sunday in town, watching a poker game. That evening, when the crowd

2. Interview information from Virginia Finns, collected by W. Palm. Archives of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society.

was about to break up and leave, Raymond spoke up and said it would only be fair if they stayed now and watched what he was going to do. Leaning against the bar, or sitting on barrels, the men were present at the first religious service held in Virginia, in the barroom, that Sunday of the 23rd of April 1893.

By this time the community had begun to grow, and buildings began to appear one beside the other, without any pattern or logic, and there was enough of this building going on to justify a small sawmill. Even with this growth, the main street was still pure morass, and even the lightest rain produced big puddles. However, it was learned that the Finlayson Company had negotiated for the purchase of 50,000,000 feet of logs from the area surrounding the community, so it was felt that getting out such a quantity of timber would demand the making of adequate roads.

With both mining and lumbering activity increasingly important, it was expected that a relatively bright future awaited the community, and a name for the place became a matter to be decided once and for all. At first it was proposed that it be named after A. E. Humphrey, the president of the company which had made the land sales, but then opinion switched: since the wilderness was a 'virgin' area, perhaps this factor should be taken into consideration, and so the name Virginia was proposed. Since it happened also be the name of the state Humphrey called his own, the name was acceptable, and so the village of Virginia was officially incorporated in 1893, with the names of two Finns, N. Jappila and Isaac Koski, listed in the official petition.

By that time there were, of course, other Finns in Virginia, but the very first one had been Oscar Kupari, who had arrived there with a surveyor in the summer of 1888. They had put up their tent on a spot which later became the center of town, and their job had been to map the area for the state for a possible plan of settlement. Kupari was offered a piece of land there, but as a 'wise man' he had not wanted to 'waste' his right to a land claim by going into such a desolate wilderness; he chose to pick himself a homestead site in Orris. Although he had literally walked back and forth for three months over earth worth millions, he had not realized it at all; it remained for the Finns who arrived later to take part in the trial probes into this earth to be more aware of the wealth that was present. *The Virginia Story*, a history prepared for the year of the Minnesota Centenary, mentioned that in 1892 the arrivals to Virginia included Sophia

Koski and Gust and Susanna Turja; however, since this list included only those still alive at the time of the writing, that list of early arrivals is necessarily very incomplete.

In another study, A. Mattinen has added to the list of 1892 arrivals the following Finns: Matti Haapala, Henry Ketola, Mikko Lindquist, Jacob Luukkinen, Henry Marostenmäki, Conrad and John Mattson, Alex Niemi, Sakri Oberg and Alex Äysti. But H. Moilanen reported in the 1955 *Juhannusjulkaisu* that the first Finn in Virginia was "John Jacobson, who arrived in 1890, and who later moved to take up farming in Florenton, where he died a few years ago." Further, E. A. Pulli has also added to the facts on the earliest Finnish arrivals on the basis of his interviews, and according to his information the names of John Latvala (Matson), said to be from Nurmo, and Sanna Santa, from Lapua, should be added to the list of 1891 arrivals, and Isaac Hill, William Kestilä, Jacob Koski, Andrew Leiviskä and Vilho Tikander to the 1892 list. Finally, V. Palm states that in 1892 one Anton Ahlstrand also arrived in Virginia. It is in any case apparent that almost a score of Finns were among the first to begin the building of Virginia, whose subsequent rapid development was to become more apparent in the spring and early summer of 1893. Moilanen's claim that the number of Finns present was already close to 600 is apparently exaggerated, but in any case a considerable number were soon living in Virginia, which had become the most important mining community in the iron ore region, with a standing minimum population of some 5,000 — until that catastrophe came which could have meant the death knell to the whole community.

On Sunday, 18 June 1893 a big forest fire raged southwest of Virginia, at a time of extremely dry weather and drought. A strong west wind began to blow, and the fire became a swift rush which nothing could stop. Flames were soon licking the outlying buildings of Virginia, and less than an hour later they left all Virginia a mass of smouldering ruins. The disaster made many quit the place for good, but those who stayed built a new Virginia, with a faith in a better future. However, even those brave ones came to grips with a severe economic depression that spread that same year. Unemployment prevailed in almost all the mines, and only \$1.10 the day was paid to the ordinary, common laborer who was able to keep his job.³ A period of new, rapid development began again in 1894, and on the first of

3. The Virginian. 30 August 1907.

April 1895 Virginia became a city. It was at that time that the city streets got sidewalks, made of planks, beyond which big new buildings were being erected. Building was made even easier by the opening of a new, larger sawmill in 1895, which employed 35 men in the beginning, and which was soon joined by a competitive enterprise as new mines were opened and other small industry began to develop. The sawmills, however, were to be the cause of the total destruction of the newer Virginia, for on 7 July 1900 fire started in one of them, spread through its lumber yard, and then resulted in flying sparks setting Virginia on fire for the second time.

As a result of this holocaust, the population dropped to 2,692 in 1901. Five years later, however, it had once more climbed to a new peak of 6,056, and at that time the Finns formed the largest single group in the community. The most reliable statistics for the period are probably those prepared by the temperance society in 1903, according to which there was a total of 1,705 Finns, made up of 835 men, 342 women and 528 children.⁴ These Finns took part unreservedly in the reconstruction of Virginia, now also called the Queen City, built up once more with more fireproof buildings, better-paved main streets, and covering a much larger area, with big new sawmills flourishing enough to give work year round to some 2,000 men.

Through these years of expansion, life in Virginia was still free and easy. The history of St. Louis County relates that it was not unusual to see a man on horseback ride straight into a saloon, not stopping his horse until he was right at the bar, and having his drink without dismounting, turning his horse around and riding out again. The consumption of alcohol had reached big proportions, and according to Palm, there were 53 saloons in the community. To try to prevent their fellow Finns from succumbing to drunkenness, the Finns started a temperance society.

The Temperance Society Valon Tuote: John Latvala (Matson) had made his own abstinence vow in Soudan in 1889, and it was at his urging that a group of interested Finns gathered at the home of Conrad Mattson in March 1893 and founded the Valon Tuote (Product of Light) Temperance Society. Its first slate of officers included Vilho Tikander as chairman, John Erkkilä as vice-chairman, Jacob Saari as secretary and Antti Leiviskä and Conrad Mattson as treasurers, with Frank Leskinen and Heikki

4. Työmie. 13 April 1904.

Maliniemi as additional board members. John Mattson was to serve as a sort of intermediary, correspondent, and chaplain giving the opening prayer at meetings. At the time of the founding there were 20 members, but every month new members were added. The first woman to join was Hilda Juusola, who entered as a transfer member, having already belonged to the Ely



Valontuote Temperance Society Hall in Virginia.

temperance society, and she was soon followed by 5 other women and by large numbers of men. The maximum membership, 372, was not reached until a decade later.

Meetings were first held at Conrad Mattson's home, for which he was paid \$8 per month rent, and then Gust Gustafson's hall was rented at a slightly lower figure. When the society lost all its property and its meetingplaces in the first Virginia fire, the society began again, while the ashes were still smouldering, to

meet in a camp hastily erected by August Standinger. This first meeting revealed that many members had broken their temperance pledges during the fire, when they had tried to quench the thirst caused by the heat of the flames by drinking beer! As soon as more and more new buildings began to rise again, the society rented, according to Josephine Rauma, the hall belonging to Victor Peltas, until a lot was purchased from shoemaker John Johnson for \$300, and on that land a home for the society was built in 1895. With membership continuing to grow, the building proved too small, and it was sold and removed from the land, on which a new and larger hall was built in 1906.

After considerable discussion, the society joined the temperance league, the Brotherhood, becoming Chapter 61. With the help of temperance speakers sent out by the league, support for the battle against 'King Alcohol' was forthcoming, but it was not an easy battle to win. From time to time even members of the society suffered relapses, and at one meeting in 1893 even the chairman of the society had been forced to confess "he had had something to drink as medicine for an upset stomach." With a vote of 10 to 2, the chairman was forgiven his relapse, on condition it not occur again. Another complicated issue was made out of dancing, which was forbidden early in 1896 — partly, it was assumed, because the league was meeting in convention that summer and the meeting was to be held in Virginia. Many Finns began to feel that the Valon Tuote temperance society was becoming too reactionary, and so a new one, called Nuori Suomi (Young Finland) was started in 1895.⁵ This split caused a re-evaluation of the various measures which had been taken, and when the extreme rules were abandoned, and Valon Tuote also quit the league, a reconciliation became possible, and the two societies merged in 1897.

Temperance work procedures were approximately the same here as elsewhere. Lectures were given, and indoctrination courses were held regularly up to 1933, when Heikki Moilanen and Mrs. John Wäyrynen held the last classes. The Finnish temperance group was largely responsible for the strong stand that City Manager M. L. Fay took on the question of saloons in the community: the *Virginia Enterprise* reported in August 1904 that the saloons had been given closing hours, which were being enforced, on the grounds that all-night carousing was against state laws and was also detrimental to the efficiency of many promising

5. Ilmonen, S. *Raittiusliikkeen Historia*, p. 86.. Also, *Raittiuslehti*. 20 May 1895.

young workingmen, bringing the family affairs of older workers into bad straits, and threatening to make both young and old become alcoholics. The *Uusi Kotimaa* later reported (23 August 1917) that the Valon Tuote Temperance Society had begun a battle to make the whole county 'dry,' and had collected more than \$200 in a few days to help in the battle. When the prohibition years followed, the temperance society was still able



Suomi Choir. Front row: Gertrude Peterson, Rose Laukka, Helen Luukkonen, Helen Mattson, Violet Lassey, Jack V. Anderson, director, Violet Ojakangas, Helmi Lammi, Ruth Jokinen, Mae Niemi, Mary Anderson. Middle row: Aune Nivala, Dolores Lager, Amelia Saari, Lydia Frasa, Ilma Leppänen, Helmi Kangas, Mayme Nukala, Eva Lammi, Dorothea Kangas, Florence Konu, Aune Kettunen, Vivian Lahti. Back row: William Kovala, Jack Pontinen, Ivar Frasa, Väinö Luukkonen, Dr. Harold Lager, Sulo Herrala, Toivo Rahikainen, Arvo Laukka, Harold Koskela, Robert Eskola, Jalmar Nukala, Walter Gonsi.

to continue a very active existence, thanks to the many auxiliary activities within its framework.

The first of these was a mixed chorus, which had been started in 1893. One T. Järvinen was its first director, and while there seems to be some uncertainty on his successors, Heikki Moilanen, in his "Sixty Years of the Valon Tuote Temperance Society," has made the following listing: Antti Tiikkainen, 1907, Hannes Rintala, end of 1907, Sanfrid Mustonen, 1909, Matti Saarinen, 1910, Vilho Siukonen, 1911, Väinö Kukkola, 1912-19, and Antti Tiikkainen, 1936-37. The composition of the chorus.

as well as its name, also went through several changes, and furthermore, many of the singers also performed in workers' or other independent choruses as well.

The *Sivistyshistoria* of Ilmonen is the source of the often-repeated account that organist-choirmaster K. Ekström was the director of the Virginia church choir as early as 1895, after which began the 20-year period of activity in the choral field by Emil Björkman, who brought the Finnish choruses of Virginia into a period of ascendancy. This led, for example, to the winning of second prize in performances at the Chicago World Fair in 1933.



The Virginia Workers' Band in 1910. Front row, Sulo Löyvä, Isak Wälmä, unknown, Alfred Tasti, John Nykänen. Second row: Yrjö Helin, John Forsman, Antti Tiikkainen, Tuomas Pakarinen, Konstu Sarell. Third row: William Mäki, Mikko Koski, Hjalmar Lundström, unknown, Julius Jalkanen, John Markkanen, livari (last name unknown).

The permanent centers of interest in choral activity were the temperance society and the socialist chapter. The directors of the latter will be listed subsequently, but other directors of choral work in Virginia have included Jack Anderson, who began his work with the local Luther League and later directed several church choirs, at one time four of them simultaneously. His chief contribution, however, was the starting of the male chorus, Suomi, some years before World War II, a group which came to national attention when it performed on the radio program, "I Hear America Singing," in 1940, which was written up in *Life*. When

the United States entered the war, the activity of the Suomi Chorus was interrupted, but rehearsals were resumed in 1945, when the group became a mixed chorus. Two years later this chorus was requested to represent Finland at a Festival of Nations in St. Paul. Anderson was not content with his local Virginia chorus for such an appearance but called in singers from other communities. The response was gratifying, and weekly rehearsals of this augmented chorus were held at Virginia; several concerts were given, in the spring of 1947 in the local area, and then came the successful performance before an audience of 14,000 at the St. Paul festival in May 1947.

In addition to sponsoring song, the temperance society had also begun a brass band in August 1895, with 35 musicians under the direction of John Haapasaari. Membership in the band was open only to members of the temperance society, for which the first concert appearance was made in November 1895, with the band members dressed in grey-blue uniforms piped with dark blue braid. This band remained active for several years, but when a municipal band was begun, many of the members transferred into that organization. Meanwhile, a few of those who had made this transfer began to organize an independent Finnish band, named the *Jyrinä*, which performed at both the temperance society and the socialist hall and which was also in great demand at funerals of southern Europeans, appearances for which the band received payment. In 1907 this previously independent organization decided to join the Socialist chapter as an auxiliary of that society.

In addition to fostering music, the temperance society also stressed reading, and in 1893 it established a lending library which, in the course of years, gradually assembled a library of over 800 volumes. And in 1893 it also began a dramatics group which remained active for more than three decades, producing several plays each year: in 1913, for example, a total of 18 different plays were performed.

The next auxiliary organization of the temperance society was a women's sewing circle, started in 1895, for the purpose of raising funds for the society. Then followed an adult education group, still later a reading room, kept open from 6 to 11:30 PM as well as on Sunday afternoons, where all Finnish-American newspapers were on hand, as well as 20 more sent from Finland.

Finally, the temperance society was also a benevolent society, giving assistance to its members and their families, in the form

of sickness benefits and burial funds. Certainly the statement in the *Mesabi Daily News* (24 November 1952) that the Valon Tuote Temperance Society was of great significance to the members' well-being as well as to the development of Virginia as a community seems to be justified.

Religious Activity in Virginia: Immediately after the founding of the temperance society, religious activity among the Virginia Finns was initiated, beginning with a meeting at Peltö's hall in September 1894, when 26 persons gathered to establish the Virginia Finnish Independent Evangelical Lutheran Church, a name changed in 1948 to Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church. It was decided to request Heikki Sarvela, who lived in Duluth, and who had already visited the community occasionally on his trips to take care of his Mt. Iron parish, to take charge in Virginia. Once a month, then, Sarvela used to leave the comforts of the city behind him, come part of the way by train, and then proceed to Virginia as best he could, riding on someone's wagon or even trudging along on foot if need be. However, since the Virginia parish grew rapidly (in the end it was the second largest in Minnesota, with its maximum membership of 548 coming in the year 1953) it became necessary to establish new parish boundaries. Two years after the Virginia church was established a meeting was held and the decision made to establish a regional district, to be served by one pastor who was to reside in Virginia. Later (in 1915) when the church joined the Suomi Synod, this became the Virginia-Mt. Iron district, whose pastors were frequently required to take care of even more distant parishes like Palo, Markham, Alango-Field and Idington, sometimes even Cook, Orr, and even as far away as Emo in Canada. When this area proved too large, it was in turn cut into two, and only Idington and Alango-Field remained in the Virginia district. Finally, even this district was dissolved when the Virginians wanted their pastor to serve them exclusively. Since 1947, the Virginia pastor has only gone forth once a month, to Pike River, to hold services. The following pastors have served the Virginia congregations: Heikki Sarvela, 1894-96, John Back, 1896-97, Heikki Sarvela, 1898, Mikko Havukainen, 1898-1901, Heikki Sarvela, 1901-05, Kaarlo Salovaara, 1906-07, John Wargelin, 1907-09, Pekka Keränen, 1909-14, Victor Kuusisto, 1914-18, K. H. Mannerkorpi, 1918, M. E. Merijärvi, 1918-22, Victor Kuusisto, 1922-45, Douglas Ollila, 1946-47, Herman Matero, 1948-51, Viljo Puotinen 1951-.

The Virginia congregation built its own church in 1903, and it has been altered and enlarged subsequently. A parsonage was purchased in 1918, and that, too, has been enlarged on two occasions.

During several summers the church sponsored a summer school for children, with Alfred Haapanen serving as the first teacher in this program. Sunday school has been held on an even larger scale and from the very beginning, for as far back as 1895 the church members had 48 children among them, 10 of



Virginia's first Finnish confirmation class in 1894. Seated: Anna Rautiola (Kerola), Ida Kangas (Haapala), Rev. Henry Sarvela, Lydia Mehtälä (Isotalo), Standing: John Willing, Jack Saari (Kaara), Jacob Lakari, Markus Arola, Fred Wein.

them born in Virginia. Since the parents did not want their children to forget the language of their parents, the Sunday school was conducted in Finnish up to the year 1947, although from 1932 on there were already optional classes conducted in English, under the direction of Ellen Linval. The last Finnish language teacher was John Jaakkola.

In 1899 a sewing circle was started, but it had to be started anew a few years later, under the leadership of Hanna Lönn

(Niemi), Hilma Heikkinen (Lahti), L. Helmi and Anna Mäkelä. Even so, it did not become a permanent organization until it was started a third time, in 1909. The following have served as its chairmen: Maria Alexon, Ida Nyrkinen, J. Ahlgren, H. Lento (Merikanto), Tyyne E. Lackrie, Heta Valli, Johanna Siirola, Hanna Mattson, Hanna Niemi, Mathilda Perälä, Katriina Matson, Sanni Laukka, A. Kolehma, Maria Haapaniemi, K. Johnson, Selmi Salmi, Emma Ollila, Laina Wäisä, J. Anderson, V. Koskela and Eeva Junnila.

The Mission Circle got its start in 1933, and although it had but \$1.75 in its treasury after the end of the first year it did have more than \$50. a couple of decades later. having always worked for modest financial gains but with high ideals.

In January 1938, Mary Matson called together 46 young women of the church to establish a youth group, the Martha and Mary Guild, functioning along the same lines as the older, women's sewing circle but with its meetings held in English. A comparable men's organization, the Brotherhood League, was established two years later; this group has had as chairmen Jack V. Anderson, Arne Williamson, George Hill, Edward Berglund, H. E. Lager, George Koskela, Elmer Hill, Arthur Koski and William Äystä.

Finally, it ought to be stated that athletics have also played a part in the Virginia congregation, quite rare among Finnish churches. In particular, the bowling team has taken part in competition for several seasons, and the boys' basketball team, coached by George Hill and Robert Koski, has competed with success.

Three other church groups have also been active in Virginia: the Apostolic Lutheran, the National Congregation, and the Unitarians. The Virginia Apostolic Lutheran church was established in 1896, with D. Castren being the pastor who served it for the longest period of any. This church was host in 1933 to the 26th general meeting of this church group, a five-day event, and although the strength of the Virginia congregation had begun to lessen by this time, the convention added new strength and enthusiasm to its endeavors.

The National Church body in Virginia was established in 1911, with K. G. Rissanen, V. Niemi, J. Hirvi, D. Ruotsalainen, A. Karen, L. N. Vilenius, E. A. Heino, T. Miettunen, E. Lampela and A. Aho to be mentioned among its pastors. In 1913 this congregation, which possessed no church premises of its own, was nevertheless host to the 15th annual meeting of the National Church. In 1947 the church had but 13 members left in Virginia.

The history of the Unitarian congregation in Virginia also goes back to 1911. Services were at first held at the temperance society hall, but soon a church of their own was procured, at a time when its membership was 26; in 1937 it was 142. When the church was available, a Women's Alliance, a Young People's Union, and a Sunday school were also established. Risto Lappala served as minister until his death in 1923, after which time his widow Milma assumed the responsibilities. The *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* reported that of the 370 ministers serving the Unitarians in America, only six had to officiate at more funerals per year than did Milma Lappala. In his study, Jokinen has considered this growth of Unitarianism among the Finns significant because it gathered within its fold many of the more radical thinkers who could not have accepted any other church affiliation for their own.

The Virginia Workers' Society: The Finnish labor movement has always had a strong foothold in Virginia. Palm has related that as early as 1902 a haphazard group known as the 'Finn Boys' (Suomen Pojat) was started: they met at the home of a store-keeper "to discuss theosophic-utopian ideas, and to formulate their conception of the workers' movement." The writings of Pekka Ervast served as the basis of discussion, but with economic-materialistic concepts added. This has been confirmed by Martin Hendrickson in his *Muistelmia kymmenvuotisesta raivaustyöstäni* (Memoirs of My Ten Years of Pioneering.) In 1904 a formal society was established, and in 1905, through its membership in the Minnesota state organization, it became affiliated with the Socialist Party of America. The Minnesota state organization, incidentally, was made up principally of Finnish workers' societies, and among the iron range chapters, for example, monthly regional meetings used to be held. The following year, when the Finnish socialist organization was begun, and a central office established, the Virginia group joined it. In his history of the workers' movement, Sulkanen has mentioned the following men as the initiators of the organization: John Koski, Emil Laukka, Albert Mainio, Siimon Mäki, John Sairio and Axel Öhrn, names which Sulkanen has gleaned from Hendrickson's memoirs. To this list Pastor Risto Lappala, in an article in the *Päivälehti* in February 1914 added the names of John Flander and Kalle Pitkänen.

During the first year of the society's existence, several auxiliary organizations were begun, in order to get an active program underway. In August 1905 Virginia was host to the first annual summer festival of the workers' and socialist groups of the mining

area, and in connection with this event a week's lecture series was given. The speakers for these lectures were Taavi Tainio, editor of the *Raivaaja*, Kaapo Murros, editor of the *Työmies*, Dr. A. F. Tanner, Ida Pasanen and the Reverend Matti Lehtonen.

Up to this point, the temperance hall had been used as the meeting place of the socialists, but friction soon became apparent, and before long the temperance society voted out all socialists from membership in its lists, although those who had been expelled showed up at the next meeting to protest their expulsion as being contrary to the by-laws, which stated that no one could be ruled out on religious or political grounds.

The issue remained unsolved, but in any case socialist activities expanded to the point where the finding of quarters for themselves became crucial. With 76 members in 1906, the group was able to rent 'Korpi's Hall,' which had a small stage, but since even this proved too small, a hall was built that same year on Walnut Street

(now, First Street North.) Opponents of the socialists labelled the place 'The Stable,' but it attracted an ever larger membership: 181 in 1910, then up to 196 in 1912, making even the 'Stable' too small for the Virginia Finnish Workingmen's Association. The hall was torn down and a new large brick building began to rise in its place, financed in part by a loan from Klemens Kivelä, who had raised the money by taking



Virginia's Socialist Opera Hall.

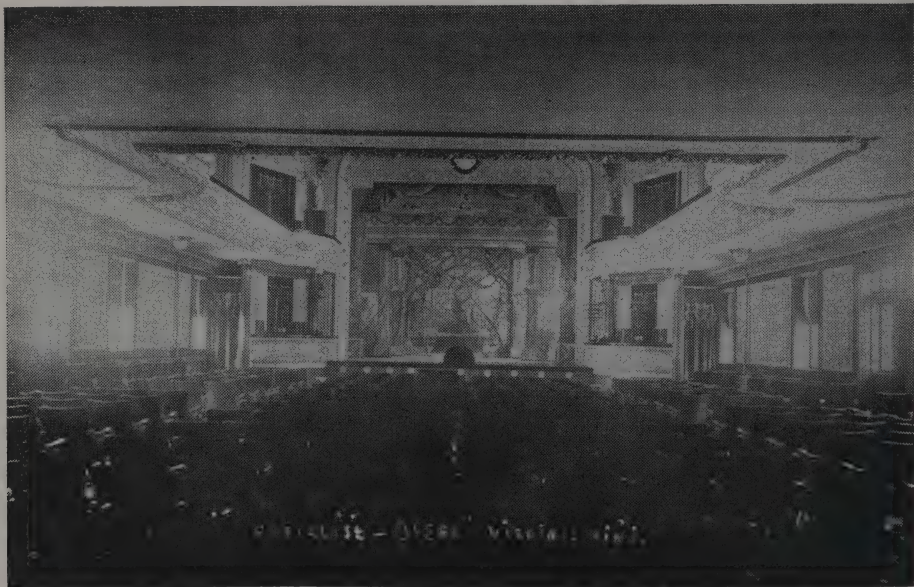
a mortgage on his own home. While the hall was being built, meetings and program evenings were held at a hall across the street, the Italian-owned Roma Hall. However, in April 1913 the new hall was ready, and for a name this one got, The Socialist Opera.

The Opera was a three-story building, with a big restaurant-meeting room, kitchen and cloakrooms on the ground floor; an

auditorium on the second, decorated with frescoes and stucco work, complete with a balcony and boxes as in a real opera house, and a big stage; on the top floor, a caretaker's apartment, a lending library, rehearsal rooms. The building cost a little more than \$40,000, a big sum of money for those days. Building funds came from interest-free loans from members as well as from outright gifts, but a mortgage was also necessary.

The two-day dedication ceremonies included a cantata composed for the occasion by the club's choir director, Jukka Mäkirinne, and a performance of Goethe's drama, *Clavigo*. For this festive occasion, 800 tickets were sold in advance, with box seats going briskly for \$25 each.

The Socialist Opera became the cultural center not only for Virginia's workers but for the entire mining region. There was activity there from morning to night, every day in the week:



The auditorium in the Socialist Opera.

rehearsals, performances, meetings, lectures, socials, dances, exhibitions, bazaars, music and song. With a building this size, and a program so extensive, a permanent business manager was required to look after finances. For the first several years this position was filled by Arthur and Sigrid Johnson, and in addition, Mrs. Johnson was also one of the best actresses of the club's dramatic group. Later caretakers have included Gust Hallila, Otto Heikkinen, George Alfors (who also directed plays), Wiljo Laakso, Matti Niemi, and many others.

Maintenance costs were considerable, and real estate taxes high, so that income also had to be considerable. To help raise some of this money, the auxiliary groups — the dramatics group, the entertainment committee, the brass band, the chorus, the gym team, the sewing circle, the dance band — had to be constantly active. In early years, when the members of the club were young, as were all the Finns in general, dances were held twice a week, and the income from these evenings was a good source for paying bills and interest charges and even for cutting down the mortgage. Later, when the Finns grew older and their legs stiffer, there were



Virginia workers' dramatic group in 1910. Front row: Tilda (Hasala) Roslöf, Vilho Brander, Ernest V. Pitkänen, director, John Flander, Hilda (Mäkelä) Nurmi, John Sairio. Center: Hedwig (Pitkänen) Tenhunen, Abram Rönkä, Mandi (Alt) Siren, Sigrid Johnson, John Lindberg. Back row: Pekka Partanen, Jack Starck, John Huttunen, John Markkanen, Sam Ruotsala.

less and less dances and finally they ended altogether except, perhaps, for an hour or two of dancing to top off an evening's social program.

After dancing the most effective source of income was the dramatics club. From the very beginning of the society, its activity in this field had been brisk. The work was begun by Ernest V. Pitkänen, who continued for years to lift the artistic level of the performances, attended by most of the Finns of Virginia. With the exception of a brief summer recess, plays were put on every other Sunday evening. As soon as the Opera was built, a good collection of scenery was built up — and the Opera stage even had a pool sunk below the stage level, so that for some

plays a small lake could be had on the stage, and actors could row across the scene in rowboats. For years, Evert Lappila, John Kiiskinen, Otto Niemi and Ed Oja served as faithful stagehands for the elaborate staging. Since many historical plays were produced during the most active years, the costume collections also had to be extensive. Some were rented from Chicago, but many more were made locally. The first wardrobe mistress was Sigrid Johnson, followed by Helga Lahti, who held the post for many years. The director was the only person who received a salary.



Virginia workers' gymnastic group in 1908. Front row: Julius Jalkanen, Henry Pakkonen, Frank Järvinen, Edi Siren, Hannes Salmi. Center: Matti Granlund, Eetu Roslöf, unknown, Gust Hill, unknown, unknown. Back row: Unknown, Matt Niemi, Charles F. Dahl, Pekka Partanen, Victor Nordlund.

When Pitkänen died, in his prime, he was succeeded by John N. Laaksonen, an actor from the Turku (Finland) Workers Theater, whose sojourn in Virginia was temporary. After him came Lauri Lemberg from Duluth, 1915-16, followed by Kaarlo Liljeqvist, Kaarlo Lindevall, Alarik Arnee-Orjatsalo, George Ahlfors, Pekka Partanen, Eetu Hackman, Henry Päätaalo, Matti Niemi, Tyne Piekkola and Mandi Siren.

At the Virginia Opera, as at all other similar societies, choral groups were constantly being born and dying, but there was always at least one active, just as there was also a band or orchestra of some kind on hand. Orchestral concerts were rare, but even those were given on the average of two a year. Of choral directors, the names of Antti Tiikkainen, Jukka Mäkirinne, Eino Mäki and Carl Loven have been preserved, while instrumental groups have

been directed by Kusti Nikander, Valdemar Englund, Eino Mäki, Alfred Hongel, John Forsman and John Paananen. These directors were paid for their work, and although many players owned their own instruments, the bigger horns, drums, bass violins, etc., belonged to the society, as did the uniforms. Musical activity had begun very early, with a big orchestra already playing at the old hall, directed by Jukka Mäkirinne and briefly by Alfred Hongel. Later, there was a dance band, directed by Ville Pöyhönen. Visiting artists by the scores have also performed at the Opera over the years.

The gymnastics and athletic organizations were among the Opera's most active auxiliaries. Two or three exhibitions of gymnastics and wrestling matches per year were given, as well as appearances made at numerous program evenings. During the 'outdoor' season, Opera athletes competed with other teams in the sports events always held in connection with the annual joint summer festivals of the region. Among the coaches have been Frank Järvinen, Einar Järvinen, Väinö Siren and Kalle Riihikoski.

Bazaars, raffles, and sales of various kinds also brought in much needed money. These were fund-raising schemes the Finns learned from the Americans, and which all kinds of Finnish groups, the workers' clubs as well as temperance societies and the churches, used successfully. Moving through a series of auctions of women's handiwork to cake sales, the Opera advanced in 1913 to plans for a giant, nation-wide lottery in which the grand prizes were to be a Studebaker car, two house lots, a grand piano, a Ford, a motorcycle, a roomful of furniture, and so on down to lesser prizes. Tickets sales were good, but the outbreak of war in 1914, as well as other difficulties, led to the cancellation of the project. The Workingmens' Association offered to buy back all the tickets sold, but very few claims were submitted, so that the Association ended up with a profit of several thousand dollars.

On those Sunday evenings when no play, concert or other special event was scheduled, the entertainment committee used to sponsor program evenings. These had been put on from the very beginning of the club's existence and served three purposes: entertainment, fund raising, and enlightenment. Tendentia speeches were usually included, but the rest of the program was always non-political. After the program, a coffee hour and dancing ended the evening. Admission to such evenings cost little, usually 25 or 35c, while tickets to the concerts and plays used to cost from 50c to \$1.00.

In addition to all its social activities, the Opera was the center for the workers' movement not only for Virginia but for also for the whole iron-mining region; even American labor groups occasionally used the Opera for their meetings. The Virginia Socialist chapter was a staunch supporter of the *Työmies*, as well as being one of the largest stockholders in that paper. In the split which occurred within the Socialist party in 1914, the Virginia chapter aligned itself with the industrial unionism wing and was, therefore, read out of the Socialist party. If this chapter disappeared from the Opera, the legal owners of the Opera, the Finnish Workingmen's Association, continued to be active. It did stop supporting the *Työmies* and joined the other Finnish labor groups of the mining region plus Duluth in starting a new newspaper: in June of the same year there began publication of the radical *Sosialisti*, whose name was changed a few years later to *Teollisuustyöläinen* (Industrial Worker) and a bit later still to the *Industrialisti*, which the Finnish workers of Virginia continue to read and support to this day. The Virginia club also gave support to the Workers' Institute and was, in fact, one of its biggest stockholders. And after World War I, this club purchased land in nearby Parkville, which the members transformed into a park where outdoor meetings were held in summer and where the joint summer festivals of the mining region workers' societies were held.

The Opera itself, however, continued to retain its status as a labor headquarters. During the miners' strike in 1916 it served as headquarters for the strike committee and as office of the IWW Mine Workers' Union, whose secretary at the time was Charles Jacobson. Mass meetings were held, and in addition to Finnish speakers there appeared on the Opera podium such famous IWW leaders as Sam Scarlett, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carl Tretzka, Bill Haywood and others. The two strikes, in 1907 and again in 1916, which centered on this mining region and which so closely affected the Finns of Virginia and the entire region, have already been discussed in detail in these pages.

Activity continued, then, at the Opera, from year to year. The income was large, but the expenses began to grow even larger. At the conclusion of the 1916 strike, when Finnish miners found themselves blacklisted, the Opera began to lose many of its active members. Later, when increasingly effective machinery began to replace more and more men in the mines, and when work at the sawmills came to a standstill, the number of Finns living in Virginia decreased, and so did membership in the Workingmen's

Association. When those members who were left began to grow older and their former zeal for participation in the association's affairs began to lessen, even while the younger generation showed no desire to carry on in their elders' footsteps, it became impossible to keep the Opera going. In 1938 the hall was sold to a regional organization, the Range Co-op Federation, and the Opera got a new name: Virginia Co-op Center. The new owners repaired and renovated the building extensively. The ground floor was made over into a cheese and sausage factory, with office space in front. On the main floor, the hall and stage were retained, although the balcony space was taken over for other purposes. The hall remained available, then, for meetings and small gatherings, and the Workingmen's Association was still able to use on occasion what they had once owned outright. Activity, however, subsided almost entirely to attempts to bolster the *Industrialisti*, although after World War II the association did participate with other local groups in Finnish relief programs.

When the Range Co-op Federation terminated its dairy activities in 1953, and also ended cheese and sausage production, the building began to prove unsuitable for any of their other business interests, and so the Co-op Center was sold in 1955 to the Virginia builders' unions.

Sulkanen has written that after the rupture in 1914, a small socialist group remained in Virginia and tried for some time to keep up a Socialist party chapter and a program of activities. Lacking sufficient support, however, the chapter died, and some of its former members retired from any participation in organized affairs while a few were absorbed into the Communist movement which started after World War I. This leftist group tried to remain active, and for a while it rented the Roma Hall for its meetings and later still assembled in the North Pole Hall. However, they made little headway in Virginia, and the group gradually faded away. A few of the Virginia Communists emigrated to Soviet-held Carelia in the 1920s, when enthusiasm was still high.

Jukola: On the corner of Second Avenue and 2nd Street North stands a big, old three-story wooden building, almost as a memorial to a unique form of Finnish settlement at its most flourishing period: the Jukola residential hall for men. At the period of the greatest influx of immigrants there were several Finnish boarding houses in Virginia: Luoma, Luukinen, Tamminen, Lukkarinen, Ellison and Hämäläinen, but with ever increasing numbers of young Finns continuing to arrive, and with working class consciousness and cooperative ideas gaining ground, the

young men in Virginia followed the example set in other centers and started their own home and named it Jukola, after the seven Brothers Jukola, the heroes of Alexis Kivi's novel. Jukola was established in 1909 and was operated along the lines of a usual cooperative boarding house, with Selim Ranta serving as its first manager. In 1912, with more facilities proving necessary, a new building was expressly put up for the purpose, with huge kitchens, a big dining room, sitting rooms, a ladies' parlor, and sleeping quarters for a hundred men. During its busiest period, Jukola



Jukola.

used to serve meals to 450 persons daily in its diningroom and was known for its excellent food. Drinking and cardplaying were strictly forbidden on the premises. During 1915-17, Jukola also operated its own grocery store in basement quarters in the building, with the storekeeper being Leo Saari, widely known in the co-operative movement in Virginia.

The residents of the hall were mostly workers in the mines or the sawmills. Most of them also belonged to the Workingmen's Association and were active participants in the Opera activities, and they were also the ones who were most ready to furnish loans to the Association when the Opera was being built. When they were not at the Opera, the young men used to crowd into the big livingroom of Jukola and talk and discuss and argue, and there was always action and bustle from early morning until late at

night. Jukola is known far and wide among Finnish Americans, and the numbers of its 'alumni' who have scattered widely to other places in the United States and Canada must still number in the hundreds, if not in the thousands.

But everything changes, and the young men of Jukola have grown old along with the rest of the Finns. Jukola served its purpose, and although the building still stands, its restaurant still remains open, its rooms occupied, the men left there now are old men, living on their pensions. The ardor of new faiths and burning ideals has given way to peace and quiet and old age.



News office of the "Työmies" in Virginia. Sigrid Ekroos (Lemberg), clerk; Adolph Heiskanen, manager; John Huttunen, customer.

The Työmies News Agency: In writing of the workers' press in Virginia, first mention belongs to a newspaper, the *Pohjalainen*, which was published here and partly in Duluth in 1902-03, and which was edited by Eetu Aaltio, Wäinö Koivisto and Arvid Södergren (and, according to Ilmonen, also by Antero Ahde.) Next came the *Työmies* News Agency, in operation from 1912 to 1914, and where mining regions news for the paper was written, and books and stationery were sold. The office also transmitted money to Finland and sold steamship tickets. Adolph F. Heiskanen

served as business manager and Sigrid Ekroos as assistant. This office became the focal point for the Finnish labor movement in Virginia and remained its center until the split in 1914. At that time Heiskanen was dismissed and replaced by Tyyni Emil Seger, but this now solitary socialist stronghold in a Virginia which had begun to lean toward the IWW was not able to withstand the pressure and had to close down altogether within a few months. The circulation of the *Työmies* went down appreciably, and where there had once been 321 subscribers in Virginia (and an additional 5 in Franklin) three decades later the local figure had gone down to 37.

Finally, a newspaper named the *Minnesotan Uutiset* was published in Virginia in 1910-11. However, with the exception of its name, this newspaper had no connection with the similarly titled newspaper published later in New York Mills.

The Kaleva Movement in Virginia: The next organization to appear on the local scene was the Kaleva Order. A men's chapter did not exist there, though, until the Soudan chapter (founded in 1908) was transferred to Virginia in 1948. The Kaleva Ladies, however, were on the scene earlier, having been established in 1911 and then being reactivated in 1937. At first founding this chapter had no local quarters but held its meetings either at the Kaleva building in Eveleth or Gilbert, until this phase came to an end in 1922, when some of the members transferred their membership to these chapters and others left the society altogether. When it was re-established in 1937, it was with 11 women as members and with assistance furnished by the Eveleth chapter. The first public activity this new chapter engaged in was the collection of funds for the 1938 Delaware Tercentenary. At the same time three mountain ash trees were also planted in the municipal park to remind future generations of the Finns who had once lived here. During the war years the chapter participated in Finnish relief work and supported an orphan it had adopted in Finland. Subsequent relief activity was for the Red Cross, for which many members estimated they had devoted as many as 1,000 hours of their time during the war years. Among other things, they translated into English many hundreds of letters from Finnish children who had received aid through the Red Cross. In 1954, the chapter had 54 members.

As for the men, the transfer of the Soudan chapter to Virginia in 1948 meant the infusion of new blood: by 1953, membership had climbed to over 100. In part, at least, this was due to the fact

that meetings are conducted exclusively in English, which has created interest among a younger generation of Finnish Americans. Together with the Ladies, they have arranged several joint celebrations, including a national meeting held in Virginia in 1954, when a memorial stone of red granite ordered from Finland was dedicated in Olcott Park: "In honor of early Finnish pioneers who settled in the Virginia area in 1891, dedicated by the Knights and Ladies of Kaleva on August 1, 1954."

Relief Activities: Finnish participation in relief work in Virginia was by no means limited to the Kaleva Order. During World War I, for example, when the Red Cross was growing into a major relief organization, the Finnish women of Virginia formed a chapter of their own to support this organization. Then, after the war came the program to aid the Carelians. An article in the *Päivälehti*, 10 March 1922, described the extent of this work in Virginia: "... One significant and welcome development has been that in all communities there is apparent more and more unity in this question of aid to Carelia. In some places permanent relief committees have been established, and it is to be hoped this will also be done here in Virginia, since it is not a question of momentary relief but a need which will long continue. One of the biggest and most solemn occasions we have had for years was the benefit held at the temperance hall on 28 February, Kalevala Day. The hall was filled. Conrad Mattson served as master of ceremonies, giving an introductory speech about the *Kalevala*. Then the 'Veikot' quartet sang, Mr. Hill played the piano, Pastor Lappala spoke, as did Dr. Räihälä, who touched upon the reasons for the Carelia relief program. E. Koskela read a poem 'To Carelia,' and the Young Peoples' Choir of the Evangelical Lutheran Church sang. The program was on a high level throughout — no frenzy, no defiance, no criticism, no threats. Receipts were \$200, and before that the coffee party at Saranen's garage brought in \$106. The net for the two occasions was \$289, which has been forwarded to the National Bank in Helsinki."

During World War II, Finnish relief began with a collection for funds for a 'Guard the Frontier' drive in November 1939. In December, after the commencement of hostilities, the women organized a group of their own, and a general Finnish aid committee was also organized.

The women, through their Finnish Relief Knitting Club, directed their efforts toward supplying warm clothing for Finnish soldiers in the battle lines and for civilians behind the lines. First

officers of the club were Ida Soderholm, president; Minnie Mattson, secretary; Josephine Rauma, treasurer. The first knitting yarns were purchased with small donations received, but soon large quantities of yarn were donated by individuals and business firms. Furthermore, stocks of staple foods also began to build up, and all of these, together with the knitted articles, hundreds of pairs of socks, mittens, etc., were sent on to the Lotta Svärd organization in Helsinki. All this took place during the busiest time of the year, December, when everyone was also preoccupied with individual preparations for the holidays. During this same period, and in the next few months, \$2,710 in money was also collected, through gifts, receipts from modest socials held, fees from a lending library, etc.

The first general Finnish Aid Committee in Virginia was also organized in December 1939, and here John Ketola was the first chairman, Arvid Kolehmainen the first treasurer. The first fund raising attempt was a campaign to have every Finn donate one day's salary for Finnish relief, and although it was not the success that had been anticipated, more than \$2,000 was collected. The local Hoover Committee, in which the *Mesabi Daily News* took leadership, collected over \$10,200, bringing the total relief furnished in Virginia during the few months of the Winter War to almost \$18,000. Drives were also made to collect clothing, and this was no minor undertaking, for Josephine Rauma has provided the information that more than 40,000 lbs. were collected, and most of this was transported to New York without charge by the Mathews Dray Linen Company. Prior to shipment the clothing was laundered by Finnish women or was cleaned free of charge by the Troy Laundry and Range Dry Cleaners, while for storing and packing the municipal authorities supplied rent-free quarters where many women gathered every evening to sew and darn and iron.

In October 1945 a new relief committee was begun as a part of Help Finland Inc. The first chairman was John Räihälä; secretary, Henry Moilanen; treasurer, Josephine Rauma. During the period 1945-48, more than \$8,500 was collected.

The Historical Society: The Virginia chapter of the MFAHS was established in September 1944, at a meeting at which seven persons were present. The Reverend Victor Kuusisto was elected chairman; Henry Tenhunen, vice-chairman; Henry Moilanen, secretary; Josephine Rauma, treasurer. Later, when Mr. Kuusisto left Virginia, Henry Tenhunen became chairman, to be succeeded

after his death by Herman Kortesoja and later, Verner Saranen. Membership meanwhile had risen to 60, but for the most part it varied between 20 and 30. In addition to the work common to all chapters, the Virginia chapter has engaged in special undertakings, including a display of Finnish *ryijy* rugs in local store windows in 1949, a float for the Minnesota centenary showing a Finnish sauna complete with bathers, etc. During the postwar years, a considerable share of the profits of the big midsummer festivals held in Virginia have been donated to carry on the work of the MFAHS.

Midsummer Festivals: The midsummer festivals of the Finns of Northern Minnesota were first held in Virginia in 1906, which was the third such festival organized in all Minnesota. Subsequent festivals have been held in Virginia in 1911, 1916, 1924, 1930, 1937, 1946, 1955. In connection with these festivals, athletic programs have always found a place, and in these programs valuable prizes have been the trophies donated by John Ketola and P. Savolainen of Virginia. To try to keep these trophies in Virginia, the community had a Finnish athletic society, *Yritys*, started in 1906. A later entrant on the scene has been the Finnish Bowling Association, started just prior to World War II, and counting as its officials in the 1950s, Einar E. Lauley, chairman; Walt Niemi, vice-chairman; T. A. Eskelin, secretary, and Elmer Aho and Hans Kesanen, treasurers.

The Civic Club: The depression decade of the 1930s led to the start of a Townsend Club among the Finns in Virginia, as it had done elsewhere, but it also led here to the beginning of an organization to foster Finnish participation in civic life. Actually, this attempt began at a time when the possibility of progress in this field was most limited. Other nationality groups already had their powerful organizations, which were capable of holding the special advantages they had gained, and whenever any opening for a position appeared their candidates were always certain of strong support. Finnish civic groups suddenly appeared on the scene in many communities in the range area, all more or less simultaneously, and as so often among the Finns, even in this they were divided into factions, even though their goals were the same. Several communities, therefore, spawned not one but two civic organizations, and so Virginia had both its Finnish American Club and its Fenno American Club. To try to bring some order into this confusion, representatives from the various organizations were invited to participate in a meeting in Mt. Iron in May 1934, and the following groups and individuals were represented:

Chisholm Finnish American Educational Club: Emil Kaatila, Sam Luoma, Hjalmar Mattila and Oscar Näykki
 Duluth Finnish Political Club: Victor Gran, C. K. Hartman, Henry Lake, Matt Rahko and A. A. Toivonen
 Ely Community Club: Adolf Janiksela, Emil Kantola, Herman Kittilä, Jacob, Robert and William Mäki, Henry Metsäpelto, John E. Porhan and Henry Ranta
 Eveleth North Star Civic League: Aug. Helenius, Jack Karne, Oiva Latvala, Chas. Pajunen and Ed. Saaristo
 Gilbert Citizens League: John and Sam Aho, Isaac Alfton, Nestor Laine and Otto Songreen
 Gilbert North Star Civic Club: Herman Aho, Isaac Aijala, Arvid Kanninen, Konstant Kyryi, Matti Laine, Eino Latikka, Henry Lehto, Josua Saari and Matti Sippola
 Hibbing Finnish Americanization Club: John Huhtala, Frank Lampi, Isaac Metsälä, Toivo Murto and William Rekola
 Hibbing North Star Civic Club: I. Haapala, Seili Hakala, E. Joki, Henry Kojola, Frank Linjanen, J. Mäki, A. Sallila and A. Wirtanen
 Kinney North Star Civic Club: Urpo Hill, August Johnson, Anton Lankanen and Axel Niskanen
 Lavall Farmers Society: William Mannila and Henry Oja
 Mt. Iron North Star Civic League: John Anderson, Alex Keto, V. S. Komulainen and John Otava
 Virginia Fenno American Club: Henry Tenhunen
 Virginia Finnish American Club: William Anderson, Otto Heikkinen, William Kokko, Herman Kortesoja, Matt E. Mattson, Axel Ohrn, Aino Saari, Väinö Sulln and Andrew Tiukkanen.

The result of their meeting was a decision to establish an overall organization, which was first named the Minnesota Finnish Political Club and later called the Minnesota Federation of Finnish Civic Clubs. This meeting also resulted in the election of a committee to draft bylaws for the new organizations, and in a meeting in June 1934 this committee was made the first board of directors of the new organization: John Aho, Victor Gran, Alex Keto, Konstant Kyryri, Axel Ohrn, John Rival and A. A. Toivonen. In a meeting that summer, the following organizations, of the list given above, were accepted as permanent members of the federation: the Duluth, Eveleth, Kinney and Mt. Iron clubs as well as the Finnish American Club of Virginia; in October, the Chisholm club was added and a month later the Lavall club. In November, also, a working committee of the federation was furnished statistics indicating that the Finns filled a scant 5% of public positions in St. Louis County, although the percentage of Finns in the population of the county was considerably higher. A challenging field for work was apparent, and to finance it, the clubs were asked for an initial contribution of 10c for each of their members. Later, funds were raised by holding program meetings and festivals, etc.

In 1936, for example, a large-scale summer festival was held. With money in the treasury, the federation was able to listen to appeals for funds: \$10. each were given to the campaign funds

of both Victor Gran and Hjalmar Jacobson, to support their bids for public office. After that beginning, moral and financial support were given more and more frequently, and increasingly substantially: in 1939, for example, William Huhtala was given \$50. for his campaign fund, the Progressive Party was given a similar sum, \$50. was given to help defeat legislation proposed by Weber Carlie, and \$100. was given, finally, for Finnish relief. During the winter of 1939 there was more assistance for Finland, a delegation was sent to the capital to urge public posts for Finns, Huhtala was given more money, and R  ih  l   was given \$25. to help him in his election battle in Floodwood. During the war, funds for Finnish relief continued to be granted. After the war, a properly civic note returned to the federation activity, and a report in February 1956, for example, indicates the scope of the Federation's interest at the time: a letter to Governor Orville Freeman, as well as to state legislators Fred Cina, A. I. Johnson and Senator Thomas Vukelich, urging stricter measures against drunken driving and excessive highway speed; urging defeat of the Lien Law; lowering retirement age from 65 to 60, plus increased pensions; a proposal that even smaller cities be granted permission to operate municipal liquor stores, so that profits would accrue to the local communities; a letter to Mr. Johnson, as Speaker of the Legislature, urging that municipal, county and state employees be made members of the Social Security program; a letter to Senator Humphrey, expressing strong support for his proposal that the Electoral College be abolished; a letter to President Eisenhower on the occasion of his illness.

Meanwhile, interest in civic clubs had dissipated in Ely, Gilbert and, for a long time, in Hibbing. Of the federation as a whole, however, a more encouraging report has been made by O. H. Wessman: "The total income has been \$4,070; of this sum, \$363 have been granted to various campaign funds, \$310 to various organizations, and \$550 for Finnish relief. In the earlier phases, the board of directors met six times per year and the working committee once a month. The topic most frequently discussed in these committee meetings was the possibility of getting positions for Finns, a major program since there seemed to be no end of applicants for such positions. It can be stated frankly that through the efforts of this federation several Finns have succeeded in finding important positions in state, county and municipal posts. Numerous letters have been sent to the President of the United States, to legislators, to government officials, urging them to support actions we have considered to be beneficial.

Furthermore, the federation has supported actively progressive candidates for elective positions, and the results prove that the Range area representatives in the state government as well as in the United States Congress form a strong, progressive group of lawmakers."

The Virginia Finnish American Club was born in February 1933, when a group of Finns gathered at the Co-op headquarters to discuss the serious unemployment situation. The first officers elected were Alfred Buckman, chairman; Otto Heikkinen, vice-chairman; Andrew Tiikainen, secretary; Väinö Lindholm, assistant secretary; William Anderson, treasurer. The executive committee also included Ivar Frasa, J. W. Huhtala, V. M. Kaukonen, William Markkula, Väinö Sulin and Charles Tamminen. Membership grew rapidly, reaching over 500 at one point. (In 1954, according to Wessman, membership was circa 300.) The Virginia club quickly became the region's largest and most active civic club. In the 1950s it still had some 18 to 20 different committees, involving at least 150 persons, interested in various aspects of civic, community affairs. At that period, Herman Kortesoja was chairman of the club, O. H. Wessman, secretary; Matt Moilan, treasurer.

Finns in Municipal Posts

Of the many Finns who have served in responsible positions, mention should be made first of Emil Ahola, who was appointed postmaster of Virginia in 1940 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Ahola has been a member of the American Legion, the Virginia Chamber of Commerce, and Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Vic Koski, Ernest Luoma and Charles Penttilä have been in county (St. Louis) positions. In the municipal field, it is impossible to give a complete list, but several have served in the city council, beginning with Conrad Mattson, who was first elected in 1904 and served three terms. After him there have been William Ketola and Fred J. Moilan (Moilanen). The latter has also served as assessor and has been in numerous other posts. Later councillors have included Henry Tenhunen, William Markkula, Wilfred Lofback and Jack Luoto, who was in office for almost 20 years. More recent men include Melvin Mäki and Royal Maryland. In other positions, J. W. Huhtala has been city attorney and John Alexon has served on the hospital board. On the school committee there have been Ivar Frasa, Mathew Matson and, as chairman, Lydia Ahola. Lawyer Gust A. Koski has served as legal advisor to the committee, and Dr. John Räihälä as school physician.

The Laskiainen (Shrovetide) Celebrations: The close contact of the Finns with the school system in Virginia was due in part to the fact that so many of their children did so well in school and went on to higher education. Even in the earliest days the Finns availed themselves of the opportunity presented by the evening schools to learn English and to learn the customs of a new country. In 1914, for example, it was estimated by the *Century* that 500 of the 900 pupils in the evening schools were Finnish, while the *Päivälehti* claimed the number of Finns in attendance to be 680.

The teachers and principals, meanwhile, often heard speak of Finnish customs preserved among the immigrants, and this led in the 1930s to special attention being given to events like the typically Finnish Shrovetide festivities. After a close study by the school authorities, it was decided to include this celebration within the school program. It was first carried out in 1937, with 19 schools participating, and the *Virginia Daily Enterprise* reported it extensively. Exhibitions of Finnish handicrafts were included in the programs, and Finnish Shrovetide foods were served: pea soup, meat-filled tarts, coffee bread and rusks. Sometimes, in American fashion, even a Shrovetide Princess was chosen, perhaps even a Queen of the Ball and her handmaidens.

Finnish Professional Men: Many Finnish Americans, educated in this country, have contributed to the professional life of Virginia. Attorney William Huhtala, for example, was Vice-Consul of Finland and was granted the Order of the Finnish Lion, First Class. Doctors have included John Arnold Malmström, A. A. Pesonen and John Räihälä, while Otto Edward Peterson (Mikkonen) has served the community as a dentist. Räihälä, incidentally, has also been honored by the Finnish government, which granted him the decoration of the Order of the White Rose of Finland. Finnish druggists have included V. Helenius, Arvid Hyväri, and H. A. Södergren, of whom mention has already been made in previous pages in the Minneapolis chapter. Hyväri also served for years as Cook County inspector of weights and measures, and as assessor. In banking there appear the names of J. I. Frasa and J. E. Takkinen, who became the president of an important Virginia bank.

The Cooperative Movement in Virginia: A firm calling itself the Finnish Mercantile Company began operations in Virginia in the year 1900. Its business managers included Charles Ahlstrand, Charles Kangas, William Johnson and Jacob Pauli. In 1909, Pauli bought out all shareholders in the company but then

sold his company that same year to a Virginia workers' company, a Finnish enterprise just then organized. Although it was an incorporated endeavor, the *Päivälehti* claims that it operated from the very beginning as a cooperative enterprise.

Interest in such a cooperative undertaking had begun to gain ground as a consequence of the mining strike two years earlier. About \$3000 in funds had been collected but merely held, waiting for an opportune moment, which came in 1909 and which led to the formation of the Workmen's Trading Company, a name which was retained until 1936, when it was changed to Virginia Cooperative Society. According to Toivo Merisalo, the first meet-



Cooperative Store in Virginia.

ing of members in April 1909 elected the following board of directors: David Jacobson, Abraham Kajanus, Sam Lammi, John Nykänen, William Oja, Emil Ojanpää, John Perälä, Erick Siironen, Oscar Stierna, Henry Tamminen and John Tuominen. The first business managers of this new enterprise were Jacob Pauli and Axel Ohrn and, succeeding them, John G. Määttä. Sales were encouraging from the first, with receipts of more than \$50,000 during the first seven months of operations, representing a profit of 18%.

A slightly less rosy picture is given by Matti Mattson, one of the early settlers, who also served as chairman of the founding meeting, for according to him, "the sales were good, but difficulties immediately became apparent, for at that time goods were sold on credit, and bills were due once a month, but some did not pay. Pauli's firm had been purchased with bills outstanding, and

collecting them proved very difficult. A lack of available cash was soon felt, for invested capital was only \$3,000, and that had been soon spent for operating expenses and purchases. The prospect looked bleak.

"Once, for example, a carload of flour had been ordered, but it could not be unloaded until the bill for \$800 was paid. The store, meanwhile, had run out of flour to meet consumer demands, and an emergency meeting of the board of directors had to be called for that evening. There was but one possible decision: every board member went out to raise ready cash, visiting property owners and boarding houses where young Finnish working men lived, and with \$10 borrowed here, \$20 there, the necessary \$800 was raised that night, the money deposited at the bank the first thing in the morning, the bill paid, and the flour delivered, so that on that day the housewives were able to bake bread as usual. The incident taught us a lesson: it was necessary to sell shares and have more available cash.

"In the beginning the store was located on the main street, but it was soon moved to Mesaba Avenue, where premises were rented from William Kestilä at a considerably lower figure. The business began to prosper, in part perhaps because the new business manager, John Määttälä, had previous business experience. Later the cooperative built its own store across the street, with money loaned at moderate interest rates by the Duluth business house of Stone-Ordean-Wells Company. The building still stands, though it has been remodelled and expanded through the years."

Good years were nevertheless still followed by lean years. In the 1920s, for example, receipts went down because of the depression and because the business had been put on a cash basis. For a time the board of directors weighed the necessity of returning to sales on credit, but that plan was definitely abandoned in the 1930s, which saw another drop in receipts: sales dropped from \$420,000 in 1930 to \$150,000 in 1933. Merisalo described the situation as follows: "The cooperative found itself unnecessarily expanded, with too big an inventory, too much personnel, too small a profit margin, and saddled with an unprofitable branch store." The years 1932 and 1933 brought an annual 4% deficit, and even after that, recovery was painfully slow. The branch store was closed in 1935, and portions of the main building were leased out, until fire destroyed the premises in 1938.⁶

6. *The Story of the Virginia Cooperative Society Through 30 Years of Progress*. Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1939.

A new building was ready for occupancy the following spring, and according to the owners it was "the most beautiful and modern business building in all the Middle West." Although the building cost about \$40,000, a steady increase in business made possible a continuation of the cooperative. Annual receipts, in 1963, reached the figure of \$1,130,000. Long before this, it was estimated that only half of its members were Finns, and even on the board of directors, the original Finnish board of pioneer Finns of 1909 has given way to the younger generation: in 1952 there were six second generation Finns on the board with only three of the older generation still left. The enterprise has been a member of the Cooperative Central Organization since 1937.

Even earlier, however, the Virginia cooperative had become instrumental in the development of a more local grouping — the Range Cooperative Federation, which began as a league of fuel oil company services but expanded to include many other branches. From 1929, the affiliated oil companies did their purchasing of fuels jointly, and in 1933 the dairies began a joint program, with five of them putting in a total of \$700 to purchase a truck, which enabled them to operate at a profit. Nine local firms banded together, production facilities were organized, and the federation incorporated. Success seemed to accompany every step, so considerable expansion was undertaken. To the activities were added automotive sales and service, farm machinery procurement, marketing of farm and lumber products, an insurance agency, and a funeral parlor. Gross receipts rose rapidly, from \$123,779 in 1935 to \$552,890 in 1937, and in the twenty-year period 1935-1954 were more than \$30,000,000. It was not until the mid-1950s that difficulties began to appear: the Cooperative Central arranged direct truck delivery to its member cooperatives, depriving the Federation of a source of income; several dairies had grown so large that this Finnish cooperative could no longer compete with them, leading to the sale of the Finnish enterprise to the Arrowhead Dairy in 1953; automobile sales became unprofitable, so sales and service were separated from the Federation and incorporated separately in 1955. The insurance business was given up when the Mutual Service Insurance Company began to sell policies directly to clients, rather than through the offices of local agents. Only the fuel oil sales, the funeral home and a meat processing plant remained operative within the Federation. However, in 1955 there were 24 local cooperatives with 32 sales outlets still in the Federation. Kendall, in his study of the regional cooperative movement, cited their frequently remarkable

tenacity. If for some reason one store had to close its doors, the Finns promptly started a new one. This has been characteristic of the entire Range Federation activity, which owes much to the able business managers it has employed. Among them Kendall mentions Aaro Ruuska, William Halme-Kangas and Mike Simonson. According to Jokinen, the Virginia Range Federation had four first generation Finns and three second generation Finns on its board of directors when it was established in 1933, while in the 1950s those figures were four and five respectively, plus two non-Finns who had also been added to the board.

Independent Businessmen: A great number of independent Finnish businessmen have naturally appeared in Virginia. The first of them, according to the *Päivälehti*, were John Korpi and S. Oberg. Korpi's store was short-lived, since it was burned out in 1893, while Oberg, who had a bread-and-rusk delivery route, had his home and his storerooms also destroyed in the same fire. Oberg, however, tried again by opening a dry goods store. Almost contemporary with them was Peter Peterson (Huhta) who kept a grocery store in Virginia in 1894-95, after which time he moved to Eveleth.

In a chronological listing, the *Päivälehti* claimed that the next enterprise was a combined furniture, household wares, food and clothing store, Ketola & Company, opened in 1905. John Ketola had come to the United States as a young child, and even as a schoolboy he had worked on the railroad and on city jobs, until at the age of 17 he decided to go to the Dakotas to work on harvesting gangs. There the hours were long and the work hard, and when a rain storm one night tore to shreds the tent of John and his comrade, the two exasperated boys returned to Duluth. And although the mines offered considerable higher wages than could be earned elsewhere, John went to work in business for \$40 a month, to begin a career which was to become outstanding among Finnish American businessmen.

Ketola himself has recalled (in an interview with E. A. Pulli) that he considered he needed \$1000 worth of goods to get started on his own, but that he was able to start out with only \$400 in capital because his employer approved of his bold plans. In 1909 John Ketola took his brothers August and William into partnership, and so Ketola & Company became Ketola Brothers; soon after that one John P. Nelson, who had just arrived on the scene from California, also joined the firm. August remained but briefly in the company, before moving to Utah, but the store

prospered, and in 1910 a 70-foot long brick building, and a few years later an addition to that, were built for the firm. In 1913 the *Päivälehti* reported that the firm "was not only the biggest store in town but one of the biggest of its kind ever undertaken by a Finnish American." The *Minnesotan Uutiset* reported (26 May 1955) that at the time of writing, the business, which had grown into three complete stores, had an annual gross of some one million dollars. There were now 91 employees, and all of John Ketola's sons were employed in the enterprise: Edmund, the oldest, was in charge of the Virginia department store, Lester was in charge of the Virginia furniture store, and Charles was manager of the International Falls branch.

In the hardware line, the first was the Finnish Hardware Store, operated by Matti Löfback and Kalle Pelto, and later came the store of Dahlvick and Haapaniemi. Furniture was sold by Edward Ala and Oscar Anderson and later by Pelto & Koski. Selma Ala was, according to the *Päivälehti*, the first and only woman in Minnesota to carry on a funeral parlor, after her graduation in 1911 from the Barney School of Anatomy.

Jewelry stores include the firm of Savolainen Brothers, mentioned previously in the account of Duluth activities; according to the *Päivälehti*, they maintained an inventory worth some \$35,000 during the World War I period, while their business premises were estimated to be worth some \$30,000. A later enterprise in this field was the store of Kovaniemi and Lahti, which was in business for many years.

In the more basic field of food supplies, many Finns have been represented, among them cattle dealers Matala and Turkka and wholesale grain dealer Herman Lendo. The Northern Farm Produce Company was owned by brothers Charles and Henry Kangas. Coffee was roasted and packaged by John Stone, and William Kestilä and John Latvala-Mattson owned bakeries. Jacob Mattson and Charles Ahlstrand were in the food line, and Arvid Kolehma and Ernest V. Pitkänen owned candy-and-soda stores. Older Finnish building contractors included Otto Ojala, J. E. Okerström, Sam Hill and Oskari Dahlvick.

War Veterans: The Finns of Virginia have naturally participated in the defense of the United States, and the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* of 1945 gives the following list of Finns who already took part in the Spanish-American War: Matt Halberg, J. Idänpää, John Jaakkola, Emil and Frank Johnson, John Krikko, Jack Lakari, William Lake, Aapo Lehto, Matt Mikkola, Herman Poutto and August Wuosimaa.

During World War I, more than 1,500 young men from Virginia served in the armed forces, among them innumerable Finns, of whom Arvid I. Hill, Ola H. Strand and Pedro Stuppa fell in battle. In World War II, which involved hundreds of Virginia's Finnish Americans, Filmer Heikkilä, Herbert Koskela, Larry Esala and Wayne Lehto gave their lives.

— Finally, to conclude this report on Virginia, estimates of the numbers of Finns living there have varied considerably. According to Ilmonen, there were more than 5,000, but at the time of his writing (1926) the total population of Virginia was just over 10,000, and the majority of population was certainly not Finnish. The 1930 Census, incidentally, lists the total population as 11,963, with 12,264 in 1940 and 12,486 in 1950. Although the total population of Virginia has remained relatively unchanged, it is clear that the Finnish element present has been in constant decline, so that, according to Moilanen in 1950, the number of first generation Finns had certainly dropped to below one thousand. Actually, the official Census statistics of 1950 credited Virginia with 830 Finns, and even that figure included a few Swedish-speaking Finns.

Sparta

Just to the east of Virginia, in the same township of Missabe, is a community called Gilbert, which began its development with the opening there of the Genoa Mine. The first ore, slightly more than 17,000 tons, was brought forth from that mine in 1896, but production increased year after year until by 1920 some 8,000,000 tons had been mined and sent out to world markets. Since other mineral deposits were also discovered on the scene, a permanent settlement developed there, and this in turn led to the development of a community, named Sparta, and characterized by an overwhelmingly Finnish population.

Konstant Kykyri mentions that the first permanent residents of Sparta were two Finns, Matti Anderson and Erick Lakson, who moved there from Tower. Picking out land for themselves along the 'main street,' both settled down to become the community's first businessmen. Anderson, for example, ordered a barrel of beer when he ordered building supplies sent in to him, and no sooner was the floor laid for his saloon than he was already selling beer to the thirsty, according to Kykyri in his telling about the early days of Sparta in the *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* for 1955. Soon after this start, Finns began to arrive in droves, and it was

not long before John Uusitalo, Mikko Talus and Jacob Päätaalo came from Tower to start the first Finnish boarding houses. Uusitalo sold his house to John Rahja in 1898, and Rahja in turn later handed it over to Richard Laakso. Talus built his boarding house on the same side of the street as Uusitalo, while Päätaalo was located across the street. These boarding house keepers were followed by the saloon keepers, of whom, however, there were never more than three at a time. A Finnish soft drink plant soon appeared, then a Finnish tailor shop. John Saari sold groceries and gained a leading position in that field, which later also included August Knuutti and Peter Ongalo. Ridanpää & Simi was a local Finnish butcher shop.

The first Finnish organization in Sparta was a temperance society, started in the spring of 1897, in the presence of 70 interested persons. However, interest collapsed to such a point that the society had to be started anew in November of that same year, with 15 members. Even so, the society found expansion difficult, due to the problems some members found in keeping their temperance vows, and due also to a typhus epidemic: the society's bylaws demanded that members take care of sick friends, and in short order more than half of the society's members fell prey to the virus. After another year's hiatus, the society became active again and so much so that a temperance hall was built, the first meeting place of the Finns in Sparta. The hall was available for general use, and so it could serve Sunday mornings for religious services and echo with lectures of



Järven Kukka Temperance Hall

an idealistic socialistic utopia preached on Sunday afternoons, while the society itself held its meetings on Sunday evenings. Once a month there also used to be bazaars, at pay-day time, and plenty of coffee, in an attempt to keep the young men at the temperance hall rather than see them go to the saloons at those times when they had money in their pockets.

This temperance society, more so than most, had a difficult time with its auxiliary activities. The first to be attempted was a speech group, in which all participants had to stand before

their fellow members and speak on a theme of their own choice — and put up with the criticism that the rest were free to make, and which they made without any reservations.

Similarly, while Finnish groups in most communities developed musical activities early in their history, Sparta seemed to mark time. Since there were apparently no persons capable of taking the initiative, Konstant Kykyri wrote to a friend of his who could take over, asking him on what terms he would consent to come to Sparta to start a band. Instead of replying to the letter, Antti Korjonen came in person. Instruments were bought at a bargain price from a band which had come to a dead stop, the temperance society allowed its hall to be used free of charge for rehearsals in turn for future appearances at society functions, and so the band was on its way; within a few months it was ready to play music which could be recognized as such. Once it was proven that this was possible, surely it was just as possible to have a chorus? One August Passo bought a manual, studied it, had Korjonen help him in explaining the difficult portions, and persisted until a chorus had materialized.

According to some reports, a Finnish congregation was active in Sparta before the turn of the century, but it was nothing more than an independent little group meeting whenever Pastor Heikki Sarvela visited Sparta. With a growing Finnish population the activity became more substantial, and M. Havukainen, recently arrived from Finland, served for a time as regular pastor, but internal dissensions within the



Church in Sparta.

various church bodies forced him to leave Sparta. Before the Sparta congregations realized what had happened to them, the diocesan organization under Williamson sent the Spartans a lay

preacher who had just arrived from Finland, one John Rankila. The latter effected the affiliation of the Spartans with the National Church, got a church built, and organized the finances of the congregations, all in the space of two years. The later history of this church is part of the history of the church in Gilbert. Meanwhile, there was also a group of Methodists, begun by M. Lehtonen in 1905, and later a Suomi Synod church to which about 100 persons belonged.

It was in Sparta, also, that the very first chapter of the Kaleva Order in Minnesota was established, in the spring of 1901. Behind this development was John Kenttä, who came to Sparta in late 1900 from Butte, Montana, where he had been a Kaleva Knight. He came to get a job in the Sparta mine, but his real purpose is said to have been to bring the Kaleva organization to Minnesota, and particularly to the Mesabe area. At the same time Jacob Mäki came to nearby Eveleth from Belt, Montana, with the same purpose. It took these men until early in 1901 to find in these two Finnish centers a dozen men who, according to Kykyri, "were willing to lend their names and hand over \$25 each to become members of a fraternal organization about which they knew nothing but about which they had heard frightening reports." However, on 4 February the dozen were on hand — 10 from Sparta and 2 from Eveleth — and prepared to proceed. They were Karl H. Karkkinen, Henry Kors, Konstant Kykyri, Isaac A. Lahti, Hannes Laine, Oscar R. Olson, Matti Pentti, August Perry, John Rahja, Antti Simi, Herman Taittonen and Matti Tomsii-Kokko. Since Eveleth and Sparta lay but four miles apart, it was decided to locate the order in Sparta, where the majority lived. The rites establishing the chapter were not held until six weeks later, at 6 o'clock one morning, since most of the men had to be at their jobs at 7. Immediately after these rites, John Kenttä boarded a train to return to Butte.

New members were added, and activity increased to the point where nearby communities also became interested in the Kaleva Order. However, the Sparta chapter itself never gained more than 50 members, and in 1903 that chapter was transferred to Eveleth. The Spartans continued to go there for Saturday evening meetings, giving some show of determination, since it was possible to get a ride to Eveleth but impossible to get back except on foot. In time the Spartans wearied of this trek, and when a suitable hall was found in Sparta the chapter was moved back to where it had started, and the men of Eveleth were left to start a chapter on their own.

An organized labor movement never managed to gather momentum in Sparta, although Matti Kurikka came on several occasions to discuss his concepts of an ideal society and did gain some supporters. Tanner also came to speak in Sparta, and Martin Hendrickson and Leo Laukki came to talk about Marxist socialism. A workers' society was started in 1906, but since it had but 18 members, it did not make any special impression among the Spartans. It did manage to get started just in time to send a representative, Kasper Luomaaho, to the famous meeting of delegates in Hibbing in August 1906. There were some twenty subscribers to the *Työmies* newspaper in Sparta.

The workers' society held its meetings and program evenings at the Sparta town hall, and it even had its dramatics group, directed by John Lampi. Rehearsals were held at the homes of members of the cast, but the performances were given at the town hall, and guest performances were given in Gilbert and Eveleth. Finally, the society also started a library, available to all Finns without charge. To maintain it and to increase its collection of exclusively Finnish-language books, the library committee used to put on program evenings and sponsor other fund-raising activities.

Sparta owed its birth to the mining industry, which also was to be its demise. When new mines were opened elsewhere in the region, and when Eveleth in particular seemed to flourish and expand, Sparta remained in the shadow. Finally, it was one day discovered that directly below the built-up parts of the town of Sparta there were numerous ore-bearing lodes, and this led to a demand that the town be moved to another spot. Gilbert, being closest, took in the residents of Sparta, some 1,00 persons in all, so that Sparta, which had just received electricity and had laid down water mains, was wiped off the map because a world eager for its mineral wealth had condemned it to die.

Gilbert

Thick forest had once covered the region which was to become Gilbert. Tree stumps were still being uprooted from what were to become streets when businessmen from Sparta began to move into what was to become the center of this new town. Numerous mines round about also served to add to the growth, so that Gilbert's population of 433 in 1908 rose to 1,700 in 1910 and 3,510 in 1920.

Although all the mines from McKinley to Ely Lake can be said to lie in the Gilbert region, the following list of mines includes only those most closely related to the Gilbert story:

Mine:	Opened:	Production by 1956 (in tons):
Corsica	1901	13,447,332
Elba	1898	3,481,872 (exhausted)
Genoa-Sparta	1896	10,073,384
Gilbert	1907	14,224,301
Gilbert Silver	1955	67,750
Hobart	1906	1,079,312 (operations ended)
La Belle	1901	714,209 (operations ended)
Malta	1899	1,417,824 (exhausted)
Mariska	1907	365,961 (operations ended)
Pettit	1902	2,713,818
Schley	1910	3,812,252

The records of the earliest Finns in Gilbert have been preserved in the first instance in S. Ilmonen's *Amerikansuomalaisten Historia*. According to it, the earliest list of Finns in Gilbert is as follows: Isak Alftan from Kankaanpää, Samuel Hendrickson from Sievi, Johan Järvelä and Alex Karvonen from Halsua, Henry Lehto from Saarijärvi, Hemming Mattson from Sievi, Kalle Niemi from Tyrvää, Oscar Olson from Kemi and Herman Vartiainen from Kiuruvesi. Another listing, prepared decades later, adds the following names: Sam Aho, Wäinö Kokko, Isack Lahti, Otto Lindholm, Hans L. Line, John Oja, John Palki and John A. Ruohonen.



Gilbert's Suomi Synod Church.

Since Gilbert experienced its growth at a relatively late date, the Finnish organizations here are also of later origin. The National Church congregation for example, was the one moved there from Sparta and able to dedicate its new church in June 1909, and to be host to the National Church annual convention in 1910. This congregation, which had 34 members in 1949, has been served by pastors J. Rankila, A. Karen, L. N. Wilenius, D. Ruotsalainen, G. A. Aho, E. A. Heino, T. Miettinen and E. Lampela. While Aho served in Gilbert he wrote several religious tracts, and his lecture on unionism (given in Thomson in 1936) was given publication.

A Suomi Synod congregation, also transferred from Sparta, began holding services promptly in Gilbert, although it did not have a church of its own until 1920, when a former schoolhouse was purchased and remodelled gradually into a church, dedicated in 1925. In 1947 this parish had 69 members, but its pastoral duties have always been carried out by clergy living in Eveleth.

The followers of Laestadius had several groups in Gilbert, and before World War I, Mathias Ström was their preacher.

The temperance society was another organization transferring its seat from Sparta to Gilbert. Its existence was to prove so weak that at a later period, in 1935, it had to be completely re-activated.

The Kaleva Order continued its existence, using the hall the temperance society had in Gilbert, and in addition to the Knights, a Ladies' chapter was also on hand. It had been founded in Eveleth in 1905, had been transferred to Sparta in 1908 and then moved, along with everything else, to Gilbert in 1909. The Ladies continued to be active in Gilbert, even after the Knights were transferred to Eveleth in 1922. Membership in 1929 was 42, but since that time there has been a steady decline, although auxiliary groups were present within it: a sewing circle, a Youth Friendship League, a library.

The workers' society also continued to be active in Gilbert, and in 1911 there were 64 subscribers to the *Työmies* in town. The following year the Socialist chapter had 72 members, but after the schism of 1914 the Gilbert group adopted industrial unionism and switched their support to the Duluth *Sosialisti*, which later became the *Industrialisti*. A dramatics group, a chorus, and a gymnastics team were the active auxiliaries of this society. Plays were directed for years by Nestor Vuori and were performed at the workers' own hall. After the Russian revolution, however, when Communist beliefs began to spread even among Finnish Americans, some of the members of the workers' society left to start a communist group which, in this instance, did not manage to live for long.

A Civic Club was quite active in Gilbert in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1941, when Herman Kortesoja was chairman, Matt Jaasko secretary, and Einar Mänty treasurer, the Gilbert club was host for the summer festival of the region's civic clubs. During Finland's Winter War a relief committee was active, under the chairmanship of Nestor Laine.

The *Gilbert Herald* wrote (9 September 1920) that the development of the community from a modest beginning (there were

but 45 buildings in all Gilbert in 1908) to a flourishing town was the result of a tug of war between local officials and the mining companies, eventually won by the community. In this effort the Finns played a significant role through participation in responsible municipal posts. Foremost among them was John Saari, involved in the most varied of local activities before his election to the Minnesota legislature. The business he had started in Sparta, transferred to Gilbert and later known as Campbell and Kroker Company, was one of the most important in town. Another Finn, Nestor Laine (Karjalainen), who served for nine years as alderman, 7 years as inspector of municipal social services, and 12 years as overseer of the police, had begun his business career in Gilbert as a shoemaker in 1909, to which he soon added a shoe store and then expanded that in 1929 to a clothing store for men, women and children. During the years 1923-48 Laine also sold automobiles along with everything else, and his enterprise has been the largest of its kind in town. Konstant Kykyri, too, tried his luck at first in the business field, keeping a boarding house for miners, as he had previously done in Sparta, but he soon devoted himself to politics and subsequently served in many municipal posts, including that of inspector of streets. Another, A. J. Noble (Nopola) served as inspector of highways for the Gilbert area during World War I; M. A. Möykkynen belonged to the municipal council in 1920. Otto Lindholm, businessman, moved the soft drinks plant he had begun in Sparta and operated it in Gilbert up to 1935. Dr. Ilmari Pitkänen was a Finnish doctor in the community in the 1920s. Cooperatives have been present under the names of Hutter Farmers Threshing and Cooperative Association (1919) and International Working Peoples' Cooperative Association (1916).

Among those Finnish American boys from Gilbert who served in World War I, three lost their lives: William Henry Lahti, Svante Lampi, John Oscar Wuori.

Eveleth

The most important center of population and Finnish settlement in Missabe Mountain Township is the main part of Eveleth, which extends across township lines into Fayal and Clinton. From a chronological viewpoint, it falls in behind Sparta and Gilbert, but like them, mining activity brought about its start. The most important local mines have been the following:

Mine:	Opened:	Production by 1956 (in tons):	
Adams-Spruce	1894	78,906,150	
Fayal	1895	36,542,785	(operations ended)
Fayal No. 1	1895	7,435,924	(exhausted)
Fayal No. 4	1897	7,006	
Hull-Nelson	1901	17,162,776	
Jean	1916	116,259	(exhausted)
Oliver Reserve	1943	49,975	
Park Lot No. 1	1902	278,718	(exhausted)
Troy	1903	1,612,284	
Virginia	1910	3,225,988	

Work had hardly begun in the first of these mines than the effects of the 1893 depression began to be felt, and the further extension of mining activity appeared altogether dubious. Up to that time workers had received \$1.75 per day, but it soon became almost impossible to find work. Most of those who had been lured to the scene by the mining firms soon left again, and those who remained were reduced to hunting the forests for their food. In a sense, even the name of this community, which consisted of nothing but a few buildings at the time, derives from the forests surrounding it, for when the new settlement was scheduled to be named Robinson, after one of the partners in the Adams mine, he refused to lend his name to what he thought would remain an unimportant village, and the place was named Eveleth instead, to commemorate one of the foresters who had originally travelled these forests to evaluate its timber wealth.

At the beginning mail was brought in to Eveleth from Virginia by dog cart and sled, but in 1895 the Duluth, Missabe and Northern Railroad was extended to Eveleth, while a highway was also opened through the forest from the Fayal mine toward Virginia. Natural water resources barely sufficed for a village which had grown to a population of almost 200, but that problem was solved by damming up an abandoned mine, the Kingston, which provided enough water for the village up to 1902. The whole village originally grew between the west side of what later became Douglas Avenue and the northern side of Monroe Street, for about a mile and a half from the spot where the prospectors who made the first trial drillings had set their tents. Then, just as in Sparta, it was discovered that rich lodes lay under what had become the village, but unlike Sparta, a drastic move was not necessary, for in the first decade of the present century the town gradually moved a fourth of a mile eastward and 'up the hill.' Even this proved expensive, of course, for \$125,000 was spent just for moving the buildings and, in addition, the owners had to be compensated for the land they were relinquishing. There were at that time about 1,200 persons in Eveleth, but the

area made free for mining led to rapid expansion, for it was here that the Spruce Mine was opened. Eveleth, which became a city in 1902, soon had just as splendid buildings along its main street as stood in Virginia or Hibbing, and the city continued to grow: 7,036 persons in 1910, up to 7,484 in 1930, but then with only 5,872 left in 1950, for as mining operations were reduced, people began to move away.

Eveleth's First Finns: The 1944 *Juhannusjulkaisu* mentions Isak Frisk, Jack Hill, Peter Johnson, Matti Kompsi, John Lapinoja, Frank Mattson, Abel Rauma and Jacob Saari as the first Finns in Eveleth. The list comes from Ilmonen's history, and in it he claims that the first Finns arrived here in 1892, while the *Juhannusjulkaisu* gives the date as 1894. Ilmonen's statement would seem to be supported by a series of articles in the *Päivälehti* in 1915 as well as by official Eveleth records: for example, in the June 1893 petition for Eveleth to be granted authority to organize, there appear the names of Jack Hill, from Isokyrö, and Peter Johnson, who came from Tornio. Also, the name of the second justice appointed in the village in 1894 — John Salvo — sounds vaguely Finnish. Swedish-Finnish names also soon appeared in Eveleth, among them Andrew and Jacob Johnson and Otto Kruse, followed by John Brodin and Matt Erickson.

The Eveleth to which these Finns came was anything but that 'lovely paradise of parks' which the city later has been called. As Liisa Ranta-aho recalled ruefully, it was a place more like a pigsty than the rose garden to which she had imagined she was coming. Along the main street all the buildings were stores. Beginning at one end, there was first a watchmaker's shop, with a small sign poorly lettered, *Kello Seppä*. Then came a drygoods store, labelled *Krosseri Stoori Kalan Maksa Öljyä ja makkaraa myytävänä* — Grocery Store, Cod Liver Oil and Sausages for Sale. Next in line was a bowling alley, with a tobacconist in front. Then came the cooperative store, with the post office, the shoemaker and the bank. There were shop signs: School Books and Horse Collars, Cigars and Hemp Rope, Rooms for Rent — *Suomija puhutaan* — Finnish spoken. Another read, *Vaate Kauppa Miehillä, Naisille ja Lapsille Ynnä Kenkien sopivaisuus Taataan* — Clothing for Men, Women and Children as well as Shoes guaranteed to fit. The center of it all, however, was the saloon, which was in the handsomest building on the street. Painted on its windows and doors were the words *Saluuna, Restaurantti huoneita matkustavaisille ja muille*, saloon, restaurant, rooms for travellers and others. The saloon was furnished with a long bar,

along which the customers lounged, and a number of small tables, at which others played cards.⁷

Developments in Eveleth moved along a questionable line, if the article written by D. Mattson for the *Suomalaisen Raittiuskansan kalenteri* for 1944 is to be believed, for Mattson gave the following account: "The saloons were along the main streets of town. There were 42 of them, each paying the city \$500 in annual fees and \$25 to the state. Hotels and inns also were allowed to serve liquor if they paid the city \$25 per year, and there were 180 such drinking places in town. Every week some six or seven freight car loads of beer were brought to Eveleth, and for holiday periods there were additional shipments. Scores of delivery wagons were kept busy hauling liquor to the saloons. These saloons also served as branch offices of the city government, for there matters were discussed and decided, there election affairs were discussed and the primaries resolved, and usually whatever was said in the saloons was what counted. Besides that, the saloons were involved in gambling and supported prostitution. The feeling was that anyone could do what he pleased, just so long as he paid the tax. The saloons did pay their taxes, and the gambling dens and houses of prostitution paid their fines, which were collected in advance, permitting them to operate without interference up to a given time."

According to Mattson, the city's income at the early period he describes was \$30,000 per year: \$20,000 from the saloonkeepers, \$5,000 in fines from gambling places and \$5,000 in fines from the 'houses.' The Finns of Eveleth, however, played a decisive role in changing these conditions.

The Temperance Societies in Eveleth: In discussing temperance activity in Eveleth, not one but several societies must be mentioned in a complicated history of events. A temperance society was first founded here in July 1895, with 24 Finns gathering to elect as their chairman Nikolai Kari, vice-chairman John Koski, secretary Kalle Hekkala and treasurer Erick Nieminen. A program evening was promptly held at the home of Erkki Lake, who was paid \$1.75 rent on this occasion, and in a meeting in August it was decided to buy land for a building for the new society. Meanwhile, a meeting room continued to be rented for the time being from Erik Virta, for \$4.00 in rent. The building site was bought with a \$10 down payment and \$5.00 per month installment payments. Having also joined the Brotherhood League

7. Interview with Liisa Rantaaho. Archives of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society.

of Temperance Societies as Chapter 90, the hall was built without delay and was ready for use in October. At that time a band was started, and it was allowed free use of the hall, provided the musicians became members of the temperance society. In January 1896 the hall was used, free of charge, by a group of Finns who met to start a congregation, and in February a chorus under the direction of John Haukko began to use the premises. Then a dramatics group was started, as well as a debating group. Then, in the midst of this flurry of activity, dissension developed within the society over the issue of the propriety of dancing. To decide the issue, the society voted with an overwhelming majority not to rent the hall out to anyone but to reserve it exclusively for the society's own purposes, but in the next meeting the very opposite was decided, and in a related question, a majority voted against relinquishing membership in the Brotherhood. Nevertheless, the latter issue remained a burning one, and in the autumn the society did resign from the Brotherhood, but at the same time the society itself seemed to have received a mortal blow.

In July 1897 there was a new founding meeting, at which Erick Nieminen presided, and for which Matti Gonsi acted as secretary, and the result was the beginning of the temperance society afresh, rejoining the Brotherhood, and finding new quarters for the society. It required legal action to settle this issue, but the final result came when the Fayal Mining Company sold the society a plot of land for \$1.00. The temperance society Valon Lähde (Source of Light) was able to dedicate its new hall in December 1905.

Meanwhile, another temperance society, the Urania, was begun in the spring of 1902, and this society promptly became affiliated with the Eastern Finnish Temperance League. Here, too, the younger members wanted to dance, and the society's members condoned it, and all went well as long as the League knew nothing about it. However, the League did hear about it when one member, August Helenius, wrote the League to inform them of it. According to the account printed in the *Päivälehti* (much later, in September 1915) when word of this got back to the Urania, Helenius was thrown out of the building bodily, and the letter of membership was returned to the League, together with some scathing doggerel verses. After that the Urania went on its way independently for about six months, when it came to terms with the League and joined it once more. The Urania built itself a hall on Eveleth's main street, and the Finnish speaking tem-

perance folk of Eveleth were now prepared to join battle for their reform cause.

However, during this same period of time, the Swedish speaking Finns of Eveleth had also started a temperance society of their own, in July 1898, the Runeberg Society, with 11 founding members choosing Ed. Smith as their chairman. This society joined the Finnish Brotherhood as Chapter 119, but as with its Finnish opposite number, difference of opinion cropped up here, too, and all activity came to an end in 1901, when the local secretary reported to the Brotherhood that only 6 members were paying dues and that the treasurer had but \$52.50 in funds. A year later, however, a new start was made, and this one was successful: membership grew to a maximum of 103, and in 1954 it was still 82. This society affiliated itself with the Swedish speaking Runeberg Orden, becoming local chapter 6, and becoming one of the biggest Swedish Finnish societies in Minnesota. The first chairman of this revitalized society was Ed. Jacobson, with Erik Erikson as vice-chairman. It was due particularly to Erikson's efforts that the society got a building of its own, which was the site of the 1905 Swedish speaking temperance movement annual convention.

Religious Activity: The start of organized religious activity in Eveleth seemed to proceed through the same difficulties which had beset the temperance societies. A congregation taking membership in the Suomi Synod was established in January 1896, and services were first held in members' homes, then at the temperance hall. Although the decision to found their congregation was unanimous, the members promptly expressed disagreement on the issue of affiliation, if any. According to Synod records, the congregation remained in the Synod up to May 1896, then continued independently up to February 1897, then joined the Synod again once and for all in June 1897. The Eveleth congregation records, on the other hand, indicate a slightly different story: the congregation which had been founded in January 1896 and had voted by show of hands to join the Synod actually expired in May of the same year. A second congregation was formed two days later, and continued an independent existence until it was terminated in February 1897. After a brief pause, a third congregation was founded in May 1897, and it has remained throughout a member of the Synod. It was this third congregation which received a plot of land for a church from the Fayal Mine on the same terms granted the temperance society, and

the new church, seating 300 persons, was dedicated soon after the turn of the century.

The congregation, which already had 440 members in 1906, was first served by the Reverend J. Bäck, whose pastorate (set up in 1896) included the pulpits of Biwabik, Eveleth, Hibbing, Mt. Iron and, of course, Virginia. He was succeeded by Heikki Sarvela and then by M. Havukainen, who was the first pastor of the church to live in Eveleth. During the period 1902-05, S. W. Renfors and K. Salovaara were pastors, and it was at this period that the congregation joined forces with the temperance society to fight for reform in Eveleth.

Finnish Participation in the Reforms in Eveleth: The struggle to eradicate the immoral conditions in Eveleth began in 1907 with a meeting of interested parties, whose first step was to establish the Eveleth Civic League. This league was joined by the Valon Lähde Temperance Society, the Finnish Swedish Runeberg Orden, the Good Templars, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Finnish and Swedish Lutheran churches, as well as the local Methodist, Baptist and Catholic churches, with two delegates from each forming the executive committee of the league, whose first officials were Finns: F. Mattson, chairman, and John Wargelin, secretary.

It was common knowledge that laws were being broken in Eveleth, but it was difficult to get local citizens to testify against the system, let alone to fight it, so one of the first steps of the League was to engage the services of a lawyer from the outside. The League began its action by first appealing to the saloon keepers, who were invited to a conference, at which they were urged to carry on their business in accordance with the law and common decency. The saloon keepers countered that they should not be harassed, since they were the ones who paid the taxes without which the city could not exist, and they pointed out that if their 'legal' activities were threatened all the money would go to the illegal saloon keepers and that then no taxes would be forthcoming. The League admitted all this, but the fault lay in the system itself, "and it began to appear as if the strings led in ever more instances back to the brewery owners than to the sales outlets," reported Mattson.

As to the houses of ill repute, the League gave them an ultimatum to get out within 6 months. When the operators were about to give in, preparing to close down with the excuse that 'business' had grown poor, unexpected support came to their aid,

for the livelihood of many seemed to depend on their existence: many mothers, including Finnish ones, who helped keep their families by doing washing and ironing, protested to the League, asking what was to become of them if they did not get the business of those girls, who paid well; a drug store owner appeared before the League to state that these girls were his best customers and that he would be bankrupt if they were driven out of town; the livery stable owners protested they would be ruined if they lost their only well-paying clients; and the stream of protests continued from seamstresses, textile shops, even grocers; finally even the city manager came, armed with statistics, to prove that the League was threatening the whole community with bankruptcy. Parallel with all this were such things as the attempted murder of Johan Pakka, a Finnish policeman on the Eveleth force.

The campaign went on, and although it took a little more than a year before there were results, the results gradually did become apparent.

The gambling dens and the houses of ill repute were closed down, the saloons had to obey strict control measures, and morality began to improve. The big city newspapers began to publish articles occasionally about the League's program, and the success of it in Eveleth served as an example for civic leagues in many other communities. Among the ways in



The board of directors of the Minnesota District considering an elders' home at a meeting at the parsonage in Eveleth on Sept. 12, 1929. In front: Mrs. W. Korpela and pastors A. O. Kuusisto, M. E. Merijärvi and H. Sarvela. In back: Frank Mattson, Rev. F. W. Kaskinen and Dr. W. Luttio.

which a reformed Eveleth showed its gratitude was by decorating the streets of the city with flags when the temperance society was host to the annual convention of the Brotherhood in 1936.

After the battle, the Valon Lähde sold its building to the church in 1919, reserving the right to use the building if and when required. The coming of Prohibition, however, brought all activity to a standstill for three years. It was not until 1922 that there were signs of life again, and in the reactivated society

August Kangas was elected chairman; Martha Björn, secretary; and both served by deputies, Gust Aho and Lempi Salmi, respectively. Later, Elizabeth Katuri became chairman. In the new phases of its program there deserve to be mentioned its temperance classes and youth education, work supported in part by the Suomi Synod church, which also introduced temperance teachings into its Sunday school programs.

To return to a chronological account of the Suomi Synod church, it should be mentioned that K. Salovaara was succeeded as pastor by John Wargelin, then P. Keränen, V. Kuusisto, K. H. Mannerkorpi (on a temporary basis), M. E. Merijärvi, E. Tervo and M. R. Ruohoniemi. As the church programs expanded, the need for additional space, in the form of a vestry in particular, became apparent. Plans for building one were prepared, but the World War I years forced postponement. It was then that the temperance society building was offered for sale to them, for it would have had to be disposed of in any case. The building was purchased in 1919, as mentioned above, but this acquisition merely served to accentuate the desire for a larger church, the construction of which began in 1927, to be followed by its dedication in May 1928. For this occasion the Evangelical Lutheran Suomi Synod Church of Eveleth prepared a special publication which included a great deal of the history of the early years of Eveleth.

By the time the new church was being built, a new organization had been started in Eveleth (in 1925), the Finnish Missionary Society, which worked closely with the Evangelical Church. This society was apparently the second of its kind in Minnesota, although there have been several such organizations in other states. In Eveleth it was possible to carry on such a broadened program because religious unity has prevailed for most of the time. No 'competitive' church groups were started, with the exception of the occasional meetings of the Laestadian wing. Membership in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, therefore, has remained consistently high: in 1910 and 1911 it was over 640, and in 1950 it was still approximately 360. Even in the post-World War II years, attendance at the Sunday school has been over 150, and the church choir has had some 60 voices.

The Labor Movement: A Finnish workers' society was started in Eveleth in April 1903, with 21 founding members. The following year it became a chapter of the socialist party, and in 1906 its membership had grown to 69. Close relations were already being maintained with Urania Temperance Society, and the

Työmies, for example, reported on 1 February 1905 that the socialist club and the Urania dramatics group were rehearsing a play together. The socialists began to use the Urania hall more and more for their meetings and program evenings, and in 1907 so many socialists actually joined the Urania Temperance Society that they were in the majority and had become the rulers of the Urania. Legal action followed, and as a result of it the socialists emerged as the owners of the property. Soon, however, the kind of trend which developed in all socialist circles also became apparent in Eveleth, with the industrial unionists rapidly gaining ground, particularly on the eve of World War I. When a big summer festival was held in Eveleth in June 1914, it began with a parade through the city, and spearheading the parade were the American flag and the red banner carried side by side, and the main feature of the festival itself was a fiery oration by Leo Laukki. A month later developments had gone so far that purely socialist speakers were no longer permitted to hold forth at the Urania hall, and the consequence was that socialism died, to be replaced by industrial unionism.

These local Finnish workers' groups which chose to become supporters of industrial unionism and thus left the socialist fold did not have any central organization in Minnesota or elsewhere, either then or later. They operated as independent organizations, ignored the *Työmies* and transferred their support to the *Industrialisti*, which became a kind of unofficial organ for these pro-IWW groups and thus tended to give them an illusion of unity. Actually, in these organizations only a minority were apt to be members of the IWW, but the rest were sympathetic supporters and friends of the kind of activities they pursued. This was certainly true in Eveleth, where the former socialist chapters became the independent Eveleth Workers' Society and as such continued to be active for several decades. (During its most active period, a span of years, Kalle Aalto served as the director of its dramatics group.)

After World War I, a minority of the members of the Eveleth Workers' Society became communists, and in 1945 there were still 16 local subscribers to the *Työmies* and 20 to the *Naisten Viiri*. A few, including at least Arne and Vilho Mäki and Arthur and George Rovainen, were among those who moved to Russia.

Musical Activities: Both the workers' and the temperance societies have been the mainstays of musical activities in Eveleth, but a few additional groups had their start outside the framework of such societies. As small as the Finnish population was in the

mid-1890s, plans for starting a brass band were already being discussed at a meeting at Charles Nieminen's shoemaker's shop in October 1895. A committee was appointed to procure musical instruments and managed to buy them, second hand, in Chicago. Others joined the search for a director and had to go outside Eveleth to contact one Alex Koivunen, who had recently come from Finland and was living in Negaunee, Michigan; he agreed to move to Eveleth. The final problem of rehearsal quarters was easily solved by all the potential musicians joining the temperance society, which then gave them free and unlimited use of the hall. When Koivunen left the band, he was followed briefly by Herman Lindberg, and then permanently by Filemon Jacobson.

However, the Finnish band that most Finns in Eveleth now remember is another one, started in 1906 by Victor Taipale, one of the most widely known Finnish American musicians. Born in Nurmo, Finland, in 1875, Taipale had behind him years of experience in several Finnish army battalion bands, education at the Rauma teachers' seminary and the Viipuri choir and organ school, and private lessons with some of Finland's foremost musicians. Arriving in the United States in 1900, Taipale first worked in Worcester, Massachusetts, doing choral work and band directing with the temperance society there. In 1901 he came to Minnesota, and in Eveleth he was to prove not only his skill but his luck: he managed to recruit fifteen musicians who all had experience behind them in Finnish military bands: Waldemar Eklund, A. Kyllönen and Knut F. Öhman, from the Helsinki Guard Regiment; Lauri Husgafvel from the Uusimaa Battalion; Kalle Kajander from the Turku Battalion; John Paavola and Jacob Pehkonen from the Vaasa Battalion; Matti Huru, Emil Kauppinen, August Miettinen, Ville Penttilä and Kaarlo A. Sarviranta from the Oulu Battalion; John Collander and John Toivola from the Häme Battalion, and Arthur Rehnström from the Viipuri Battalion. Other outstanding musicians in Taipale's band were Kalle Kleimola, Victor Parkkonen, August Potti, Hilding and Peter Sholund and Oscar Yrjölä.

Other early musical activities in Eveleth include a male chorus, Sointu, and a mixed chorus, Sävel. However, apparently older than either of these was the Eveleth Finnish Lauluseura, which, according to the minutes of the Valon Lähde in 1900 was at that time requesting permission of that society to use its name as the official name of the chorus. Permission was granted, and for a long time that chorus did call itself the Valon Lähde Chorus. The Swedish Finnish temperance society was also sponsor of a

band, although the Runeberg Band was considered to have in dependent status because it had its own bylaws and owned its own musical instruments; in 1910, this band had 24 members. Finally, during the strikes of 1907, a special strikers' band was formed, and it took part in the protest marches of the strikers and marched from mine to mine with them.

The Kaleva Order in Eveleth: While Kaleva activity in Eveleth has already been mentioned in passing, in connection with the histories of Virginia and Gilbert, it might be added here that the Otava Chapter held its meetings in the loft over August Berry's hardware store from 1903 until 1908, when steps were taken to start a new chapter, the Sampsa, so that the Otava could move back to Sparta. However, interest in Eveleth began to weaken, and the Sampsa came to an end. In 1922 the Otava began to contact former Sampsa members to try to have them join a group which would represent the Kaleva interests in Eveleth, Virginia and Gilbert. The result was that the Otava Chapter once more moved to Eveleth and there gained so much new blood that in 1935 the chapter had 33 members and in the 1950s was still active. In 1924, the chapter purchased an island in Long Lake for a vacation site and for summer meetings, and it was there that ten years later a completely new phase in Kaleva activity was initiated: a Kaleva youth camp.

The action was indicated by the need for measures to preserve something of the Finnish heritage among the younger generation. The older people had often forgotten that the youth they were bringing up in America were no longer Finnish but typically American, without any marked enthusiasm for organized Finnish American activities, in part because the organizations themselves had not done anything to attract them or in a form where they would comprehend issues involved. Pinpointing this appeal was the basic condition for the continued existence of any Finnish organization.

This problem had been under discussion within the Kaleva chapter of Eveleth for some time, and it was taken up for consideration in joint discussions with all Kaleva delegates from Minnesota in 1932, when a committee was appointed to prepare specific proposals. The committee was made up of Jacob Hill, Heikki Moilanen and Carl W. Tamminen of the Otava Chapter, and Maria Oja, Milma Lappala and Lydia Tuura (Ibbotson) of the Valvotar Ladies. The committee organized the Eveleth summer camp program, for which they succeeded in getting as director, Carl Kleimola, a teacher at the Wakefield, Michigan high school,

who was to be assisted by Carl W. Tamminen of Eveleth. Several prominent Finns of Northern Minnesota consented to address the young people: Consul E. A. Aaltio of Duluth, Dr. John Räihälä, Pastor Milma Lappala, Deputy Sheriff Matthew Mattson, and Heikki Moilanen of the *Päivälehti*, all of Virginia. At this first summer course there were 47 students, aged between 15 and 20, high school students or graduates, plus a few students of junior colleges. The aim was to give this group a background in Finnish



Ladies of Kaleva have their first convention in Eveleth in 1906. In front: Elina Mattola, Vellamo Tupa, Ely; Ida Harso, Kyllikki Tupa, Ironwood, Mich.; Lydia Lescelius, Tuulikki Tupa, Calumet, Mich.; Lotta Hiltunen, Tuulikki Tupa, Calumet, Mich. Center: Ida Luhtala, Tellervo Tupa, Butte, Mont.; second and third unknown; Hilda Häyhä, Red Lodge, Mont.; unknown; Tillie Nelson, Eveleth; Mrs. Hattu-Sihto, Ely; Anna Tikkala-Tuomela, Kyllikki Tupa; fifth and sixth unknown.

history, culture and geography, together with some instruction in the Finnish language and an introduction to the Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*.

Focusing attention on the Finnish language had come at the proper moment. The point had been reached in many families where parents and children were unable to communicate with each other. Once the gap was there it often threatened to widen,

with some of the children ashamed of the Finnish language and refusing to speak it altogether, and going to the extreme of wanting to change their names and refusing to have anything to do with things Finnish: under such circumstances, how long would even vestiges of the language remain alive in America? Yrjö Rauanheimo discussed the problem in the *Canadian Uutiset*, stating his conviction that for the younger generation the Finnish language no longer meant anything more than possibly the use of a few words of endearment they had heard as children, and that the language might, perhaps, be preserved in America for another 50 years to come. Rafael Engelberg replied to this argument, stating his own hope that the language would survive this transitional period in which this generation, in its feeling of superiority, looks down upon its inherited language, to reach

a turning point where the second and third generation, with a better cultural background, once more begins to realize the values of this heritage from their forefathers.⁸

Neither writer was able to foresee that very shortly world history was to change the basis of this issue and that the Finnish-Russian war would make every Finnish American proud to be able to say that he was of Finnish descent. For the result has been, as T. B. Rosenberg wrote in the *Kalevainen* in 1951, that the younger generation now realizes the significance of their heritage and, proud of this heritage, wants to preserve as much of it as possible. In recognition of this development, several Finnish newspapers even started English-language sections in their papers, a development which on the whole proved fruitless. However, many Finnish organizations also started special youth auxiliaries, or introduced English language into their own programs. Jokinen has noted, for example, that in only two of the 26 cooperatives founded by Finns in Minnesota did the board of directors now conduct their meetings exclusively in Finnish. It was within this framework of a changed and changing focus that the Kaleva organization was able to sponsor its successful summer courses over a period of years.

In connection with Eveleth the work of the Kaleva Ladies still remains to be mentioned. It was in Eveleth that the Ladies' Supreme Chapter was founded in 1906 (and they were to meet again in Eveleth in 1930.) A local chapter was started in 1908 with the following founding members: Maria Abramson, Katri Johnson, Maria Keturi, Riika Maijala, Maria Meri, Kustaava Perry, Eriika Päätalo, Fiina and Sofia Rauma, and Jenni Stockman. In its long active career, the chapter's work on behalf of Finnish relief has been outstanding. Finally one unusual feature has been that even in 1956 all the activities were still being conducted in Finnish. Furthermore, third degree members of this order founded the first third degree chapter in all America.

Other Organizations: Of other Finnish organizations in Eveleth the most significant ones have been the Athletic Society Ponnistus, started in 1905, the Civic Club, and the relief organizations. The Civic Club was active from the beginning of the depression in the early 1930s, and in 1937 it was entrusted with arranging the third annual summer festival of the Minnesota Civic Clubs, with Herman Kortesoja as chairman of the committee in charge of

8. Canadian Uutiset. 26 June 1939.

these arrangements, assisted by Jalmar Mattila, secretary, and Emil Rahko, treasurer.

Turning to relief activities, in December 1917 local Finns started their own Red Cross chapter, in which membership rapidly rose to about 50. Experience gained in that effort was put to use decades later in the Finnish war relief programs. Even before the outbreak of the Finnish Winter War, the Eveleth Kaleva members began to raise funds for the Finnish 'Border Relief' program; some \$1,500 was collected, and two weeks before the war began this money was sent via American Red Cross to Helsinki. In December 1939 a local chapter of the Help Finland group was organized, with Jack Hill serving as chairman. The Kaleva Ladies, meanwhile, were active in collecting clothing, and their first shipment went out on December 14. The women of the Finnish church began a similar program, and in January there followed a meeting between the two groups to unite as one committee, with special emphasis now placed on the collection of layettes, the first shipment under this program being directed to Madame Kaisa Kallio, wife of the President of Finland, who thanked the committee warmly. In very short order interest had grown to the point where weekly fund-raising program evenings were sponsored, and it was possible to collect more clothing, and for adults as well, to be shipped to various relief organizations in Finland for distribution. American entry into the war brought this program to a halt, but it was resumed in January 1945, with the following officers: Lydia Ibbotson, chairman; Vera Suortti, vice-chairman; Briitta Huttula, secretary; Susanna Maikkula, treasurer. The city of Eveleth supplied an auditorium free of charge for the many and varied events sponsored, and once more money and clothing were collected. The largest single shipments to Finland were one for \$700 in money, another for 1,032 lbs. of clothing. This program continued officially up to 1949. The Swedish Finnish Runeberg Order participated in this common effort.

The Summer Festivals of the Finns in Northern Minnesota: More significant, perhaps, than the local activity of the Finns of Eveleth has been their role in fostering state-wide, joint midsummer festivals (read: June 24, St. John's Day, the 'midsummer' day in Scandinavia) and in acting as host on several occasions for such festivals.

There are conflicting claims as to who first advanced this idea. In the program brochure of such a festival held in 1913, John Koskela wrote that the proposal had first been made in a meeting of the Otava Chapter Knights of Kaleva and immediately after

that had been mentioned again at a program evening of the Järvenkukka Temperance Society in September 1903. On the other hand, Fabian Mäenpää claims in the 1955 *Juhannusjulkaisu* (the annual midsummer festival program booklets) that he had been present at the meeting which gave birth to these festivals, a meeting which supposedly took place at a program evening of the Ely Temperance Society early in 1904. And in fact a reading of the minutes of a meeting (31 January 1904) of that society indicate that "Matt Porthan proposed for discussion the sponsorship by the society of a huge midsummer festival in which all Finnish organizations would participate. The proposal was unanimously accepted. A committee was appointed, to make contact with all temperance societies in the shore area, and to this committee were named Matt Kero, Matt Porthan, Antti Luhtanen and John Kukko." The minutes of a meeting three weeks later showed that the societies of Soudan, Eveleth, Biwabik and Hibbing, together with their bands and choral groups, had accepted the proposal, and that "the Ely society was to decide where the festival was to be held, and it decided on Eveleth." These quotations from the Ely minutes do indicate that the Ely Temperance Society was active in the fostering of a midsummer festival concept, but the idea was born in Eveleth, for a few months before the action initiated by the Ely group, inquiries had already been sent out from Eveleth, possibly on the basis of the discussions in the Kaleva meeting, to all communities in the Range area. In the 1939 *Juhannusjulkaisu*, a writer who signed himself "V. T." stated that he had participated as Hibbing's representative, that the proposal had come to their attention early in December 1903, and that when a positive response to the proposal became apparent, the first joint meeting to arrange such a festival was held — at a date earlier than that of the first discussion of such an idea in the Ely temperance society meeting. On New Year's Day 1904, during a heavy snowstorm, delegates from various communities met in Eveleth, and that meeting made the decision to proceed on such a basis that all Finns from all and varied organizations and groups would unite together as Finns.

Practical decisions were made at this Eveleth meeting. With Eveleth to be host for the first festival, the executive committee to arrange it was made up of J. E. Isotalo, Frank Matson and C. S. Steckman of the Eveleth Valon Lähde Temperance Society; Isaac Ekorn, Hannes L. Line and John Saari of the Sparta Kaleva; William Vuoti of the Ely Temperance Society and Olavi Laulaja of the Hibbing society. To avoid bickering about any

possible profits that might accrue from the festival, it was decided that any sum over \$500 was to be used to support Finnish-language summer schools in the area, while moneys up to the \$500 figure were to be held as a permanent fund for arranging future festivals. The figure was, as a matter of fact, placed so high that money never did become available for any summer school programs. Contributions to the total of \$156.70 were received from the following societies: the Sparta, Elba, Eveleth, Virginia, Hibbing, Ely and Chisholm temperance societies, the Otava Kaleva chapter and the Sampo Society of Sparta, and with this fund preparations for the festival were completed.

A description of this first 24th of June festival would, perhaps, characterize the more than half century of such festivals which was to follow. The program began early that day at the Eveleth railroad station, where out-of-town visitors were greeted by a reception committee, a guard of honor of 50 ladies in white blouses and blue skirts, standard bearers with flags unfurled, and crowds of townspeople. When the morning train arrived, a band began to play the National Anthem, and P. E. Dowling, representing the city of Eveleth, bade the guests welcome. The combined bands of Chisholm, Ely, Eveleth, Hibbing and Virginia played a hymn; and then Pastor S. W. Renfors offered a prayer, and the combined bands played another hymn.

Immediately after these ceremonies at the station, everybody lined up to parade through the city to the festival grounds, where the program was continued. There, with some 5,000 persons present, Frank Matson gave the welcoming speech, the Hibbing band played, and William Vuoti (the 1953 *Juhannusjulkaisu* says it was William Niemi) gave the opening speech proper. The united male choruses sang, and then John Saari spoke, in English. The Ely band played, and then Rose Anias gave a reading of poems. The Ely mixed chorus sang, and then M. Kokkonen spoke briefly, in Finnish. The Hibbing chorus sang, the Chisholm band played, and then Kaarlo Sorsen gave the main address, to be followed by Hanna Mattson reading the poem written especially to commemorate the occasion. The Eveleth chorus sang, and then Congressman J. A. Bede spoke. The Virginia band played, and then S. R. Mäki read a few poems before the Eveleth band played a march to conclude, at last, this phase of the program.

After a dinner break, the competitive phase of the festival began: the mixed choruses, then the male choruses, sang and were judged and ranked, and then the bands followed suit, while athletic teams on another part of the field competed in track events.

That evening brought the final phase, a festival concert held at Fayal Hall, with the participation of the Chisholm band, the mixed choruses joined into one massive group, the Virginia band, the Eveleth mixed chorus, the Ely band, the Hibbing band, interspersed with trumpet solos by Jacob S. Saari, a brief speech by H. Anias and another brief speech by Judge Vivian Prince.

At the end of the concert it was decided that the Ely Finns would be hosts for the midsummer festival the following year, and from this grew the custom that the last number on the program was the naming of the site for the next year's festival. When some community was suggested and that proposal met with general approval, some of the persons from that community who were present were appointed to take care of the matter. In practice, those persons thus designated usually gathered about them others interested in the project and thus went ahead with the preparations for the following festival, generally of quite elaborate proportions, in the pattern established by the first, Eveleth festival. In fact, Eveleth was host on several subsequent occasions. One, held in 1909, brought a loss, caused by a split apparent already in the Hibbing festival of 1907 and leading to the complete 'pruning' in the Duluth festival of 1908. The concept of these festivals, however, proved strong enough to survive this difficult period. It also survived the 1930s, the depression decade, and in the early 1940s it even experienced an upsurge, so that Eveleth's festival in 1943 still brought out throngs to dedicate themselves to their Finnish ideals at a moment when those ideals were least able to manifest themselves. It was in 1943 that the *Juhannusjulkaisu* appeared completely in English, with the exception of a festival poem in Finnish by Adolf Lundquist, in honor of the 40th anniversary of these festivals. The receipts from that festival were turned over to the American Red Cross, with the hope that the money could be used for aiding the Finns, who had fallen into a difficult military situation, which had necessitated cessation of the activities of the Finnish relief committees in this country.

Ten years later, in 1953, Eveleth was host to the 50th, jubilee celebration of this midsummer festival. At this time the executive committee was made up of Matthew Lahti, chairman, Jacob Hill, vice-chairman, George R. Rasula, secretary, John Tihkuri, assistant secretary, Martin Flom, treasurer, and members-at-large, Mrs. J. Jarvey and Mrs. M. Kivistö. The *Duluth Herald* (2 July 1953) estimated the attendance at this festival to have been about 6,000 persons. The traditional evening concert closing the festival was still devoted largely to Finnish music.

Finnish Business and Cooperative Activity: There have always been a large number of Finns employed in the mines in the Eveleth region. Some worked there all their lives, like Jacob Hill, for example, who was employed for 48 years by the Oliver Mining Company. To serve these numerous Finns, Finnish business enterprises appeared, and among the first once more were the boarding houses, which were profitable ventures, operated by J. Nummi, Emanuel Niemistö, Matti Kantola, Frank Leskinen, Juho Pakka, William Talkkari, J. Kenttä and J. Lammi. In old Eveleth, even before the city moved, there had been a few Finnish saunas where, according to Liisa Ranta-aho's account, one could bathe for 15c. Later, Finnish saunas were operated by John Kantoniemi and J. H. Kotala, followed by Tuomas Majala, whose more up-to-date premises were popular for decades.

In a special Eveleth issue, the *Päivälehti* estimated that Finnish-owned property in Eveleth was considerable, with about 175 Finns owning their own homes, whose combined value was well over \$500,000. The majority of these property owners were miners, but businessmen and artisans also appeared among their ranks. Peter Peterson (Huhta) was among the first, beginning his business career in Eveleth in 1895. In 1904 followed a considerable enterprise when the brothers Jacob and John Saari started a grocery store. Jacob later became a timberman, and both brothers were involved in extensive real estate and farming enterprises. They owned considerable acreage in St. Louis County and in adjoining counties, as well as in Oregon. Indeed, they gradually gave up control of their store, which then became the Damberg Brothers enterprise. At about the same time as the Saari brothers, K. Penttilä and J. Nelson had also begun a grocery store, but when Nelson joined the Ketola & Company during World War I, John Mattson became Penttilä's partner. It was at this time that Ivar Niemi also began his store, which he later gave up to devote himself to wholesaling. Other shopkeepers have included Walter A. Goms, who kept a butcher shop during the 1920s with Walter Newman, and Henry Taipale, who had a dry goods store from 1919 to 1942.

Cooperative activity in Eveleth was born during the World War I period. It began with a temporary board of officers whose first task was to collect capital for the enterprise, and the campaign was brought to the attention of the public in an announcement in the *Päivälehti*, 16 October 1917, inviting interested persons to a meeting to be held at the Urania hall, at which everyone could express his opinions about the projected venture: "It is considered

that \$3,000 is no hard and fixed sum, but that more should be raised to avoid the vexing problem of interest payments." A start was made, but the enterprise never did achieve a sound financial basis, and according to Toivo Merisalo, the Eveleth cooperative was the only such venture which had to terminate its activity under the terms of the Minnesota corporation laws.

To return to individual businessmen, August Piira had a watchmaker's shop early in Eveleth history, but he sold it in 1907 to John Kovaniemi. The latter kept the shop going for about a decade, at which time he opened an automobile sales and service business, to which he added once more, in 1941, a watchmaker's shop and jewelry store. Perry and Piiranen, Herman Stierna and William Wiitamäki, and M. Löfbacka have been hardware store owners. A. Jalkanen and T. Hytönen owned a soft drinks plant, and Victor Suonperä had a paint store. Helander & Hellman, together with John F. Hendrickson, kept a bakery, which had been founded by Leander Pulkkinen. Finnish tailor shops have been the business started by Herman Heino and continued by J. K. Salmi, as well as the shop run by Matti Stuurbecka, mentioned as the first tailor in Eveleth. Gusti Kleimola was a shoemaker active in Eveleth from the 1890s on.

In public life, the Finns did not generally try to begin to play a role until the period of World War I. To be sure, Jacob Saari had been elected mayor in 1910 (and served without interruption to 1918) and later served as president of the Peoples State Bank for four years. Also J. Kovaniemi and P. Peterson, both previously mentioned, served as members of the board of directors of the Eveleth bank.

A reflection of the way the Finns were moving ahead on a broader front becomes clear in the reports of the success their children began to achieve in school. Typical of such success was a report in the local newspapers in April 1927, which the *Päivälehti* used as source to report that "Sam Tuominen is the outstanding pupil graduating from the Eveleth High School. He has been elected valedictorian of his class. Second in the class is Marjorie Perham, who has been selected to make the welcoming address at the graduation exercises.

"The list of honor students in the Junior High School includes the names of several Finnish children. The highest grades of any were received by Ina Kinnunen. Other Finns on the A-list include Beatrice Laituri, Elma Tähti, Elsie Suomi, Laila Kangas, Irja Österlund, Toini Suomi, Neil Niemi, Sylvia Taipale, Margaret Peterson, while the B-list includes Sigrid Salmi, Irene Mäki, Ilma

(Elma) Huttula and Tyyne Olli.” Reports such as this appeared regularly in all Finnish newspapers, highlighting the success the children of immigrants throughout the country were achieving, even while their parents were going through a slower and more painful process of Americanization.

One of their tribulations was reflected in a case brought to court by John E. Sweet of the U.S. Department of Justice, the case of John Svan vs the United States Government, which threatened to prevent any Finns from becoming American citizens on the ground that they were Mongolian and hence ineligible for citizenship. In fact, Svan and 16 of his fellow Finns were denied citizenship until the lower court judgment was reversed by Judge William A. Cant at the U.S. District Court sitting in Duluth on 17 January 1908. With this decision the Finns were able to sigh with relief and were in a position to continue their program of becoming Americans. In the early years this was but a matter of a few formalities, and it was not until later that applicants for citizenship were required to have a knowledge of the forms of American government, to have some idea of geography, etc. To be sure, there were evening schools set up where all these matters were explained, but of what use were these to people who did not know the language of the country? The Finns had to start evening schools of their own and mutual help programs to solve this besetting problem.

There were many factors present to make this process a difficult one. First of all, of course, there were the preconceptions the Finns held of the land to which they were coming: its wealth, its heroes, democracy, freedom, equality, a country where one's past did not matter and where one forged one's own future, in a land of haste, skyscrapers, industrialization. With such notions in mind, a miserable mining community in Minnesota could not but leave them dumbfounded. Disappointment followed disappointment, difficulty followed difficulty, from the strangeness of the language to the problem of finding a job. This led in many instances to a burning homesickness, and the homesickness in turn led to — Americanization. It was necessary to remain in this land to which one had come at least long enough to save enough money to return to the old country, but the very delay involved made it possible for the process of Americanization to set in. At times this began so imperceptibly that the person involved was unaware of it, particularly in its form of getting accustomed to a new daily life in one's own corner of this vast

America. One learned a few words of English, then almost drifted into a library or an evening school. At work a similar situation seemed to prevail, with everyone subject to the same regulations and faced with the same dangers, in a setting where nationality distinctions seemed to disappear; one worked, and in time the

MEMORANDUM.

John Swan was born in Finland and calls himself a Finn. He now petitions the Court to be admitted a citizen of the United States: The granting of this petition is opposed by the Government on the ground that being a Finn he is a Mongolian and not a "white person" within the meaning of Sec. 2169, United States Rev. Stat., which provides that "The provisions of this title shall apply to aliens being free white persons and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

According to ethnologists, the Finns in very remote times were of Mongol origin; the various groupings of the human race into families is arbitrary, and, as respects any particular people, is not permanent but is subject to change and modification through the influence of climate, employment, intermarriage, and other causes. There are indications that central and western Europe was at one time over-run by the Finns; some of their stock remained, but their racial characteristics were entirely lost in their remote descendants, who now are in no danger of being classed as Mongols. The Osmanlis, said to be of Mongol extraction, are now among the purest and best types of the Caucasian race. Changes are constantly going on, and those occurring in the lapse of a few hundred years with any people may be very great.

The chief physical characteristics of the Mongolians are as follows: They are short of stature, with little hair on the body or face; they have yellow-brown skins, black eyes, black hair, short flat noses, and oblique eyes. In actual experience we sometimes, though rarely, see natives of Finland whose eyes are slightly oblique. We sometimes see them with sparse beards and sometimes with flat noses; but Finns with a yellow or brown or yellow-brown skin or with black eyes or black hair would be an unusual sight. They are almost universally of light skin, blue or gray eyes, and light hair. No people of foreign birth applying in this section of the country for the full rights of citizenship are lighter skinned than those born in Finland. In stature they are quite up to the average. Confessedly Finland has often been over-run by the Teutons, and by other branches of the human family who, with their descendants, have remained within her borders and are now called Finns. They are in the main indistinguishable in their physical characteristics from those of purer Finnish blood. Intermarriages have been frequent over a very long period of time. If the Finns were originally Mongols, modifying influences have continued until they are now among the whitest people in Europe. It would, therefore, require a most exhaustive tracing of family history to determine whether any particular individual born in Finland had or had not a remote Mongol ancestry. This, of course, cannot be done, and was not intended. The question is not whether a person had or had not such an ancestry, but whether he is now a "white person" within the meaning of that term as generally understood. This is the practical construction which has been uniformly been placed upon the law, so far as I am advised. Under such law Finns have always been admitted to citizenship, and there is no occasion now to change the construction.

The applicant is without doubt a white person within the true intent and meaning of such law.

The objections, therefore, in my opinion should be overruled, and it will be so ordered.

W.A. Cant, Judge.
Jan. 17, 1908.

Reprint of Duluth District Judge W. A. Cant's statement and decision in the case of John Swan and 16 other Finns in which it was "officially" declared that the Finnish people are not members of the yellow race.

job was so much in one's blood that one developed a certain pride, a degree of admiration for the tools of one's trade, learned a few new customs and patterns, adopted the technical terms of the trade into a bastardized form of Finnish. This gave confidence to speak the language more boldly, to learn a bit more of it, making it possible to establish a closer relationship with one's fellow toilers in this 'live and let live' world. Soon the desire to own a bit of land of one's own might become predominating in one's hopes, and with that a certain dualism was already present in the soul of the Finn: he still felt himself strongly to be a Finn, but his daily life seemed to draw him away gradually from that feeling. Even the Finnish American press, speaking to him in his own language, contributed to this process of Americanization: it told him of American customs and laws even at a time when he was learning his first words of the new language, and brought him impressions of the new society in which he had to accomodate himself. The attitude of the organizations to which he belonged was originally against this Americanization, but even these organizations gradually began to adopt new procedures and began to fit themselves into this new world, so that even they became instruments in this process of Americanization. The church, perhaps, was originally an obstacle to progress, as long as it preserved its old forms, but in order to keep the second generation within its fold it had to choose between the aging older Finnish generation or its very preservation as a Finnish church, so it was forced to compromise as well: the church became a force in the Americanization process when it held two generations within its walls and tried to forge them into one unified group.

With all this, it can still be said that the first generation never became completely Americanized. At least some degree of language difference remained, together with inherited customs — clothing, food, the sauna and Finnish surnames. On the other hand, indicative of the degree of change which could be effected is evident in an article by Oskari Tokoi⁹ describing a family gathering on the occasion of his departure on a trip to Finland. Thirty-eight persons were present, twelve had been unable to attend: the 'family' had grown to fifty persons, but who were these fifty?

"One of my sisters was dead," wrote Tokoi, "but her husband was still living; my other sister was living, but her husband was dead, so that the members of my family that had been born in Finland only two were alive in addition to myself. Each of my

sisters had seven children living, or a total of fourteen, seven boys and seven girls. All of these fourteen understood and spoke Finnish, to a greater or lesser degree, and a couple could also read Finnish. Of the boys, all except one had served in the armed forces of the United States during World War II, several of them overseas, and later one boy of the third generation, a member of the clan through marriage, died on the Korean front. Of these fourteen children of my sisters, eleven were married, but only one of them was married to a person who had been born of Finnish parents, so that through the marriages of the others there had come into the family persons of French, Swiss, German, Italian, Irish, Swedish and English and old American stock. Among them, and among their children, there was but one person who even understood Finnish. Thus a family which forty years ago had been completely Finnish had grown to a group of fifty persons which was no longer Finnish in language, customs, or even national background. If these people had come together for a family occasion, as they did, their meeting resembled a miniature United Nations."

Fayal Township

The discovery of ore in the region south of Eveleth proper led to the incorporation of Fayal Township in 1896. The more significant mines have already been mentioned; let it be said further that the Minnesota Iron Company owned the entire area in which the Fayal settlement gradually grew. The company, then, was in a position to rule what kind of buildings would be built, even what kind of business activities might be carried on there. Actually, all business with the exception of boarding houses was forbidden. As a result, the inhabitants of Fayal had to do their shopping in Eveleth, more than a mile away, behind a curtain of dense forest. For a long time a housing shortage prevailed, but as the company gradually encouraged families to move in, more homes were built. At the time Eveleth was moved another mile farther away, the population of Fayal approached the 1,000 mark. For a long time the roads remained poor, a condition which was not improved until the eve of World War II when a 1,800 foot stretch of highway paved with steel plates was laid down. Had this experimental highway proved successful, fantastic new prospects would have opened up for the steel industry, but climatological and other factors, including expense, ended the experiments here.

Biwabik Township

East of Missabe Mountain Township lies the Township of Biwabik, extending across the entire width of the Messabe ore-bearing ridge. White settlement began here as soon as the ore was discovered, and the name Biwabik is simply the Indian word for iron. The township was organized in 1892, and the petition included the signature of one Finn, Mike Tanner. However, within the area covered by this township there had already appeared three established population centers: the villages of Merritt, McKinley and Biwabik.

The first to be organized was Merritt, in March 1892, at which time the population was already 217, of whom a few were



The Ilmiö Society hall in Biwabik.

Finns. A month prior to the organization, lumbering operations had been started, and the future looked promising. However, Merritt was doomed to die within the year, when McKinley and Biwabik appeared as close neighbors and proved to be more flourishing centers. The final blow was a disastrous forest fire in June 1893, which destroyed all vestiges of man's work in the area. After that, no significant numbers have resided here on any permanent basis.

Mining operations were a significant factor in the birth of McKinley, which was organized in August 1892, with a population

then of 189 persons. Finns were present certainly as early as 1894, either in McKinley or its adjacent farming areas. A greater influx was halted by the cessation of mining activities in the area. However, in speaking of the Finns of this community, it should be mentioned that in the year 1900 they began a temperance society of their own, named Helmi.

The most significant center of the township became Biwabik. Although there were no roads at all to the place in 1890, the earliest explorers in the region used to cross directly north of Biwabik on their way from Mesaba to Mt. Iron. They often paused to rest at Biwabik, for the round-trip between the two points took a minimum of three days. When ore was first discovered at Biwabik itself, a settlement developed there within a few weeks. In short order there were 13 'hotels' available. The demand for building supplies exceeded the available, with more than a hundred builders waiting their turn to be served. "The cost of supplies and services rose fantastically, until a man with a team of horses could earn up to \$15 a day," wrote Frank S. Colvin in the history of St. Louis County. In September 1892 there were already 287 inhabitants, and at that time a local government was established. At the turn of the century the population was already 1,299 and was still growing steadily. This rapid development was due to the presence of rich iron lodes, which the following chart indicates:

Mine:	Opened:	Production by 1956 (in tons):
Ajax	1889	357,624 (exhausted)
Belgrade	1908	2,101,406 (exhausted)
Biwabik	1893	24,484,116 (operations ended)
Bancor	1910	1,274,669 (operations ended)
Canton	1893	8,289,857 (exhausted)
Duluth	1893	2,370,763 (exhausted)
Monica	1909	469,723 (operations ended)
Ruddy	1911	361,163

The first Finns came to Biwabik as soon as the mines were opened. By 1895 there were already so many of them on the scene that they were able to start a church and a temperance society.

The *Raittiuskansan Kalenteri* of 1903 stated that Biwabik's Finnish temperance society, the Ilmiö (Phenomenon), was established in October 1892, with 10 persons active in its founding. This start, however, proved to be abortive, and it was not until two years later that activity was begun on a more permanent basis. After that, with a growth in membership, the society got a hall of its own, with membership continuing to grow, reaching to more than 100 members by the year 1900. Later, when a socialist chapter was started, the temperance society was left in

its shadow, although an effort was made to start up again, under the aegis of a new society, named Uusi Yritys (New Attempt). The Swedish Finns had their own society, a chapter of the Runeberg Orden, which still counted 39 members in 1954.

Finnish religious activity began with the establishment of a congregation in April 1894, affiliated with the Suomi Synod. For a church, they were able to purchase the temperance society hall, which was then remodelled. The first pastor to serve here was Heikki Sarvela, of whom the local inhabitants still recall that no new Finnish arrival lived too far him to visit and no project of the church too difficult for him to complete.

The membership of the Biwabik Suomi Synod church never rose to more than 50 persons, except briefly in the 1920s. In the early years, and after the 1920s, the membership hovered between 20 and 30, and then fell sharply after World War II to drop to 6 in 1953. The factors causing this have been the natural ones of mortality and departures from the community, and also the presence of a relatively strong Finnish Methodist church.

The Finnish workers' society in Biwabik was started in July 1905, with 25 members at the beginning. During the next few years the number was doubled, but it never rose above 70. It was not until 1910 that a hall for the society was obtained, but prior to that a fairly large library had been assembled and a dramatics group had been organized. When the schism came, the society split into a right and left wing: the hall remained in the hands of the left wing supporters of industrial unionism, and the right remained an independent organization, supporting the *Industrialisti*, and was active until the depression of the 1930s caused a gradual, steady decline.

In the field of music, the name of Victor Taipale (who came here from Eveleth) remains significant, for in 1902 he started a school band in Biwabik, the first one in the state.

The Biwabik Coop Mercantile Association was established in 1907 and joined the Cooperative Central in 1928. A modest enterprise on the whole, its sales in 1938 amounted to \$73,000.

During Finland's Winter War, there was a Finnish relief organization in Biwabik, with Mrs. C. Rand as chairman.

Aurora

East of Biwabik, but still within the Mesabi range, lies the Town of White, whose most significant population center is Aurora. In 1900 the entire township had but 7 inhabitants, but a

decade later the figure stood at 1,036. The township itself was organized late, in 1906. Within its area there are the following mines:

Mine:	Opened:	Production by 1936 (in tons):
Fowler	1907	926,196 (exhausted)
Meadow	1910	448,448 (exhausted)
Miller-Mohawk	1905	8,802,149 (operations ended)
Perkins	1909	612,293 (exhausted)
Perkins Annex	1955	113,805 (operations ended)
St. James	1916	4,057,605
Stephens	1903	454,819 (operations ended)
Stephens Reserve	1955	5,801

Ilmonen has stated that the first Finns came here in 1905, but the documents submitted in support for the organization of the township show that Finns must have been on the scene at least two years earlier: in September 1903 there were 174 persons living in the so-called Meadow location, and they gathered at the store run by two Finns, Knuti and Onzala, to hold meeting after the county had authorized them to proceed with organizing a local government. In the elections in December of that year, Finns were elected to local positions: John Hill, trustee; H. Kitto, recorder; Charles R. Hill, treasurer; Charles Gustafson, constable. Many other Finns have subsequently served in local office. Among them was Hugo H. Knuti, who was for a long time village select-



Aurora Workers' Society Hall.

man and simultaneously president of the local bank. The Town of White, of which Aurora is a part, is the second richest town in the iron-ore area of Minnesota. Supervisors of the Town of White have included the following Finns: August Knuti, 1920-24; Matt Rahko, 1924-26; Erkki Kuola, John Paavola, John Halonen and August Wainio. In his time, Rahko also had a hardware store in Aurora and besides that served as an undertaker.

As with so many other communities within this mining region, Aurora also had to move from its original location: it was shifted about a mile farther south, and then was on a railroad line. The population began to grow rapidly, from 1,919 in 1910 to 2,800 in 1920. Many of them were Finns (and included numbers of

Swedish-speaking Finns as well) so that numerous Finnish organizations appeared on the scene.

First of all, there have been several temperance societies in Aurora. Ilmonen states the first of them to have been the Hyökkäys (Attack), which joined the Temperance Brotherhood in 1904. Apparently, however, it was a short-lived organization, for by 1907 the *Työmies* was writing of another society, named the Länsi Toivo. Finally, when Prohibition was repealed, the Aamutähti society was born in 1933. In the *Suomalainen Raittiuskansan Kalenteri* published a decade later, mention is made of still another society, Palon Riento, which had been active in the community.

Parallel with the temperance societies, workers' societies also saw their birth in this typical mining community where the Finns, with the exception of a small number of businessmen,



Aurora Band. Seated: John Aspi, Wallace Korpela, Yrjö Hendrickson, Esa Mononen, Hilma Oja. **Second row,** Matt Rengo, David Niemi, Mary Anderson, John Lahti, Victor Arvinen, Frank Mattila, Matt Niemi, director. **Third row:** August Wainio, Victor Manner, Nestor Laukkonen, Andrew Oja, Isaac Korpela.

earned their living from the mines. The movement got its start in June 1906 at a meeting in which J. Hannula was elected chairman and Matt Lahti secretary, and where plans for a membership drive and a program of activities were also outlined. Series of lectures were scheduled, and speakers from outside were invited, among them J. C. Määttä, Aku Rissanen and Leo Laukki. Membership began to grow. A lending library was established, directed by a committee which collected funds and speedily

assembled a sizeable selection of books. Then a discussion group was started and speaking skills were developed. A sewing circle attracted the women, and their work added conspicuously to the financial standing of the society. When more women still joined the society, it was possible to start a dramatics group. That in turn fostered the demand for a new, large hall, dedicated in 1912. The dramatics group became a permanent one, with the activities as usual directed by the more talented laymen members. These included, first Antti Viitanen, followed for a briefer time by A. Laupiainen. There were guest directors also, including Otto Laine. Performances in nearby communities were given, developing eventually into an organized and successful venture, with as many as six communities often included in the course of a single 'tour.'

A chorus was started in 1910, and although there were periods of inactivity due to a lack of directors, interest was revived when the new hall was taken into use: for years the chorus was



Aurora Gymnastic Society. On floor: J. Elo and Kivelä. Seated: H. Onkalo, Huotari, Kalle Tanner, director, Charles Laakso, John Mattson. Back row: Oscar Möttönen, Herman Korpi, Emil Mattson, John Waltonen, John Lahti.

directed by U. Walo. There was no lack of occasions for the chorus to perform, for it was requested to sing at the society's own functions and received many invitations from neighboring towns during that flourishing period of cultural activity. A brass band was started at the same time as the chorus; it was directed first by Miettinen, previously cited, and then by Matt Niemi, Jal-

mar Laupiainen, Isaac Walma and Antti Viitanen. Later, in the absence of directors, band members took their turn with the baton.

The society counted 66 members in 1910. In 1914, when the split occurred, the industrial unionists were in the majority, and the Aurora society was removed from the socialist party. The property fell into the hands of a new, independent society which rejected the *Työmies* as its organ and took the *Sosialisti* and later the *Industrialisti* as its spokesmen. Activity within this society,

and including all its auxiliary forms, continued unabated through the period of strikes in the mining region, throughout World War I and for more than a decade after that. But then began a slow, steady decline toward the end, as described by Hilma Oja for the MFAHS: "As the number of Finns became smaller, cultural activity in the hall became weaker and weaker. The hall was left in the hands of the few remaining members of the society, but for them the burden became too onerous. For many years activity had gone on under the most difficult of circumstances, with the support of a few interested and eager persons. But everything has its limits, and people are not made of steel even in the mining areas. In 1952 the Aurora Finnish Workers' Society sold its hall to the mining corporation, which remodelled it into apartments. The property was sold for \$12,000, most of which was donated to support the *Industrialisti*."

The athletic group Köntyrä had worked closely with the workers' society. During World War I, when the Aurora community football team played various other teams in the mining region, the victorious local team had several players who belonged to the second generation of Finns, whose fathers had originally become interested in athletics through the Köntyrä. In 1914, according to the *Päivälehti*, that local team had the following Finnish youths: Roy Anderson, William Hill, Albert and Hugo Knuuti, Alex Mattonen, Paul Mattson, Erick Peterson and Hans Saari.

In the religious field, the chief emphasis of the Aurora Finns was the Methodist church. Activity began in 1906, although formal organization did not take place until 1909, with a membership of 42. That same spring Pastor Matti Lehtonen held the first confirmation classes, and five women and one man were received at communion. The following year Matt Pitkänen arrived from Finland to assist Lehtonen, but he soon transferred to Michigan, and Deaconess Alfina Thomson came from Duluth on several occasions to help out in Aurora activities. In 1915 the group was in possession of its own church, which was dedicated in ceremonies at which speakers were P. Burns of Duluth and R. A. Nurmi of Ironwood, as well as pastors Lehtonen, Pennanen, Pitkänen and Talikka from the various mining region communities.

In 1925 there was also established a Congregational church, which was served by Pastor Victor Holopainen from 1927 on. A small group belonging to the Suomi Synod was present also from the 1930s, but membership did not rise above 20; later, in the

1950s, with V. Joensuu in charge, activity became somewhat more significant.

The Aurora Cooperative Association was begun in 1914. At that time its board of directors was made up of 6 Finnish-born members and 3 non-Finns; in 1952 there were 4 Finnish-born members, 3 second-generation Finnish Americans and 2 non-Finns.

During 1916-17 the Aurora municipal treasurer was a Finn, Matti Rahko, who in earlier years had kept a grocery store in Mesaba in partnership with Eli Kangas.

Hoyt Lake

Five miles east of Aurora is the young, modern mining community of Hoyt Lake, site of the Pickand-Mathers taconite mines. The ore is shipped by rail to Taconite Harbor, owned by the same company, and is processed there and shipped via waterways to eastern steel mills. About 3,500 persons are employed by the Hoyt Lake and Taconite Harbor (located in Cook County) enterprises; they comprise some 1200 families, among them second and third generation Finnish families. Also Finns living on farms in the surrounding area work here, to earn more money than their farming their lands would bring them.

Mesaba

The last township in the Messabi range is the one, located east of White, named Mesaba. Soon after 1890 there was already keen prospecting here in addition to forestry operations, and 200 persons were living in the region which received the name of Mesaba Township, organized in 1892. Considerable numbers of Finns have worked at various times in the following mines:

Mine:	Opened:	Production by 1956 (in tons):
Adriatic	1906	1,167,731 (operations ended)
Graham	1913	1,709,371
Knox	1909	522,334 (exhausted)
Mayas	1906	243,198 (operations ended)
Vivian	1913	363,611 (exhausted)

In Mesaba there have been two Finnish societies, a temperance society and a workers' society. The temperance society, the Erämaan Tähti, was reported to have joined the Temperance Brotherhood in 1891, but the *Raittiuslehti* reported in 1894 that the Erämaan Tähti had ceased to exist. The workers' society, also, was not conspicuously successful, but it managed to survive to a later date, to experience the schism which made this society into an IWW group. However, as Finns began to leave Mesaba for

other places, the society soon came to an end. There has been no other organized Finnish activity in Mesaba.

Great Scott Township

West of Nichols Township and Mountain Iron lies Great Scott, named thus because the petitioners requesting formal organization could not agree on a name and heard the commissioner to whom their application was delivered a second time exclaim, "Great Scott! Still thinking of a name?" and then decided that this would have to do.

There is no certainty that there were any Finns among the original settlers — 108 persons in 1900 — but in 1910, when the population was 2,322, many of them were Finns.

All the mines in the township were limited to a relatively small area, where two centers of population developed, Buhl and Kinney.

Buhl

Forestry operations, begun on a moderate scale in 1890s, and developing into major proportions by 1900, were the start of Buhl: timber and mine props were in demand, and it was as lumberjacks that the first Finns came here: "Our people began to arrive in 1896, and soon there were hundreds of them," wrote Ilmonen. Shortly afterwards mining operations were begun by the Sharon Ore Company, whose president, Frank H. Buhl, gave his name to the village organized in 1901. Of the mines, the following deserve mention:

Mine:	Opened:	Production by 1956 (in tons):	
Culver Reserve	1920	120	
Grant	1902	10,891,207	
Iron Chief	1942	440,411	
Sharon	1901	1,564,381	(operations ended)
Wabigon	1920	5,690,713	(operations ended)
Wabigon No. 2	1918	1,825,646	(operations ended)

The change from a community peopled by lumberjacks to a mining town brought external changes and added considerably to the average wealth, to an appearance of a cultural center. In this development the Finns and their organizations played their role.

The community had not always been an exemplary one, and in 1905 the *Työmies* was still worrying that Buhl "had a dozen saloons but not a single church." Under such circumstances it was not surprising that the first Finnish endeavor there was a temperance society, the Rantakorven Kukka. It was at its most

active phase in the period of 1910 to 1920, when its auxiliary activities included a gymnastics group and a chorus, as well as a well-patronized lending library whose books were later donated to the public library. Also, a workers' society was started, with 30 members at the beginning, but by 1912 membership had dropped to 19: the group did not possess quarters of its own, and its assets were negligible. Obviously, there was not much in the way of cultural activity here but, rather, it was concentrated in the program of the temperance society, whose hall also served the Finnish religious beginnings: there was a congregation founded in 1904 and affiliated with the Suomi Synod, with pastoral duties performed by visiting ministers from Eveleth and Hibbing. There was also a Finnish Methodist group, which held its services in the American Methodist Church. It must be stated, however, that religious activity was meager.

Later, there was a Finnish relief committee here, with John Aho serving as chairman. Considering the short period during which this committee was active, in a community with scarcely any organized Finnish life at the time, the \$412.84 that the committee was able to forward to Finland must be considered a relatively good achievement. Still later, Buhl, together with membership from surrounding areas, sponsored a chapter of the MFAHS, with Erland Rustari serving as chairman.

Finnish businessmen in Buhl have included grocers John Niemelä (from 1905), Axel Aho and Emil Pesonen (from 1912); Anton Suomalainen (from 1906) and John Niemi (from 1909) had bakeries, and from 1916 to 1936 Jafet Mäki had a candy store. Charles Harju has had a lumberyard, Charles Hill a filling station, and Emil Penttilä an automotive sales business from 1932 to 1946; John Niemi kept a garage, and Matt Boriin, Matt Holko, David Niemi and John Wiitala have owned taxis. The following Finns have served in elective municipal office: Axel Aho (for 15 years), Emil Penttilä, Axel and William Renlund.

Kinney

As soon as mining operations were begun in Buhl, prospecting in the adjacent areas continued apace, and O. D. Kinney, E. B. Hawkins and G. H. Crosby discovered a major lode directly north of Buhl. Kinney's name was given to the site, where exploitation began briskly in 1902. Operations were originally underground but later developed into open pit mining. Near the mine site grew a community, which became an incorporated village in

1910. At that time there were 367 persons living there, many of them Finns. Later the population increased somewhat, but the Finnish percentage dropped when Finns moved elsewhere to find work after the Kinney mines were closed, in the years immediately after World War I.

Finns engaged in other than mining activities continued to live in Kinney in relatively large numbers. Their role in civic affairs deserves mention, for after William A. Nelson had served as the first selectman, the following Finns have also served in elective office: Victor Nylund, H. Hendrickson, August Johnson, Edward Eskola and Alex Niskanen. Oscar Kangas was a town employee, and local postmasters have been Ina Järvi and J. E. Turppa. Local policemen have included J. Field, O. Hendrickson, A. Muhonen, A. Mäki, Tomi Pukkila and J. Ramunen. Other Finns have made names for themselves also, with Reino and Walter Kangas, Mayme Merilä, Mayme Mäki, Ed. Nelson, Saima Niskanen and J. and V. Tikkanen as teachers, Impi Hill and Suoma Niskanen as nurses, Eino Field as architect, William Field as engineer and inventor, Yrjö Joki as attorney. One Kinney native, John Dick, was appointed to a diplomatic post in Spain.

In various business undertakings, Victor Salmi, Ivar Koski, August Johnson and J. Ramunen all had boarding houses; Heman Niemi, Isack Nelson, William Olson, Wäinö Mäki and Ed. Aho (who came from Chisholm) were grocers; Ivar Koski and Isack Honkanen owned coalyards; Eino Jylli sold fuel oils, and Gust Apuli and A. Tikkanen sold hardware.

A glance at organized Finnish activities in Kinney reveals an exception to the usual picture in that there was never a temperance society here. The first organization took the form of a congregation affiliated with the Suomi Synod. The parish dedicated its own, new church in 1915, and membership remained high up to the 1920s but after that has fluctuated between 20 and 30. Even after World War II its Sunday school still continued to have some 30 pupils in attendance.

If there was no temperance society there was, however, a workers' society, started in 1910 with 24 founding members. Membership grew to about 100 before the subsequent schism, which cut the figure back to about 50. Before this development, however, the society had built itself a rather pretentious hall, financed with loans from members but also requiring a bank mortgage. For a brief period there was flourishing activity, with choral groups, gymnastic teams, and the usual thespians, but in

time the bank was forced to foreclose, and the building became a Catholic church.

In later years Kinney has had other Finnish groups, including a Civic Club organized in 1929, in which August Johnson, Urpo Hill, O. Kangas and Anton Lankanen have served as chairmen. During World War II the Finnish relief organization which came to life was served by Olga Niemi as chairman. The MFAHS chapter has been a joint one with neighboring Chisholm.

Chisholm

Balkan, to the west of Great Scott, was organized at a relatively late date. Local government was established in 1912, but the area did not receive its present boundaries until the following year when Chisholm and portions of Stuntz Township were annexed to it. Population in 1912 mounted to 75, of whom many were Finns, and a strong Scandinavian element has remained, as evident in a mere listing of Finns serving in elective offices: Ed. Ahonen, Matt Boriin, Jacob Hakala, Ed. Heino, H. and S. Heiskanen, Eino Hendrickson, Elmer Jokinen, Richard Kallio, Edwin and Matt Krogerus, Gust Lake, John Luomala, Heino Mäki Jr., John Perry, John Salonen, Wäinö Suomi and Dan Tolonen.

Iron ore had been discovered in the Chisholm area in the 1890s, by E. J. Longyear, whose name is preserved locally with the lake named after him. Chisholm itself is named after Archie M. Chisholm, who once owned the entire area. The majority of the Balkan mines in subsequent years were those located in Chisholm and its immediate surroundings. One of them, the Shenango Mine, is among the deepest (350 feet) in the entire range. The important mines are:

Mine:	Opened:	Production by 1956 (in tons):
Clark	1900	7,030,375
Chisholm	1901	9,020,268 (operations ended)
Croxton-Syme	1902	1,552,486
Glen	1902	13,571,704 (operations ended)
Hartley-Burt	1910	18,054,355
Leonard	1903	14,494,442
Leonard-Burt	1915	6,813,429
Monroe-Tener	1905	24,289,049
Shenango	1904	17,397,619

“When I came to Chisholm in the autumn of the year 1900,” reminisced Edward Ahonen in an interview with E. A. Aaltio in 1950, “there were about 10 buildings here, with a lumberjacks’ camp in the very center of what started to grow into a city. A few boarding houses were just outside, near the mines. More than half the population were Finns, all of them young men who

had but recently arrived from Finland." Eemeli Oikari and Oskar Pohjonen, two young Finns from Karstula, who arrived in April 1902, "walked down a poor dirt road and found a shabby village at the end of it, with 4 or 5 wooden buildings on the principal street (Lake Street) which was still bordered with tree stumps and huge boulders. There were no sidewalks, of course, but here



Manner's boarding house in Chisholm in 1908 after the fire. Mrs. Manner is seated in front with her small son, Mr. Manner stands beside her and to his right in white shirt is O. H. Wessman. Names of other boarders are not known.

and there merely some planks laid down for those on foot.”⁹ Generally, shacks and cabins began to rise up side by side, one after the other, in Ledoux and Hayes. The Grand Hotel had already opened in 1901, there was already one telephone in the community and electricity was on its way. A school, with two teachers, was opened in 1902, and the school population was growing, with

9. Aaltio, E. A. *Minnesotan Sucmalaisia*. p. 11. Vammala, 1933.

families being established and homes being built. In the autumn of 1908, however, came the end of this promising beginning.

On 5 September 1908, a forest fire broke out not far from the city. Seeming to pose no threat at first, high winds and dry undergrowth whipped the fire into an inferno, centered about 4 miles from Chisholm. Smoke began to darken the sky over Chisholm, too, and although the situation was still not considered dangerous, men set out to fight the flames. Then burning branches and live coals were swept along by the high wind, and the danger to Chisholm itself soon became apparent. People ran back and forth, trying to save whatever they could of their property, and incidents recorded included the tragi-comic distress of it: an old woman seen carrying a bird cage as her most valued treasure, even though the bottom of the cage had fallen off and the bird had flown away; a Finnish couple saving their bed after much effort, but letting enough hoarded cash burn with their house to have bought them a dozen such beds. Lake Street was a picture of panic, with everyone trying to escape. Some sought refuge in the brick school house, others in the bank which was considered fireproof — but the next day the bank was but a gutted ruin and its safe so hot to the touch it could not be opened for three days. Only a few homes were saved, and they became centers for relief work as soon as a train with food and supplies arrived from Duluth.

Rebuilding began promptly, however, and by 1910 the population had grown by 25%, to a total of 7,684.

The Chisholm Temperance Society: As evidence that Finns arrived in Chisholm in considerable numbers at the very start of mining operations there, is the fact that the first local Finnish organization, a temperance society, was started in 1901. Although Oscar Pohjonen, who claimed he had been the society's first elected chairman, stated to Aaltio that the society was started in 1904, his memory apparently was faulty, for in 1901 four new societies were listed as joining the Temperance Brotherhood League, and one of them was the "Muisto society in Minnesota"; further, an article in the *Raittiuskalenteri* for 1904 states Muisto's founder to have been K. A. Staudinger of Hancock, Michigan, travelling in Minnesota to foster the temperance movement, and he was definitely in Chisholm on the day of President McKinley's funeral in September 1901, which presumably gave the reason for the name Muisto (Memory) being chosen for the new society; and finally, the 1904 *Raittiuskalenteri*, put to press in the autumn of 1903, included a photograph of the Muisto society's new hall, inaugurated that year.

Auxiliary activities included a gymnastics team, a band and a chorus. Yrjö Salmi and Charles Tolvanen directed the men's athletics, while Tyyne Puntti directed the women. The men's team was far enough advanced to take part in the local Fourth of July festivities in 1905, but when they tried to join the parade down Lake Street, dressed in their track uniforms, the police would not allow them to march "so naked"; they had to run back to put on more clothes, rush back to the parade, then undress again in front of City Hall to put on their gymnastics show to an enthusiastic audience. As for the women, since their participation on a significant scale was rather rare in those early years, the achievement of the Muisto (and subsequently Virkistys) women deserve mention, for they performed in early midsummer festivals with gymnastics and rhythmic exercises and folk dances.

Musical activities were initially under the direction of Helmer Hermanson, and he was succeeded as band director by Nick Miettunen, then Charles Kleimola, Alex Koivunen and Victor Taipale. The first director of the chorus — up to 1908 — was Ivar Ahonen. Later, there was a separate youth chorus, and that, as well as the dramatics group, was under the direction of E. Ahonen.

The history of the first temperance society ended in a 'revolt from within.' As in certain other communities, socialism had begun to spread among some of the members, and in one meeting they simply voted the Muisto property to be transformed into a workers' society and the hall to be renamed the Kansan Koti, the Peoples' Home. However, before turning to a discussion of the workers' society in Chisholm, it must be stated that Muisto was not the only temperance society in town. After the fire there was a certain apparent lack of interest, but in 1910 interest did begin to revive, and in the Virkistys temperance society there was begun a new chorus and a new dramatics group. The first musical director was John G. Hulme. In *Minnesota History* (December 1941) mention is made of the end of Virkistys in that year, together with a statement that it had been previously inactive from 1919 to 1930. Prohibition was quite obviously the cause for the hiatus, but even during that period there had been four nominal members: Mr. and Mrs. Ahonen and Mr. and Mrs. Vasenius.

The Swedish-speaking Finns of Chisholm also had their own temperance society, Blomman, started in 1903, although the 10 men who constituted the society at that time found it difficult to keep on going. Actually, when Jacob Nyström and Herman Johnson served as chairmen, the curious fact was that Finnish was the language used in meetings, with only important points being

translated into Swedish. This society died in 1904, but a new attempt was made the following year, and since that time there has been a local chapter of the Runeberg Orden in Chisholm. There were 14 members at its founding, and membership grew, to a maximum of 49, and never sinking below 9. Even in the 1950s there were still 15 members. The first chairman was Alfred Johnson.

Religious Activity: In their religious aspirations, the Finns of Chisholm have appeared quite individualist, with four different denominations represented. Following the general pattern, the earliest trend was Apostolic-Lutheran, although formal organization did not take place until December 1905, with the names of Frank Hakala, J. Okerstrom, Charles Randa, Andrew Sodervik and Oscar Wiinikka appearing on the official documents. These same persons were the first officers of the church as well, with Okerstrom as president, Randa as secretary, and the rest as board members. The first pastor was David Castren.

Present also was an Evangelical-Lutheran church, begun at the time Heikki Sarvela roved throughout the mining area holding services. Actual organization followed in 1906, when regular services were also begun. The earliest services were held at Winquist's hall, then later at the Swedish Evangelical-Lutheran church as well as at the Methodist church, but in 1908 the congregation lost all its property, even before they had succeeded in getting a church of their own, although membership at that time was already about 150. After the fire, interest at St. Peter's increased, and in 1911 it was decided to join the Suomi Synod. Within the Synod, the Chisholm body was included in the Hibbing district, and Hibbing pastors took charge. Later the Chisholm-Alango-Idington district was set up, involving a smaller geographical area and encouraging a more active program around the church in populous Chisholm: by 1915 membership had climbed to over 300, and in 1930 it was still over 200. (In 1953, membership was 124.) The first definite plans to build a church of their own were made as far back as 1911, but action did not come until over a decade later: a new church was dedicated in 1924, a building which at that time cost more than \$10,000 to erect.

The drive to get this building program completed had brought several auxiliary groups to life. One of them was a sewing circle (in 1950 its chairman was F. Pietilä), while a Bethany Society gathered together younger women for the same purpose, with Alyce Pohjonen as director. A parallel men's organization was under the chairmanship of Wayne Könönen. There was also a

Sunday school, and in 1952, when W. Hakala was its director, it still had 85 pupils. Finally, the church (which later changed its name to the Christian Bethany Church) has had as pastors the following: K. Salovaara, M. Haapala, 1907 on, S. Ilmonen, 1909-10, K. Kuusisto, 1910, M. Kortesmäki, 1911-1919, N. Saastamoinen, 1919-20, F. Y. Joki, 1921-29, J. V. Johanson, 1929-31, V. Ranta, 1931-36, O. A. Koski, 1936-44, O. E. Mäki, 1944-49, A. M. Karjala, 1949-53, and T. Kuusisto.

There has also been a Finnish Methodist church in Chisholm,



**Suomi Synod Church in Chisholm. Dedicated
May 25, 1924.**

founded in 1909 by Pastor Hjalmar Ketonen, then but recently arrived from Finland. Ketonen was simultaneously in charge of the Moose Lake church, until his transfer to New York in 1912. He was succeeded in Chisholm by M. Lehtonen, and after his death, from 1937 by Elin Pitkänen who, at her ordination in 1928, had become the first woman pastor of the church in the United States. From 1949 to 1951 the church was served by Pastor Peter Talikka, who had been invited from Finland. The Methodists have had their own premises, and they have also had auxiliary organizations, a sewing circle, started in 1914, a choir started in 1922, etc.

A Finnish Baptist preacher, John Lindgren, arrived in 1905, and in 1906 the Swedish-Finnish Bethpage Baptist church was founded. The first services were held at the Strom and Lundquist Hall, but in 1914 a church proper was built. In 1927, a new name was adopted: First Baptist Church. With membership increased, a new church was built on the site of the original one in 1953. Nine Swedish-Finnish pastors have served this congregation, together with English-speaking clergy.

Finnish-language Baptist services began in the same church in 1947, when Pastor Toivo Tervonen moved to Chisholm from Ohio and began a home mission program covering the Middle West and Canada. In 1947 Tervonen also began a weekly, half-hour Sunday morning radio program, transmitted originally by a local station but within five years being sent out on a hook-up from Duluth, Ishpeming, Fort Francis-International Falls and Fargo (North Dakota) simultaneously, to reach an audience of tens of thousands of listeners. Finally, in 1954, a Finnish Baptist congregation was established in Chisholm, with Tervonen as its pastor.

Finnish religious activity in Chisholm has also involved the translation into Finnish by Frederick Walter Vasenius of several Adventist religious tracts written by E. G. White.



Chisholm's Independent Choir in 1908. In front: Mrs. J. Korhonen, Helmi Vinquist, Olga Ahonen, Mrs. Jalmar Krook, Alma (last name not remembered), Mrs. Peter Johnson (Riihiho). Second row: Mrs. M. Nikkilä, Mrs. Hauta-aho, Ivar Ahonen, director, Bertha Haveri, Anna Laurila (Rustari), Jennie Johnson. Third row: J. Hendrickson, Oscar Laurila, Kalle Väyrynen, Mrs. J. Hautala (Helenius), Olga Pohjonen, Erland Rustari, Mrs. Matti Boriin, Herman Jokinen, Ed Ahonen, Hanna Viita (Kulju), Selma Salmi (Lassila). Back row: Victor Puumala, Peter Walli, Nick Mäki, Pekka Hepola (Johnson), Kalle Ahonen, Herman Juusela.

The Workers Society: The activities of Finnish workers in Chisholm date from 1904, when 14 persons established a local

socialist chapter which promptly joined the central organization. Within a year there were 39 members, and on the eve of World War I membership had climbed to 78. The society succeeded in taking over the premises of the temperance society, as has already been indicated. When that hall was lost in a fire, a new one was built in 1910 at a cost of about \$20,000. The new hall was able to house all the auxiliary activities typical of the times.

Dramatics played an important role, even in the absence of professional directors, and on one occasion the Chisholm chapter even put on a week-long dramatics workshop under the direction of Niilo Terho. Chisholm was also well-known for its choral groups: a mixed chorus originally conducted by Toivo Anderson and later by Jukka Mäkirinne was closely affiliated with



Chisholm Workers' Society women's gymnastic group in 1908. In front: Kreta Tangen, Minnie Lukkarila, Elsa Frandila. Second row: Hilda Liikala, Tilda Toivola, Annie Kivistö. Back row: Sofia Leskinen (Kyyhkynen), Mari Luomala, Hilma Sandi, John Vilenius, director.

the workers' society, while Ivar and Lillian Ahonen, J. G. Hulme, Saima Pietilä and Lauri Siukonen directed choruses which were more or less independent in status, although they had many members who had previously sung for workers' groups. Hulme was also active as a band leader, as were K. Kleimola, Victor Taipale, Alex Koivunen and Hemming Hautala. The band directed

by Taipale was awarded a prize at the first midsummer festival, and it formed the core from which later developed an American, community band. Hautala, for his part, went on to become chairman of the St. Louis County Rural Band Association.

The subsequent history of the Workers' Society in Chisholm followed the general pattern, with dissension leading to a schism in 1915 and to a subsequent weakening apparent in all its activity — a weakening due not only to political factors but perhaps more to a gradual decrease in the number of Finns, less support for their cultural offerings, the problems of the depression which resulted in the loss of the hall.



Members of Chisholm's Ladies of Kaleva S velett ren Tupa in 1914. In front: Mrs. K. Tolvanen, Mrs. P. Johnson (Riihiah ), Mrs. L. Siukonen, Mrs. Wm. Suhonen. Back row: Mrs. E. Rustari, Mrs. O. Pohjonen, Mrs. E. Ojala, Mrs. Y. M ki, Mrs. M. Lehtonen, Mrs. A. Nikunen, Mrs. J. Johnson, Mrs. P. Heiskanen, Mrs. E. Kangas, Mrs. J. Jussila.

The split within the socialist ranks also led by degrees to the birth of a local communist group, which never gained very much support. However, in 1945 the communist newspaper *Ty mies* was still being delivered to 24 subscribers in Chisholm and the communist women's paper *Naisten Viiri* to 28, a fair indication of the number of local communist sympathizers.

The Kaleva Order: Local Kaleva activity was closely related to that of the surrounding area. For example, Chisholm received

a lodge when the Hibbing chapter was transferred there in 1914, but it lost the lodge again when local membership dropped and the chapter was re-located once more, in Nashwauk, where it has subsequently remained.

The Ladies' activity began along the same lines, although they did establish a chapter directly, in 1914; four years later it had come to a standstill, and when it was subsequently reactivated it was also transferred to Nashwauk, in 1924. Then, in 1929, a new beginning was seen in Chisholm, with 9 women as founding members: Olga Ahonen, Eveliina Erkkilä, Alma Hautala, Maria Hellsten, Olga Hulme, Aino Jääske, Sanna Kaatjala, Hilda Lehto and Fiina Näykki. Before the year was out, membership had climbed to 30, and although there was later some fluctuation, membership averages remained fairly firm. Modest family programs, bazaars, etc., have brought in sufficient income to enable regional meetings to be held and support to be given for youth programs, even though not under local auspices.

Other Organizations: The enthusiasm of Chisholm Finns for organized activities remained apparent in various new organizations started in later decades. The first of these was the Finnish American Educational Association, started in 1920, as the equivalent to the civic clubs which sprang up in other communities. Its officers in 1957 were: Emil Kaatjala, chairman; Andrew Peltola, secretary; Paavo Wäisänen, treasurer.

During the Delaware Tercentenary year, a special committee was set up in Chisholm to solicit funds, but it was a mere prologue to the Finnish relief work which was started locally in November 1939, with the Kaleva Ladies summoning together for this task other local groups, specifically, the two Finnish churches. Their first joint undertaking, in January, was a 'coffee party' to benefit Finland, and that brought into being a women's committee, with Mary Hellsten as chairman, Saima Pietilä as secretary and Taimi Lahti as treasurer. Two weeks later the local men organized, too, and their committee was headed by F. Talus as chairman, Ed. Ahonen as secretary and O. Pohjonen as treasurer. An appeal was also directed toward American circles, and two more committees were born, one of them (according to Halonen) with the Mayor of Chisholm, Ed Wheeler as chairman and the other with C. R. Raattama. Their fund raising activities were directed in the first instance to sponsoring a benefit concert. The Finns, meanwhile, tried to get everyone to join the cause by holding a mass meeting in April, and at that meeting an executive committee was appointed: Oscar Näykki, chairman; Matt Jääskö,

vice-chairman; Ed. Ahonen, secretary; Oscar Pohjonen, treasurer. The organization thus created continued its relief program over a period of years, and in addition to the Finnish groups mentioned above, it also embraced the workers' society, the Finnish American Educational Association and the Cooperative Society. When the first annual meeting was held in February 1941, results showed \$2,260 in money and over one ton of clothing having been sent to Finland. At this meeting, a new chairman, Gust Poutiainen, and a new vice-chairman, John Rintala, assumed office. That November, however, war conditions forced a halt to the program, although the organization as such continued its existence, now with Paavo Wäisänen as treasurer.

When the Finnish war ended, Chisholm resumed relief activities, and at the March 1945 meeting several new officers were elected: Matti Jääskä, chairman; J. G. Hulme, vice-chairman; Hilja Wäisänen, treasurer. At the same time, a publicity committee was also appointed: Hilja Wäisänen for the *Päivälehti*, Ida Nisula for the *Minnesota Uutiset*, Matt Lampi for the *Industrialisti*, Maria Markkula for the *Osuustoimintalehti*, and H. Kujanpää for the *Työmies*. Somewhat later more women were placed in leading positions, with Hilja Wäisänen elected chairman, Aune Puukila, secretary, and Ellen Lehtonen, treasurer. John Merilä was elected vice-chairman at the same time. Parallel with this organization, the women kept alive a knitting group also, with Hilja Wäisänen as chairman, Aune Puukila as secretary, and Maria Markkula as treasurer. Relief activities, however, gradually lessened, and in October 1948 there came a unanimous decision to stop altogether, "not because our love for Finland has died, but because it is believed that a better day has dawned there," wrote Hilja Wäisänen, describing the work performed: "Hundreds, even thousands, participated to do Chisholm's share, which was modest beside that of many other communities. But what we did, we did with our hearts."

The end of the relief program saw a start made toward organizing a local chapter of the MFAHS. The program and aims of the society were outlined to a Chisholm audience in January 1949 by Matti Erkkilä, and in February a local chapter, with 22 members, was established, under the chairmanship of John Gabriel Hulme. The officers in 1955 were Erland Rustari, chairman, Jacob Hagg, vice-chairman, Aune Puukila, secretary, and Anna Eskel, treasurer. One aspect of the local program was described by the *Chisholm Tribune-Herald* in April 1956, reporting the

decision of the chapter to preserve a Finnish sauna at the Chisholm mining museum.

Of historical interest locally is the fact that Chisholm was first host to a midsummer festival of the Finns of Northern Minnesota in 1912. At that time, however, political feelings among the Finns had already risen to such a pitch that the socialists held a festival of their own that same day, also in Chisholm, but attendance at both festivals was good. Twenty years later Chisholm was again host for the midsummer festival, and in 1951 for the third time, at a period when there were still 347 Finnish-born persons residing in Chisholm, together with a large number of their descendents.

Finnish Business and Professional Men: The earliest Finnish businessmen in Chisholm were grocers. The first of them was Helmer Hendrickson (1901-06), followed by Edward Ahonen (1905-18) and Hjalmar Hermanson (1905). Isack Aho and Andrew Nisula went into business in 1906, and Andrew Leskinen in 1908. Still later came William Jussila, Arthur Latick, William Lukkarila, and Yrjö Vinqvist. Of these, Ahonen expanded his store to include a meat department, a field in which Matt Latick had been first and followed closely by Alex Koivunen (both in 1902.) Not much later, Ahonen expanded still further, to include a bakery, although there were several other Finnish bakers on the scene, including Peter Wall, started in 1906, Kusti Poutiainen, 1906-42, John Hendrickson, from 1907, Sam Luoma, P. Wäyrynen, Charles Paavola and Joseph Luoto. In 1917 Ahonen sold his bakery to Poutiainen. W. Elo opened a candy store in 1901; he sold it in 1903 to Henry Kuusela, who somewhat later sold it to Olga Heiskari. In 1905, Lauri Westerinen opened a store which he sold to Victor Taipale in 1914. Tyyne Kananen opened a store in 1909. Soft drinks were represented by Nick Miettunen, 1906, Alex Karvonen, 1907, Ed. Ahonen, 1909, and Matt Jasko and Emil Johnson, also in 1909. The first Finnish boarding house was opened in 1901 by Matt Boriin, and after him came many more, in the following order: Lizzie Korpi, Peter Heiskanen, K. Lake, J. Johnson, Charles Manner and A. Nisula, while Arvid and Emil Lahti had a hotel. Saloonkeepers were Isac Aho, John Robertson and John Turja. Ade Hepola and A. Hulme sold feed and grains. The local cooperative, the Workers and Farmers Cooperative Association, was established in 1927, and that same year it joined the Cooperative Central.

The business activities of Chisholm Finns were extremely varied. Ade and Peter Hepola kept a hardware store which they

had purchased in 1906 from E. Madison, who had bought the business a year earlier from a Finn named Järvinen, and others in this same line were Arvid Roine, who had bought out Simi and Boriin in 1914, and John Jussila, who had bought out Steve Stonick in 1938. When automobiles began to appear, the Finns began to sell them: Matt Mäki, H. Ovaska, J. Pohjola and Oscar Pohjonen. Before this there had already been Finnish livery stables on the scene — John Rahja and John Johnson started in 1902, Matt Boriin in 1908 — and later they had automobiles for hire. Oscar Pohjonen also had an insurance agency, as did M. B. Ranta. Jewelry stores were owned by H. Metsälä (opened in 1904), H. Lindström (in 1910) and John Hulme (1920). Hulme also held the American patent rights for a Finnish sauna heating unit. Alex Koivunen and John Turja owned movie theaters. P. Huttunen opened a photo studio in 1904, and Erick Anttila did the same in 1909, selling out later to Lauri Siukonen and E. Matara, a partnership in which Siukonen eventually took over sole ownership. Ernest Kolari was a radio technician and opened a shop of his own. Hemming Hautala owned a music store. Alex Hilli and John Jussila operated public saunas. John Kalin (from 1904) was a shoemaker, and he was followed by John Vinqvist, A. Ylinen, William Jacobson and Jalo Oikari. At a later period, Ylinen and Jacobson had a shoe store together. Tailors included Joseph Koi-visto (from 1904) and John Puuskanen, while Andrew Nisula, Matt Turtinen and Clarence Rudolph Raattama owned clothing stores.

Raattama, incidentally, held important positions in many civic organizations in Chisholm and elsewhere. A graduate of Carlton College, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, he was the first president of the Chisholm Chamber of Commerce, president of the Kiwanis Club, lieutenant-governor of the Minnesota Iron Range Kiwanis League, chairman of the Chisholm chapter of the Red Cross, chairman of the School Committee and vice-president of Minnesota school committees. He was also Worshipful Master of the Masons in Chisholm, and president of a Masonic organization of the military in Chicago during the war. He served in World War II with the rank of major, and has been Commander of the Chisholm Post of the American Legion. Another Chisholm Finn who became a major, in the Air Corps, was Edwin Ala-Hiro, who died in air battle over Germany.

The offspring of some Chisholm Finns have gone on to make their mark elsewhere. The five children of Kusti and Hilma Poutiainen, for example, were all born in Finland but were brought to this country and to Chisholm as children: Wäinö

became auditor for a big firm in Texas; Ero, a lieutenant- commander in the U. S. Navy; Arvid, a teacher; Paavo, the owner of a factory in Florida; daughter Miriam, a nurse in Washington, D. C.; daughter Anna Liiza a Federal Government employee. Another Chisholm girl, Miriam A. Wäisänen, received her B.S. at Iowa State College and went on to study at the Chicago Art Institute; she became a District Manager for the Herman Miller Furniture Company of Grand Rapids.

Other Finns who have held positions in civic posts include Edward Ahonen, Matt Fransi, Tobias Antinpoika Piispa, and Frank and Mike Talus. Frank Talus, incidentally, was also an attorney, as were William Rahja and Esko Ranta. Frederick Walter Vasenius served as doctor in Chisholm from 1921 on, and other Finnish doctors have included Leo Nash (Näykki), T. Pekonen and Ethel and Lempi Erickson. The list of Chisholm Finns who made teaching their career is amazingly long: Toini Aho (Lahti), Arnold, Leo, Lillian and Veikko Ahonen, Eleanore and Pearl Bay, Lillian Bushman, Elroy and Martha Frank, Katherine Hagg, Helen Hakala, Elsie Hautala, Viena Heino, Esther Heiskanen, Saima and Wayne Hepola, Laino, Leo and Sulo Herrala, Signe Histio, Miriam Jaasko, Aune, Gertrude and Irma Jacobson, Martha Junttila, Bertha Kaatjala, Olga Lahti (Hulme), Signa Larson (Gunderson), Mayme Lassila, Lillian Lehtonen, Hilma Luoto, Violet Mäki, Orvo Markkula, Ann Sahlman, Mayme Näykki, Jenni Ojala, Mae Ruth Pietilä, Ruth Piispala, Ruth Pohjonen, Arvid Poutiainen, Helen and Hilma Rahja, Roy Ranta, Elma Ruohomäki, Helen and Otto Talus, Frederick and Jennie Wall, Arvo, Frans and Viljo Vaurio, Ina Westman, Esther Vinqvist, Florence Wälimaa and Alli Ylinen.

The list of Chisholm Finns who have earned Ph. D. degrees in liberal arts includes Einar Klink, Eugene Lampi and J. Syrjämäki, while M.A. degrees have been granted to Lillian Ahonen, Roy Ranta and Ilma Ruohomäki. Engineers include Mauri Erkkilä, Arnold Eskel, Edwin Salmi and Edward Vaurio.

At one time there was in Chisholm a so-called 'Amerikan Suomalaisen Lasten ja Nuorisin Kirjallisuuden Kustannusliike' (Finnish American Children's and Young People's Publishing Company) which published among other works, in Finnish, several edited and written by Pastor M. Lehtonen, including a primer, a Sunday school hymnal, Finnish readers, etc.

Finally, it should be mentioned that one Chisholm Finn, Justiina Hirstiö, celebrated her 100th birthday in 1956 and

received on that day a telegram from President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Hibbing

The Town of Stuntz, which comprises five and a half townships, including also that area which is the Village of Hibbing, lies between Balkan and the western edge of the county. It did not receive local government until 1894, but its name goes back to the surveyor who worked in this region in the 1850s. The beginning of those developments which made the Town of Stuntz one of the most important in St. Louis County and which made one of its villages, that of Hibbing, the richest village in the world, go back to the period of the 1880s and early 1890s when ore was discovered. Hibbing, in fact, was organized in 1893, a year earlier than the Town of Stuntz itself.

The forest wealth of St. Louis County had been the original attraction in Northern Minnesota. A law of 1854, modified in 1889, made it possible for white persons to buy these lands at a minimum of \$1.25 per acre, and agreements were frequently reached between interested prospective buyers to get the areas they wanted at that minimum, without going through the formalities of auctions and bidding for the land. It was a good investment if held until forestry operations spread into the area, for then the land could be sold for \$50 per acre. After the timber was cut the land could once more be had for practically nothing, for the lumbermen were not interested in possible mineral riches. Indeed, there is the story of a land auction held in Duluth in 1882, where a young man bid in a large tract of forest at a low price for his employer, and who made his personal investment in the form of a nominal \$20 to his employer in return for any mineral wealth which might be discovered on the land in question. Later, 70,000,000 tons of iron ore were indeed located on that property. In another instance, A. W. Wright and C. H. Davis purchased a 6,000 acre forest tract in one of the earliest auctions and built a small railroad from Swan River to their land, where they began forestry operations. Later they offered the Weyerhaeuser Company that land plus its standing timber for \$1,500,000, but the company decided to buy the timber for \$1,300,000 and to leave the ownership of the land with Wright and Davis. Once the timber was cut, the partners offered their land for sale at \$3 per acre, but there were no takers. A few years later two mines, the Mahoning and then the Stevenson, were opened on their land,

which they were then able to sell in 1899, together with their railroad, to J. Hill for \$4,000,000.

Apparently the first time that anyone became aware of this buried wealth occurred many years before the birth of Hibbing. An article in the *St. Paul Dispatch* (20 May 1918) tells of the incident, when a lumber baron, John Day by name, was camping in what was to him unfamiliar territory. Trying to find his bearings, Day took out his compass, which suddenly seemed to go mad, with the needle pointing in every direction. Day guessed the reason, but he was a lumberman, and of what use were these buried treasures to him? surely they would have no significance in his lifetime, located as they were in this distant wilderness? He and his men went to sleep — at the place where later the Mahoning open pit mine was started.

Increasing forestry operations brought a growth in population, and at the place that was later to become Hibbing there was set up a big camping area, a tent city. Actual prospecting in the immediate area was begun in 1888-1890 by Frank Hibbing, but he concentrated on a stretch of land too far to the east, bypassing the lode. Before him, LeDuc had found isolated outcroppings of ore, but he had concentrated on land too far to the west. Many other early prospectors had failed for one reason or another. Then, in 1891-92, Frank Hibbing's luck changed, and he found what he was searching for, and after some hesitation, named the place after himself.

As soon as trial borings were underway and several mines getting ready for production, there was a real influx to Hibbing, in spite of the difficulties involved in getting there. To assure the flow of material and food supplies, for example, there was a round-the-clock traffic of horse wagons between the Mesabi railroad station and Hibbing, over a primitive road. Indeed, the road was not finished until 1902, although the railroad itself had been extended to the mines by the end of 1893. The first post office, for example, was a big tent on Pine Street, and all the mail was brought in by horse from Mt. Iron, which also had a railroad. With more people moving in, transportation gradually improved, and Hibbing even served as the birthplace of the Greyhound Bus Company, which has grown to a nationwide network.

The summer of 1893 saw the beginning of organized local government. The population was already 326, and a few of them were Finns, the first of whom, according to Ilmonen, arrived that year, while other sources say 1892. Among the names of early arrivals appear those of John and Maria Sallila and Kalle Laine,

but they were preceded by Victor Lauhala, John Beck and Matti Boriin, with the first Finnish woman on the scene being Sofia Braski. Jacob Mukari is said to have arrived in 1894, and the first Swedish Finns are said to have been Herman Aura and John Munter.

It is impossible to describe individually each Hibbing mine where Finns have worked. The list which follows, however, lists those in which the Finns played important roles:

Mine:	Opened:	Production by 1956 (in tons):
Agnew	1902	6,961,123
Agnew No. 2		1,450,511
Albany	1903	14,726,139
Burt	1895	16,118,075 (exhausted)
Cyprus	1903	1,962,577
Day	1893	8,473,119
Hull-Rust (Hull)	1896	110,617,044
Hull-Rust (Rust)	1896	85,006,682
Laura	1901	4,482,183 (exhausted)
Lamberton	1915	1,467,253
Langdon & Warren	1916	93,929
Leetonia	1902	8,626,842 (operations ended)
Longyear	1902	8,112,418
Mahoning	1893	101,569,726
Mahoning Group 3		1,123,879
Mahoning Group 4		9,800,964
Mahoning Group 6		101,602
Morris	1905	45,139,765
Morton	1912	1,431,151
Nassau	1907	71,563 (operations ended)
Penobscot	1897	18,837,380
Pillsbury	1898	7,434,214
Scranton	1904	22,563,380
Sellers	1895	89,584,218
South Agnew	1920	7,635,136
South Longyear		3,136,634
South Rust		8,249,083
So. Uno (GN)	1911	1,720,824 (exhausted)
So. Uno (NP)	1911	3,384,331 (exhausted)
Stevenson (OP & UG)	1900	15,407,212
Stevenson (OP)		1,317,118 (exhausted)
Susquehanna	1906	28,953,011
Sweeney	1908	1,414,707 (operations ended)
Utica	1902	7,250,989 (operations ended)
Warren	1917	2,766,148
Webb	1905	16,538,260

Probably few Hibbing Finns starting off to their daily shift in the mines stopped to consider the national importance of the mines in which they labored or the ultimate uses to which the ore they dug out was put. They were aware, however, that there was so much ore under Hibbing that there was work enough, if not for a century, at least for their lifetime. The evocative paragraph which appeared in the special Hibbing issue of the *Päivälehti* (25 August 1915) indicated to the rest of the Finns of Minnesota the role of their brethren in Hibbing: "Are you one



Workers in Hibbing's underground mine in 1914. Most of them are Finns.

of those unfortunate ones who gaze longingly to the west, the north, or the south, to whom distance lends charms and who believe their opportunities for advancement lie somewhere far away, waiting to be seized? If you are, you need someone to open your eyes. You need a dose of Hibbing. Rid yourself of that hypnotic spell which prevents you from seeing the incalculable possibilities of growth and success which can be found here at home. Take a train and come to the Iron Range. Come to its capital, to Hibbing, to acquaint yourself with the gigantic achievements of your fellow Finns and to get a clear conception of the conditions here, at your very doorstep, in your very state."

And more Finns did come to Hibbing, not to visit but to make it their destiny. As was customary, the men came first, and then the families followed, and large families were frequently raised. About the year 1900, Mike Hukka and his wife, with their two children, arrived from Massachusetts; in Hibbing they were to have fourteen more children — and in 1957 thirteen of those children were still alive. In 1910 there were approximately 4,500 foreign-born residents in Hibbing, as well as about 2,000 of their American-born children. A decade later there were about a thousand more foreign-born, and of those 1,382 were Finns. In 1930 the number of foreign-born Finns was 926, in 1940 the figure was 732, and in 1950 it was 589. It is possible that there were intervals when the number of the Finns, including the foreign-born and their American-born children, climbed to over 4,000, but precise statistics are of secondary importance. The main point is what they achieved, what their lives were like after they had taken "a dose of Hibbing."

Indeed, the very town itself has been affected by its wealth, for when Frank Hibbing made his discovery in 1893 even he was unaware that this 'richest village in the world' was being built directly above what was the richest ore field in the world. This became apparent later, and with mining operations continuing to expand, the whole village had to be re-located. The move was begun in 1918, and all the buildings, including three and four-story structures, wood and brick alike, were moved a mile to the south, on land which had been the farms of Finns, of Lizzie Koski and Mrs. Hill. In the first stage, 205 buildings were re-located, at a cost of \$16,000,000, with the money advanced by the mining corporation on low interest rate loans. The second half of the move was made in 1922, when all the rest of the buildings were taken to the new site. A separate agreement had to be made with homeowners, who banded themselves to-

gether as the North Hibbing Civic Improvement Club for purposes of negotiation, begun in 1919, with the corporation. Further negotiations, in the 1950s, settled the problems of community property, the schools, library, courthouse, electric lines, gas mains, sidewalks, streets. All in all, it took 38 years to transplant Hibbing to where it now stands.

Religious Activity: A start in religious life in Hibbing was made as soon as the first Finns arrived, for Pastor Heikki Sarvela began to visit Hibbing once a month to hold services. The formal organization of the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church took place in June 1896. Sarvela was followed by a long list of pastors: J. Bäck, M. Havukainen, E. W. Renfors, K. Salovaara, M. Haapala (who was the first to reside in Hibbing, his predecessors having all lived in Eveleth), S. Ilmonen, K. Kuusisto, M. Kortesmäki, M. E. Merijärvi, N. Saastamoinen, F. N. Joki, J. V. Johanson, V. Ranta, O. A. Koski, O. E. Mäki, A. M. Karjala and M. N. Joensuu. The first chairman of the church council was Kalle Lindquist. This was an independent church, and it was not until 1924 that the issue came up, for the first and only time, of joining the Suomi Synod; in the vote on this issue, it was defeated 44-4. The first church building (later sold to the mining corporation) was dedicated in 1901; a new building became necessary during World War I years, when the move of Hibbing began; a third building was built in 1940. A considerable share of the cost of these buildings and the parsonage have been borne by the auxiliary groups, in particular the Sewing Circle started in 1897, which in turn was augmented in 1929 by Circle II for the younger women (under the chairmanship of Anna Back) carrying on its programs in English language. Another English-speaking auxiliary was the Phoebe Guild, started in 1940, with Mrs. J. Aho elected as chairman. Additional groups have included the Luther League, Junior League, Brotherhood, plus youth, adult and male choirs. A Sunday school was started in 1904, with G. Järvi, L. Kero, H. Kiminki, A. and J. Lundquist and A. and V. Sandberg as its first teachers; a half century later, the Sunday school still counted 130 pupils. A summer school program was also organized somewhat later, in 1915, and it was held every year until the World War II period. Finally, membership has remained fairly constant, and the figure in 1952 was still 222.

Although the Holy Trinity has consistently been the leading Finnish church in Hibbing, it has not been the only one. For a time there was a Methodist group, one of the chain built up in the Iron Range by Hjalmar Salmi during the years 1903-06. In

1907, with the arrival of Salvation Army Captain Hilda Kansanen and Lieutenant Miina Rasi, who rented a hall on Mahoning Street, big enough to hold 50 persons, that faith got a strong start. Meetings were held every evening, and every evening the hall was full. This lasted for almost a decade, but when the two leaders were assigned to other communities activity subsided very rapidly.

More permanent groups were born in the 1920s, the first of them being the Apostolic Lutheran congregation founded in 1924 with 29 members. A few of these were still active in the 1950s, but no new members were recruited. This congregation was served for many years by Pastor Niilo Saastamoinen, a former Synod member, although there were also frequent visits from pastors from other communities.

A Congregational church was started in 1926 by a group of 6 persons, who elected Peter Hill to be their chairman. Support grew slowly, to a membership of about 30 in two years. Services were held at the Episcopal Church, and hopes of building a church of their own never materialized. Funds continued to be raised, however, in the fashion of other similar organizations, with bazaars and raffles, concerts and other events, particularly useful during the depression years, for the members "were able to forget the misery brought by the bad times," as the minutes of the meetings in the early 1930s frequently read. One formal auxiliary existed from the very beginning, a sewing circle meeting twice a month. Teachers at the Sunday school have been John Aho and Peter Hill, while Martha Väänänen has been choir director. The first pastor, serving for the first half of 1926, was Andrew Ojala, who was succeeded by Pastor Muhonen (1926-29) and Johannes Väänänen (1930-42.) With ill health forcing the latter's resignation, the congregation went on for a year without a pastor and then expired altogether. The Hibbing parish also included the congregations of Sax, Zim, Little Swan and Kelsey.

Temperance Work: Organized temperance activity began a year before the Holy Trinity church was organized. The 19 men who were present for the founding meeting in 1895 indicated their motivation clearly: "Lawlessness and drunkenness prevail unimpeded, from the village officials down to the lumberjacks in the surrounding areas . . . The Finns, with grief in their hearts, have observed this and, with the ideals they cherish, and the zeal and love they hold for their fellow Finns, are here determined to take practical steps to correct the situation." Officers were elected: Kalle Nissilä (Charles Nissi) chairman; Alex Nisula,

vice-chairman; John Virkkala, secretary; Jonas Finnilä, treasurer. The members included five persons who had already held membership cards from temperance societies in other communities, particularly Mt. Iron. They wanted to name the new society the "Star of the Wilderness" but gave it up since there were already two societies so named; they settled on Tapio. Meetings were held initially once a week at the town hall, but that same year plans were made to build a hall of their own, and land was purchased at the corner of Cedar Street and Second Avenue.

The first and most important of Tapio's auxiliary activities was a band, organized in 1896 by Alex Mattson, but it was preceded locally by another and even more important band whose history must be briefly mentioned here. The Independent Finnish Band was discussed in the spring of 1895 by interested Finnish miners and lumberjacks, and they even elected a slate of officers: John Haapasaari as chairman, Gust Järvi as secretary and John K. Mäki as treasurer. Given encouragement by the Lake Superior Mining Company, the group gratefully called itself the Lake Superior Cornet Band. Instruments were purchased as funds permitted, and occasional appearances were made, at Tapio program evenings, for example. At this stage there was still no

musical director, and band members took turns with the baton. A couple of years later they were able to buy splendid uniforms to wear in their appearances, but when interest and membership threatened to wane, it was time to seek a salaried music director: Victor Taipale, who moved to Hibbing in 1901, received the appointment.

At this stage also, the band changed its name. Having received encouragement but no financial support from the mining company, but having been given encouragement and the free use of Tapio premises for rehearsals, the band named itself the Temperance Association



"Kaiku" band in 1913. Names remembered: Third from left in front row is Edward Gröndahl, director, fourth is John Rajanen. Fifth in the middle row is Toivo Murto, drummer is Wilho Rahko. Second in back row is Emil Aho.

band. In 1903, when the village donated \$100 for its playing during the Fourth of July celebration, the band showed its gratitude by changing its name again, to the Hibbing City Band. Under this name, and under the leadership of Taipale, the band took part in several events, winning the second prize in the Ishpeming, Michigan Festival in August 1903, in which eight bands participated, second prize in Hibbing in 1904, the first prize in Ely in 1905, and again first prize in Ironwood, Michigan in 1906. Later still, as the Hibbing Concert Band, it became the official Hibbing band and was included in the town budget. As for directors, Taipale was succeeded by William Ahola, after whom came a Swedish Finn, Helmer Frankson.

Meanwhile, Tapio went on with a band of its own, with Mattson succeeded as director by Oscar Castren, William Ahola, and Hemming Hautala. The last named, incidentally, received a salary of \$10 per month (in 1916) for his services. In the 1930s, Hautala started an independent band in Hibbing, primarily to give local Finns an opportunity to play together for recreation and to foster musical activity among the younger generation. However, to have a band at all, it was soon necessary to invite non-Finns to participate also, and eventually the band contained players from eight different national backgrounds, including the Indian. When the Virginia Finnish Chorus was planning to take part in the Chicago World's Fair, Hautala's band gave several concerts to raise money for the expenses the chorus faced. The band also played at Finnish festivals in Duluth, New York Mills and Ely. Up to the end of 1937 they had also given 50 outdoor band concerts and had appeared in numerous parades.

Also sponsored by Tapio, during the World War I period, was a chorus of about 20 voices, the Sirkat, directed by Ivar Ahonen. Other members of Tapio and also of the workers society were later active in other groups and choruses, in the Hibbing Tuesday Musicals, etc. Lillian Toivola (Ferris), who was popular as a vocalist, was chairman of the Musicale, 1941-43, and another Finn, Edith Koivisto, held the same position in 1951-52. A chorus which Edith Koivisto directed sang regularly on programs over the Hibbing radio from 1938 on; this chorus came to an end in 1946. Armida Koivisto was a concert pianist and later taught music on the college level.

Other Tapio auxiliaries included a public speaking group, a sewing circle, a temporary dramatics program and at least plans for a lending library. Also, there was a sickness and death

benefit fund to which members contributed over and above their regular Tapio dues.

Tapio's financial standing was weak, particularly in the beginning, although the situation did change when the society grew large enough to have almost 300 members. In the early years, however, this financial distress was reflected in the subsequent disunity regarding the types of entertainment the society was to sponsor. The society wanted to sponsor dances, and to rent its premises to others to hold dances, but the constitution of the Temperance Brotherhood banned dancing. In 1896 the issue came to a head, and after a vote by sealed ballot the majority declared for severing ties with the Brotherhood and for continuing on an independent basis. The minority which disapproved the resolution quit Tapio and started a new temperance society, named the Seeker of Truth, which promptly joined the Brotherhood.

There were also proposals, promptly made, that the two societies iron out their differences and unite, but relations grew more bitter rather than more cordial and threatened finally to turn into court action when the new society claimed that the Tapio hall should belong to them on the basis of the Brotherhood constitution, to which Tapio had once adhered.

The Seeker of Truth society, then, had to go on its own course as a Brotherhood chapter and in time (1902) even built its own hall, to house activities which



Sampo Temperance building in North Hibbing.

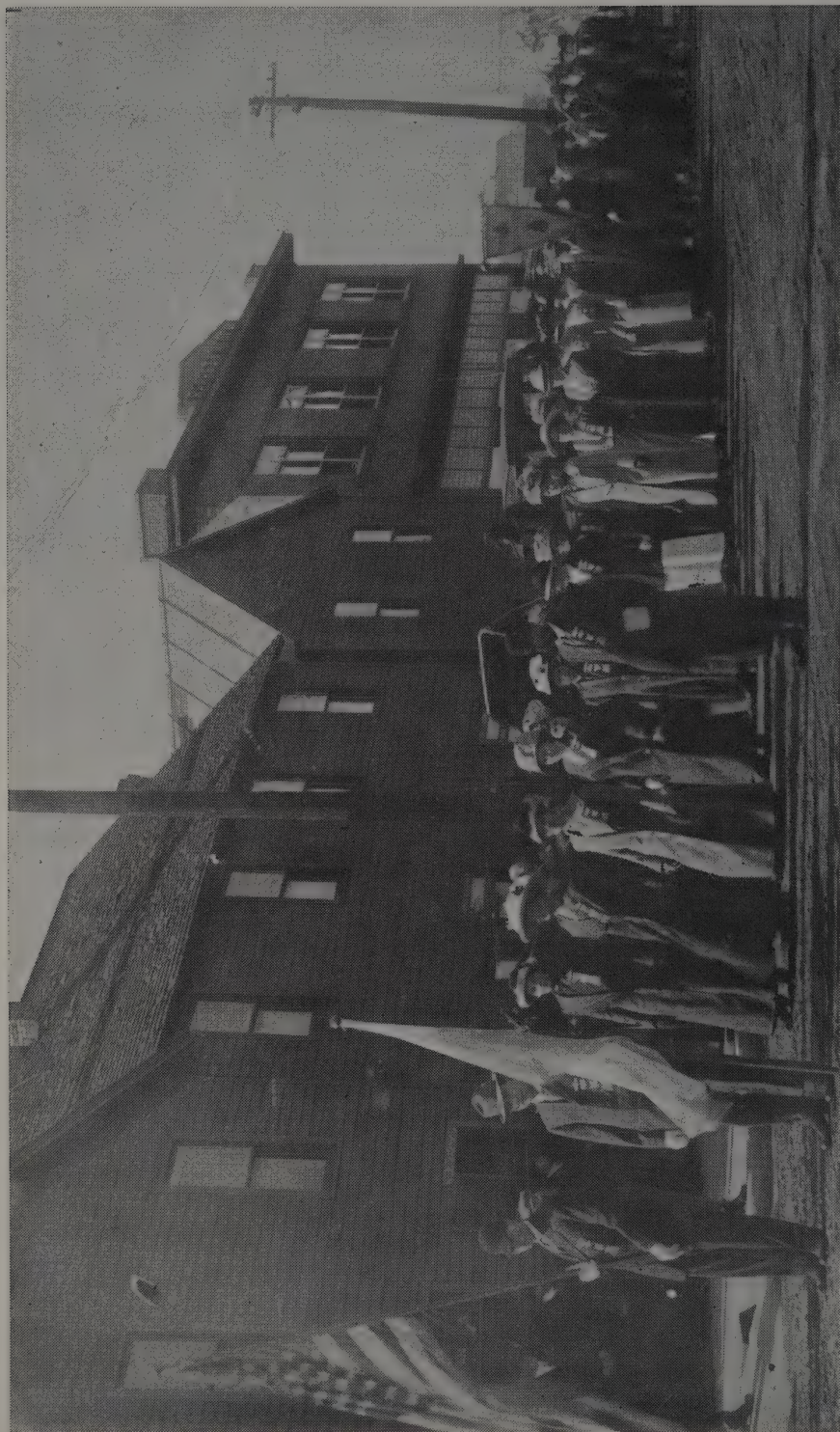
closely duplicated those of the Tapio: a speech and debating group (with topics like 'the possible beneficial effects of music on temperance work' and 'whether love or money was more important in matrimony' up for discussion); a chorus, with Alex Sandberg, Kalle and Adolf Lundquist and Ivar Ahonen serving as directors; a band, with leadership by Victor Taipale, William Ahola and John Laitinen; a dramatics group, directed by John Colander.



Hibbing's independent mixed choir in 1940. In front: Betty Lampi, Bertha Waara, Sylvia Silta, Ruth Kuusisto, Ilmi Nevala, Victor Taipale, director, Sofia Joki, Kerttu Jackson, Elsie Neva, Edla Linjanen, Hilma Malinen. Second row: Ida Salo, Miina Taipale, Sylvia Sundwall, Jenny Murto, Lempi Mäki, Maria Somppi, May Tolonen, Minnie Muuttonen, Miina Vahto, Hilda Mäki. Back row: Martin Sundwall, Vilho Rahko, Victor Neva, Sam Siro, Jack Lampi, Frank Lampi, Toivo Murto, Eino Lindfors, Gust Manner, Jack Toppila.

Even after the two societies had decided to go their separate ways, however, there were attempts made to meet on common ground. When a temporary but sharp drop in the number of Finns in Hibbing followed the first big mining strike, the two societies got as far as appointing a committee to discuss merger: the Seeker of Truth was represented by Olavi Laulaja, A Sandberg and Gust Saari, while Tapio named G. Järvi, H. Luoma and L. Wilson. No major results were achieved, but on minor issues they came to a degree of agreement: to propose a joint convocation to celebrate the enactment of prohibition legislation in Finland. There was no indication that even this event ever came about, but the two societies did hold joint Christmas parties for children and both contributed to funds for refreshments for those parties. It was not until the next big drop in the local Finnish population, following the 1916 strike, that the two societies were finally able to forget their differences and to unite.

Both had suffered big losses in membership, but more crucial still, the Seeker of Truth was in dire financial straits, saddled with a big mortgage and other indebtedness. It was ready, finally, to relinquish its membership in the Brotherhood, and with Tapio



Members of the Tapio Temperance Society escort the body of their member Kusti Palmgren, 25, who was killed in an accident at the Utica mine in 1910. He was survived by his wife. He was born in Eura, Finland. Carrying the United States flag is Isaac Mäki. Carrying the Tapio Society banner is a miner, Frans Koski, who later became a minister. Fourth woman from the left is Selma Koski. Standing in the center with a newspaper in his pocket is Gust Järvi.

thus winning its moral victory the merger came about. The new society formed from the two old ones was given the name Sovinto (Concord).

The first elected officers of Sovinto were Kalle Sandberg, chairman, Frank Koski, vice-chairman, Anna Beck, secretary, and August Anderson, treasurer. The Tapio hall was sold, and the money almost covered the mortgage due on the Seeker of Truth hall, where the new society began its career. During World War II this hall was sold to the mining corporation, and a new hall on East Howard Street in South Hibbing was bought. This building had commercial rental units on the ground floor, with a spacious hall and other facilities above. In 1956 its membership, now dwindled to 20, still kept the building in its possession, but by this time the summer camp area on Swan Lake belonging to the society had been sold off as unnecessary.

Previously started auxiliary activities were kept up under Sovinto auspices. Ivar Ahonen served as teacher in the summer school for years and also directed the chorus. Victor Taipale and Hemming Hautala directed the band, but interest in this died out before the beginning of World War II. However, in 1934 a new activity came into existence, the Young Peoples Temperance Club, sponsored by Elli Sandberg. This group elected its own officers, naming Calvert Sandberg chairman, Veikko Lavander vice-chairman, Effie Anderson secretary, and Catherine Sandberg treasurer. In 1954 the officers of the parent, Sovinto society were H. Kojola, chairman; Katri Ruuhela, vice-chairman; Elli Sandberg, secretary, and Charles Sandberg, treasurer.

Parallel with these three Finnish temperance societies in Hibbing there was also a fourth, a Swedish Finnish society, the Söner av Wasa chapter of the Runeberg Orden, organized in 1903. At the time of founding there were 14 members, in 1917 there were 35, and at one time the peak rose to 57. The chapter built its own quarters in 1905.

Kaleva Activity: The course of the Kaleva Order in Hibbing was a difficult one: as a mining community it was natural that the activities of the Finns would be strongly concentrated within the temperance and workers' movements; furthermore, there was no strong Kaleva center nearby which could have given the local Kaleva work impetus or moral support. Nevertheless, a lodge of Kaleva Knights was actually established in Hibbing in 1905, by John Huhtala, Charles Latvala, Erland Rustari, and Charles Tolvanen, and in 1954 that lodge still had 40 members, but since the lodge itself had been transferred to Chisholm (in 1914) and from

there subsequently to Nashwauk, its history does not belong with these Hibbing pages.

The Kaleva Ladies were organized locally in 1906, with Liisa Kero, Vendla Rein and Hilja Lamminmäki as founding members, together with Hanna Hepola, Anna Kapalomäki, Hilda Kärkkäinen, Hilda Lauhala, Hilma Luoma, Josefiina Rahja and Laura Oquist. During the first few weeks of the society's existence membership was doubled, so that the beginning looked promising. Meetings were held and various events enthusiastically arranged, but the women suffered the same handicaps the men faced: members would move away from town, and it was not always easy to replace them with new ones. As a result, 1920 saw the demise of the local chapter, with the few who were still eager to continue their work transferring their membership to the Chisholm chapter. A few years later, however, in 1927, the Hibbing chapter was re-activated and continued its activities into the 1950s. At the time of the Delaware Tercentenary, these Ladies planted a Finnish mountain ash in Bennett Park as a local memorial to the Finnish heritage in Hibbing.

Finally, there was also a Junior Kaleva Lodge in Hibbing, under the sponsorship of the Ladies. Nineteen young people joined, but the lodge remained in existence only from 1937 to 1939.

The Workers' Movement: In a sense, the local workers' movement in Hibbing was born in dissension within the temperance society Tapio. When the Tapio dramatics group put on Minna Canth's realistic drama, *The Hard-Luck Children*, some members of the society criticized the play and the fact that it was being performed at all in such strong terms that its 'stubborn defenders' had to quit the society. This highlighted the differences of opinion which had been developing over some time, of course, but what it led to was the establishment of a new society, founded one evening when Matti Hendrickson had been invited to Hibbing to make a speech, the Hibbing Finnish Workers' Society, named the Hedelmä (Fruit.) Within a very short time two different brands of socialism became apparent within the group, with members divided into the idealistic socialists and the bread-and-butter socialists; when it came to the issue, the latter group was the stronger, and in 1905 Hedelmä joined the Socialist Party. With this move, the Hibbing society made itself the cradle of the Finnish American Socialist movement. In 1906 it joined the Finnish Socialist Party, too, and named itself the Hibbing Finnish Socialist Chapter. The first officers elected were Gust Forsman as chairman and Henry Wuopio as secretary. There were only 12 founding

members; before the 1907 strike began there were 64 members, and before the strike was finished there were 174. "This unusual rise in membership," even the *Päivälehti* was forced to admit, "was due to the strike, so that it may be said that if there were no other benefits from the strike at least it created hordes of socialists."

In the beginning there were difficulties in finding a meeting place, for neither temperance society rented their hall to the socialists. They were forced finally to build a meeting place of their own. A plot of land was purchased on Washington Street, and there a small hall was built, a room 15 x 20 feet in size, seating about 30 persons. It was ready for use in 1902 and as such was the first Finnish workers' hall in America. Of course,



Hibbing Finnish Workers' Club hall.

the hall very soon proved inadequate, and although it was enlarged, even this proved insufficient. In 1906, therefore, land was purchased on Lincoln Street, directly across the street from where the Lincoln School was to be built later.

The Hibbing Workers Hall built in 1909 was considerably larger than the first: this one was 46 x 120 feet. It became one of the most important centers of activity among the Finnish workers' groups in Minnesota, with numerous flourishing auxiliaries. In 1914, following the schism within the Socialist Party, the Hibbing society joined the IWW faction and supported the cause of industrial unionism and the *Industrialisti* in the decades which followed. However, activity diminished here, too, just as it did elsewhere,

due to changing circumstances and the aging of its members: the corporation controlling the property took advantage of the plans for the relocating of North Hibbing and sold its property to the mining interests in 1938.

The sale, however, resulted in a dispute between the 'corporation' and the society as a whole on the disposition of the funds realized through the sale: the Finnish Workers Club, Inc., claimed to be the proper owner of the property and accused the 'corporation' of ignoring the wishes of the members (there were about 70 in 1956) by using the funds arbitrarily, by refusing to go along with the members' decision to build a new hall in the re-located part of town. Since no solution seemed possible, the matter went to the courts, and after four years of waiting the decision which was handed down took the control of the money out of the hands of both litigants.

Judge Mark Nolan decreed in 1954 that the proceeds of the sale — \$59,775.98, minus taxes and legal fees — were to be placed in the hands of a five-man board, which was to use the money as a fund for students of Finnish descent from Hibbing and the Town of Stuntz to use in the form of loans to be granted without interest charges. The Workers Club, Inc. appealed the ruling, declaring it an arbitrary disposition of the organization funds contrary to the by-laws of that organization, but in 1956 the State Supreme Court upheld Judge Nolan's decision.

The official name of the fund thus established became the American Finnish Workers Society's Memorial Education Trust. As to the funds at its disposal, Attorney Jokinen of Mulvahill & Jokinen, counsel for the hall 'corporation,' estimated the sum to be under \$40,000 after payment of taxes (some \$7,000) and legal fees incurred by the 'corporation.' The Workers Club, Inc., by the way, had to pay its legal fees out of its own pockets.

In August 1956 Jokinen proposed, and Judge Nolan appointed, the following persons to administer the fund: Dr. John J. Neumeier, Dean of the Hibbing Junior College; Clyde Hill, music teacher in the Hibbing school system (and son of a local Finnish barber, Sanfrid Hill); Jacob Keränen and Alli Luoma, both members of the 'corporation'; and the Northern National Bank of Duluth.

The Workers Club, Inc., incidentally, is still active and remains a supporter of the *Industrialisti*.

The above chronicle does not give the full story of the workers' movement in Hibbing. To trace another aspect of it involves a return to 1914 and the split in the socialist ranks. At that time

several of the founding members of the original local society resigned, among them Mr. and Mrs. Frank Nevala, Amanda and Henry Wuopio, Alice and Charles Wirta, Mr. and Mrs. John Lampela, and proceeded to organize a new socialist chapter — the so-called ‘yellow chapter’ as the dissenting radicals labelled it — which remained faithful to the *Työmies* newspaper and the Socialist Party. During the entire period of its existence, some 20 years, it operated in rented quarters. It was big enough, however, to include auxiliary activities such as a dramatics group, a chorus, a band, a sewing circle and a women’s group. The



Workers' club band in 1912. Front row: Ruotsala, Nurmi, Otto Miettunen, John Laine, Ed. Grondahl, director, unknown. Back: Paul Blomberg, unknown, Victor Mikkola, Emil Bay, Jeremias Hermanson, Adolf Karhu.

society owned land in South Hibbing but never managed to build on it. When the chapter came to an end, some of its former members started a Hibbing chapter of the Finnish Mutual Aid Society of International Workers Order and steered its program along policy lines laid down by the communist *Työmies* and locally devoted itself to aid in the maintenance of the Mesaba Range Co-op Park. The significance of the Mutual Aid Society among Hibbing Finns has been extremely limited, and as for any ideological activities it may sponsor, nothing is heard, at least not in public. That communist ardor had been high, however, is shown by the fact that at least several Hibbing Finns



Summer festival parade June 20, 1916 on Pine Street in old Hibbing.

emigrated to Russia; two of them, Wäinö Eskeli and M. Mukala even sent 'greetings' back to Hibbing via newspapers.

Once again, however, the cultural activities rather than the political faiths are what these societies are best remembered by. The biggest workers' organization, the Workers Club, which had 140 members even after the schism, engaged actively in the usual patterns of auxiliary cultural endeavors. Brass bands appeared very early; in a chronological listing of their directors, the first was Waldemar Eklund, on the scene in 1905. Later directors were, according to Edith Koivisto, the Mssrs. Hongel, Nurmio, Gröndahl, Ahola and Hautala. Of these, Edward Gröndahl directed just prior to World War I an apparently independent band named Kaiku (Echo) which nevertheless rehearsed at the Workers Club and which included many members of that society among its players. During most of the period of its existence, the Socialist Chapter No. 2 also maintained a band, which was under the direction of the same Mr. Gröndahl. Other groups were conducted by Hugo Rosendahl and Aapeli Laitinen.

Numerous choruses sang under the sponsorship of these societies, and among their directors appear the names of Carl Loven, Victor Taipale, Esther Huovila, Irja and Laura Wuopio, and Edith Koivisto. All of these persons were involved with several different groups, while Urho Valo worked exclusively within the Workers Club and Hemming Hautala and Lily Laakso only in Socialist



Mixed chorus "Sorretun ääni" in 1940. Front row: Julia Hakala, Annie Koski, Elma Joki, Myra Mahla, Lillian Laakso, director, Linnea Marttila, Emma Haapala, Violet Jokinen, Hilma Havumäki. Center: Jenny Murto, Helmi Nordström, Mrs. Eino Määttä, Impi Matson, Elsie Havumäki, Edith Murto, Arlette Nevala, Sofia Joki, Allan Tuomela, Eino Määttä. Back row: John Mahla, Isaac Koski, Vilho Rahko, Walfred Joki, Elias Kuusisto, Toivo Murto, Sulo Havumäki, William Matson, Eino Lempiä, Edwin Haapala.

Chapter No. 2. As late as 1940 a new choral group still appeared on the scene, the Sorretun Ääni (Voice of the Downtrodden), made up principally of members of the former Chapter No. 2 chorus and still under the leadership of Lily Laakso; an independent group, this chorus remained in existence for about two years.

These organizations, of course, also had their own dramatics groups. Within the Workers Club, the roster of directors included John Lampi, Carl Lindevall, Henry Pyhtilä, Alaric Aarnee-Orjatsalo, Veikko Antero, Kalle Latvala, Edith Koivisto and Kalle Dahl, while dramatic activity at the Socialist Chapter No. 2 was directed by Hjalmar Hamari.

Gymnastics teams were also on the scene, and at the Workers Club they were under the guidance of Felix Brown, while Toivo Nurmio served the No. 2 group. Other names to be listed in this category include Herman Kari, with the Workers Club, and Lempi Mäki, with a cooperative-sponsored women's group.

An important role was played by the lending library. This had already been started by the temperance society but had

subsequently become the property of the Workers Club. When their hall in turn was sold, the collection of some 600 volumes was donated to the Hibbing public library, in which Finns had played a role from the very beginning, when Mike Salminen served on the first library board. Subsequent Finnish members of the board have included J. W. Koskinen, Ada Simi, Victor Taipale, Mrs. J. Rautavirta and Edward Kolu, while Laila Kojola has served as librarian. (In 1954 the Hibbing library embraced about 85,000 volumes, of which some 4,000 were in languages other than English. Of the foreign language books, the largest number, 1,450 titles, were in Finnish, followed by Italian, Serbian, Swedish and 20 other languages.)

The Finnish societies of Hibbing arranged joint midsummer festivals in the early years, but the fourth such festival, in the labor strike summer of 1907, became the last one of that particular series, due to the tension then prevailing. When strike leaders John Kolu and Hautamäki attempted to turn the evening concert into a strike rally, and tried in vain to force their way to the podium to speak, the socialists and other strike sympathizers left the hall, leaving but a minority of 'conservatives' to continue. However, Hibbing was subsequently the scene of several midsummer festivals of the democratic, Northern Minnesota Finns, in 1914, 1922, 1931, 1938, 1947 and 1954. One of the aims has been the establishment of a department of Finnish language, literature and history studies at the University of Minnesota. It was a dream which materialized only temporarily, when Arne Halonen taught Finnish to GIs after World War II.

Civic Club Activity: 1926 saw the start of Hibbing's North Star Civic Club, which became affiliated with the civic club association. The first elected officers were Alex Nelimark, chairman, and Henry Luoma, secretary, and originally meetings were held twice a month, in camera, at the Waasa Hall. Secrecy was deemed desirable because one of the aims of the organization was to provide opposition to the growing, organized and aggressive Catholic strength in local politics, in the school administration and in the filling of local public positions. However, word of this new organization did leak out, and since many wanted to join, the qualifications for membership were made known: Finnish descent plus U.S. citizenship. After the first general meeting in April 1927, membership grew rapidly during the early depression years, to climb to a maximum of more than 800 at one time. It was not until the World War II period that there was any significant

drop in membership, when the need for the society was no longer acute. The final meetings were held in 1942, with Frank Linjanen serving as chairman and Impi Rautavirta-Salo as secretary.

According to Linjanen, the civic club counted among its achievements the election in 1931 of Helmer Frankson to the office of mayor. It was through Frankson's support, in turn, that John Harju subsequently became the community's legal counsel, Andrew Harju the engineer, Henry Luoma assistant to the secretary, and Alex Nelimark an employee of the local motor pool, and "many other Finns receiving lesser positions." Later, Jack Rivall was made secretary and treasurer, and through him Henry Carlson, John Huhtala and Charles Kivi became officials in public works departments, etc. In general, whenever any Finn applied for a position, the civic club's significant support backed him up. In the absence of Finnish candidates for a given office, support was usually given to some other, Protestant candidates, who would in turn usually remember the Finnish votes which had helped him get elected. Their assistance, subsequently, helped some Finns into office: thus Emil Salminen reached the school board and Jim Isaacson became Town of Stuntz supervisor, a position also filled by John K. Mäki, Carl A. Aura and A. A. (Barney) Koskinen. In a much earlier period in civic life, F. Hiltunen (1902-03) and J. H. Ollila (1904) had already served as town secretaries. Similarly, John O. Rivall was Purchasing Agent for School District No. 27 in Hibbing, a county position, and Kalle Leonard Haataja (Hart) served as a state official, as inspector of mines. Gust Carlson had been elected selectman in 1896, Gust Pearson the following year, and Oscar Bay in 1905. At other times, as in 1906, all six Finnish candidates for office failed to win, and other defeats followed in 1907, 1911 and 1912.

Relief Activities: The first organized charitable undertaking of the Hibbing Finns was a Red Cross chapter formed in 1917 by 30 interested persons, who saw membership grow to 70 before World War I ended. Fund raising experience was gained in the drive in 1938 to collect money (\$358.88 realized) for participation in the Delaware Tercentenary. But the Russian attack on Finland in 1939 brought forth a truly magnificent effort.

The festival program on Finnish Independence Day, 6 December 1939, had perforce become the first opportunity to aid Finland on the heels of the attack made upon it, and a week later a definite relief program was in existence. At that time a committee

which had been named elected John O. Rivall as chairman, Impi Rautavirta as secretary and A. A. Koskinen as treasurer. Three days later an appeal was made to all local Finnish organizations to participate and to support the relief program: at a meeting at the Elks Hall, representatives appeared from the Finnish churches, the Kaleva, the temperance society, the North Star Civic Club and the Cooperative Club as well as representatives of various American organizations and municipal agencies. Plans were made for each organization to collect as much money as possible from within their own groups; in addition, benefits were arranged, together with coffee parties, suppers, dances, movies, athletic competitions, bazaars, knitting bees. Some sauna proprietors and business men donated all their income from specified days to the relief fund; merchants donated given percentages of their sales. Indeed, all proposals were gratefully accepted -- except one: according to Edith Koivisto, one local tavern offered to donate 20% of its receipts in similar fashion, but the committee decided that "nobody was to be led to temptation, even if the cause was help to Finland." In addition to money raising functions, there were many drives for clothing, including several very successful 'baby showers,' with two big crates of infants' clothing collected on one single occasion. During the Winter War there was also an active American committee for Finnish relief, with George Fisher as chairman. This committee did very effective work, but according to Arne Halonen (in *Minnesota's Help to Finland*) some 75 to 80% of the total results were due to the Finns of Hibbing.

The war interrupted Finnish relief activity for several years, but in 1945 a meeting was called to reactivate it. In the new committee, Impi Rautavirta now became chairman, Amanda Wuopio vice-chairman, Mrs. Charles Sandberg secretary, with Ida Salo as her alternate, and with A. A. Koskinen continuing as treasurer. Activity was carried out along patterns previously established, and soon considerable sums of money were being forwarded to the Help Finland organization. Activity was continued up to the end of 1949, by which time, according to Edith Koivisto, the sum of \$10,106.04 in cash alone was raised, a considerable sum for one single, small community. In addition, the value of gifts and clothing packages sent was also large. And finally, of great significance to the donors themselves was the realization that, in spite of the political and religious differences among them, they could work together without friction when the cause was one which was dear to them all equally.

Historical Work: Although the experience in most Finnish centers of settlement has been that their interest in the preservation of their own historical achievements and records has followed the period of cooperative effort within the Finnish relief framework, Hibbing is an exception in this respect, for here it came first. Following the examples of New York and its Historical Society, the Hibbing Cooperative Club in a meeting in March 1939 appointed a committee to begin the collection of materials of historical interest. This committee was composed of Tyyne Alanko, Edith Koivisto, and Amanda Wuopio. Soon realizing the limited possibilities available for their carrying out the assignment, the committee decided to sponsor the printing of a questionnaire, as a means of preserving data which would otherwise soon be forgotten and lost. However, aware that they could not carry out even this with their own limited funds, an appeal was made to the other local Finnish organizations to assist in their endeavor, but the moment was not ripe: only the Workers Club seemed willing to discuss the project, which had to be given up.



Monument to Hibbing's Finnish pioneers erected by the Hibbing Historical Society.

Later, when the MFAHS was founded, Edith Koivisto represented Hibbing, which remembered its own abortive efforts and adopted a wait-and-see attitude. When local chapters of the MFAHS began to be established, however, Hibbing no longer held back: at a meeting in January 1947, at which 25 persons were present, the local chapter was founded and appropriate officers elected: Arde Laulainen, chairman; John Bispala, vice-chairman; Arnold Seppä, secretary; A. A. Koskinen, treasurer. Fifteen more persons joined in the very next meeting, and by March 1949 there

were 67 members, although subsequently there has been a decrease. Hibbing has been represented on the MFAHS board of directors by Frank Linjanen and Edith Koivisto.

In 1957 the Hibbing chapter erected a monument to the local Finnish pioneers. Put up at the corner of First Avenue and 31st Street, the 8-ton granite block bears a bronze plaque on which is inscribed: "1892 — Dedicated to the memory of the early Finnish pioneers who helped build this community . . . The Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society Chapter 14, Hibbing, Minnesota — 1957."

Finnish Business Endeavors: Following the familiar pattern, the first businesses were the boarding houses. Indeed, there were about 30 proprietors of 'boarding house and furnished rooms' facilities, having from 5 to 10 or even as many as 30 guests. Among these enterprises were those of Leena Hietala, Mary Hill, Mrs. Hukari, Lizzie Koski. The last named had begun as a dishwasher for a few years in another boarding house before she opened her own; later, she also opened a grocery store and operated another boarding house in Chisholm as well. Other Hibbing boarding houses were run by Fanny Nevala, Heikki and Matilda Toivola, John K. Ojanperä and August Saari, and many others whose given names have been forgotten: Hakala, Hämäläinen, Kangas, Kiminki, Laakeri, Lehto, Leskinen, Manner, Mannila, Nelimarkka, Nils, Pelkola, Raunio, Rivall, Tarkkanen, Talso, Thompson and Västi.

Among the earlier storekeepers were the brothers Akseli and Victor Sandberg, who started a bakery and a soft drinks plant in 1902 and a year later a grocery store which grew into a sizeable enterprise. John Ketomäki and Mike Salminen opened a grocery store on Pine Street at the turn of the century and soon added to their business a new grocery store they opened in 1903 on Third Avenue, the Cash Market Company, which in addition to food sold "all kinds of utensils necessary for housekeeping" and a line of 10c articles. The business was for years among Hibbing's biggest firms. Furthermore, the same partners also had a branch store in Alice, about a mile distant from Hibbing. Later still, having sold one of their Hibbing stores, Ketomäki and Salminen also became wholesalers, selling principally flour, sugar, grain, farm tools and machinery from their Merchant Warehouse. After 20 years of partnership, Ketomäki sold his share of the business to Salminen, who later sold out all his business interests except his franchise as local General Mills representative. Among his

other activities, Salminen has also served on the board of directors of the Security State Bank.

Another Pine Street enterprise was the grocery store started by Oscar Bay, which was later known as Bay & Mäki. Once in partnership with brothers Gust and Isaac Mäki, Bay gave up the extensive livery stable he had also operated. Another grocery was the Hibbing Supply House, started in 1912 by Randall Niemi, who had moved to Hibbing from Franklin in 1907. Martti Virta, who had begun by running a grocery store called the Trading Post, later operated the Hibbing Warehouse Company, from 1930 to 1947. John R. Erickson kept for years a combined grocery and candy store, while Matti Wilson sold only candy and D. Kiminki sold candy, tobacco and soft drinks. Other groceries have been run by Vesa & Hill and by Gust Järvi. Väinö Helenius had a drugstore. Finally in 'old Hibbing' there were at one time 29 Finnish saloons, but Finnish repugnance toward the keepers of such establishments generally has meant that a listing of their proprietors was never made and cannot here be furnished.

Local Cooperatives: Local cooperative activity, which was to grow into a diversified picture, began in the field of groceries, too, largely because of the surrounding Finnish farming area and also thanks to the 1907 strike. When the Finns who took part in that strike were left without their usual pay envelopes and found their credit possibilities dwindling, they decided to start their own food store: the Miners Mercantile Company opened its doors in August 1907. However, because of the strike, it was forced to give out too much on credit and soon found itself in difficulties which led to its eventual termination.

In 1912 a cooperative boarding house, Elanto, was started, with Paul Blomberg as its first business manager. This enterprise flourished, and in time two houses on Lincoln Street belonged to it. When mining operations expanded into that part of town, they were sold to the mining corporation in 1940 and the net assets of the enterprise divided among the surviving members.

Important as the Elanto was, a consumers' cooperative proper was still a need. This need was met by the enterprise begun in 1916 by a dozen or so families banding together as a purchasing unit, ordering their needed supplies direct from wholesalers. Each family put \$5 into the fund, and membership in the Cooperative Central was also purchased, and although such a small group could not support a retail store, Elanto furnished them store space (probably in 1917) in one of their buildings. Mike Nyström served as business manager. However, once again a mining

strike and the necessity of extending credit prevented any expansion, and the post-strike situation was no better, for it brought a significant drop in the number of Finns in the community, revealed the lack of interest of other national groups toward such an enterprise, and pointed up the inadequacy of the quarters being occupied. The result, however, was not the end of cooperative endeavors but the start of an entirely new enterprise.

The Hibbing Consumers' Cooperative Company was established in 1920 by Emil Tarkkanen, Charles Kivi, Wäinö Mattila, Ed. Kolu, Altti Lehto, Joe Juvonen, Herman Haapala, Charles Sipola, Jacob Toppila, and M. H. Nyström, its business manager, and all serving as its first board of directors. The fixtures of the Elanto-housed cooperative were purchased, as well as its stock on hand, and business continued at the same address until 1923, when a move was made to 1916 Third Avenue East. There were obstacles to overcome in the beginning — resentment of individual businessmen, political dissensions among the membership itself — but sales continued to grow, reaching a figure of over \$136,000 in 1924 and 1925. During that period Arvid E. Koivisto served as business manager. He had been a student at Valparaiso University, had studied at the Cooperative Central, and was a capable business man and exponent of the cooperative system. He later transferred to the Accounting Department of the Cooperative Central, but



Cooperative Store in Hibbing.

during his stay in Hibbing the local cooperative expanded to the point where a branch store was opened, 1925, in South Hibbing.

Actually, this marked the beginning of a transitional phase for both Hibbing and the cooperative. For Hibbing itself it meant the ever-increasing shift of population to South Hibbing, while the cooperative was forced to close its North Hibbing store in

1926 and had severe crises to face in the decade which followed. The first of these came on the heels of an accident in which a Consumers' delivery truck collided with a passenger vehicle. When the case was brought to court, the cooperative was ordered to pay \$10,000 in damages plus legal fees. An injunction was issued and the Consumers' was faced with bankruptcy, from which it was saved by Selma and Emil Panula, two faithful supporters of the cooperative, who placed their own home as surety that the money would be paid. The depression beginning in 1929 meant sales getting increasingly worse year by year, until 1933 brought a low point, gross sales amounting to only \$45,326. Faced simultaneously with constantly increasing rent demanded for the premises it occupied, the board of directors showed considerable courage in risking the purchase of premises at 2315 First Avenue. At the new location business did begin a gradual improvement.

With the appointment of Niilo Mäki as business manager sales continued to improve, in spite of the depression, for he



Board of directors of Hibbing's Consumer Co-op in 1925. Front row: Oscar H. Wessman, Arvid E. Koivisto, manager, Frank Huikkala, Edi Järvi. Back row: Kalle Kivi, Armas Rautiainen, Charles Virta, Ed. Kolu, Eino Leino.

inspired even greater popular support. It was during his incumbency, in 1937, that an oil business and gasoline station were

added, bringing the 1938 gross sales up to \$124,748. Later, the petroleum end of the cooperative business was leased to the Range Cooperative Federation, and under that name still continues to serve the consumers.

When poor health forced Mäki to resign in 1940, he was succeeded by Paul Vidmar, a capable young man of Yugoslav descent. Under him and his successor, George Lee, sales climbed, if only temporarily, to their highest point yet, to \$170,991 in 1941, partly due, of course, to inflated war prices. Subsequent able directors — Wäinö Kätkä, Helmer Märsylä, Frank Mehtälä and Einard Heiss — managed to increase sales but were not able to halt the general decline, to \$107,709 in 1951, for example.

The situation demanded drastic action, and the board of directors once more acted boldly, as in 1933, to counter the inroads of individual entrepreneurs and chain stores: in 1953 new, modern quarters were built at 2401 First Avenue, complete with adequate parking areas. With the introduction of self-service, sales have gradually increased, with the 1956 figure standing at \$139,705.

The business manager since 1955 has been Verner Miettunen. The board of directors in 1957 consisted of Nick Mannila, Erick Seppä, Harvey Markland, John Ruona, Joe Juvonen, Frank Tuomela, W. J. Sandstedt, E. Arthur Anderson and Fred Salmi. Of these, neither Markland or Anderson are of Finnish descent.

Connected with the Consumers' Cooperative has been the Credit Union established in 1938. There were 19 founding members, but by 1957 membership had climbed to 411. At that time, also, members had \$150,078 in deposits, \$149,159 had been loaned to 178 borrowers, and a reserve of \$4,422 was on hand. The first board of directors, who gave such a firm basis to the Credit Union, consisted of Dr. W. R. Welsh, John Newberg, Wally Wirtanen, Niilo Mäki and John Taylor. Business Manager in 1957 was Fred Salmi.

Additional cooperative enterprises begun on Finnish initiative include the Hibbing Milk Producers' Association, founded in 1927, which grew in strength after it established its own distributing system. Sales in 1952 were more than \$115,000 under business manager Anton Mäki. Another cooperative venture has been the Hibbing Cooperative Mortuary, a branch of the Range Cooperative Federation. Started in 1947, it took care of 47 funerals in the first seven months of its existence.

Finally, there has been a Cooperative Club, started in 1930 on the initiative of Amanda Wuopio. Begun at the time the workers'



Hibbing's Co-op Club women's chorus. Front row: Edla Linjanen, Myra Mahla, Edith Koivisto, director, Lily Stevens, Sylvia Sundwall. Back row: Sofia Joki, Minnie Muutonen, Maria Somppi, Amanda Wuopio, Milja (Huikkala) Koski, Selma Panula, Hilja Viiliäinen.

movement was losing strength, the club sponsored program evenings and dissemination of information about the cooperative movement, distributed literature, sponsored courses and summer programs for youth, and added color to the life of the Hibbing Finns, for even in the 1950s its membership was still close to 100. For years it had an outstanding auxiliary, a choral group which frequently performed on radio. The cooperative, indeed, used the radio to advantage, and WMFG in Hibbing was among the first stations in Minnesota to broadcast in Finnish.

During Finland's Winter War, the Cooperative Club adopted a Finnish war orphan and paid for her support until 1953, when she came of age. Other funds have been used to support the cooperative publications and to help maintain the Perch Lake Cooperative Park and the annual children's summer camp programs held there. Hibbing is represented on the park's board of directors by Fred Salmi and Joe Juvonen.

Business and Professional People: Although the Finnish-language press has played a role in many communities, Hibbing's only contribution was a weekly humor magazine, *Velosuu*, edited and published circa 1904 by Moses Hahl. Businessmen, however, were more in evidence. For example, in 1913 Andrew Simi started a hardware store which he handed over to his son in 1936. Another hardware store was owned by Matti J. Miettunen. Brothers Carl, John and Oliver Bispala specialized in the installation of heating systems (and Oliver also served as president of the Hibbing chapter of Odd Fellows.) A plumbing business is

operated by Edwin S. Seppälä. Oscar Bay started out with a livery stable and became Hibbing's first automobile salesman, while S. Hakola was the first Finnish auto mechanic in town, starting during the World War I years. The oldest jewelers were Henry Wuopio and Herman Stierna, while new enterprises include the Savolainen Brothers, Rinta's Jewelry and Vilho Mäki's Time Shop. Finnish sauna proprietors were Kalle Penttinen, Hämäläinen, and Tuomela & Huikkala. Oscar Bihlaja had the first clothing store and 'dime store,' while Adam Ranta had a tailor shop, and Keränen and Levander were haberdashers. Adam Hirvelä, J. Lassila and J. Leppälä were shoemakers; Salomon Lampi, Jacob Toppila and Wayne Siekkinen, barbers; Simberg Brothers, Eino Lammi and Leo Kaukonen, filling station proprietors.

Finnish doctors include the names of Ilmari Pitkänen and K. Ahola, while Harold Naros has been a chiropractor and E. A. Järvinen, F. V. Jokela, E. J. Kleimola and Robert E. Niemi have been local dentists. H. A. Frankson and George J. Jokinen have been lawyers. And the name of August Lund is remembered for his achievement, too: during his years in Hibbing he claimed to have dug about 13,000 graves.

The younger generation of Hibbing Finns has turned with particular enthusiasm to the teaching field, and the following listing includes the teachers of Finnish descent who have served locally: Anna Anderson, Ella Anderson, Mayme Bakkala, Phina Bay, Edith Matilda Erickson, Elizabeth Ernst, Martha Frank, Esther Hario, Lillian Hill, Lillian Hooker (Hukari), Violet Sylvia Hooker (Hukari), Ellen Jarpe, Violet Jarvey, Ida D. Johnson, Josephine Anna Johnson, Florence Johnston, Eugene Kaitala, Vivian Kaminen, Lempi Koski, Euphie M. Koskinen, Olga Esther Lahti, Martha Linjanen, Alina Mäki, Eleonore Mäki, Esther K. Mäki, Lydia Mäki, Helvi Markkula, Jennie Mills, Hilma Nelimark, Elsie Niemi, Helene Niemi, Lily M. Niemi, Thelma Passo, Myrtle Pihlman, Lillian Pointfield, Elsie Rautio, Toini Rinne, Helga Rodin, Audrey Saari, Elma Salminen, Amelia Sipilä, Helvi Siro, Ida J. Sulonen, Florence Sundquist, Angeline Takkunen, Aune Toivola, Lempi Toivola, Lillian Toivola, Tunie Toivola, Russell Wiermaa, Martha Väänänen. Subsequently, several score more have entered this profession, and the children they teach are now only in rare cases even second generation Finns. This is a far cry from the days of World War I, when, according to the *Päivälehti*, there were 439 'American' children in the Hibbing schools, 409 Finns,

321 Swedes, 315 Austrians, and about 100 pupils of various other national origins.

The names of Hibbing Finns from the temperance and Kaleva groups who have served their fellow Finns in many national and cultural endeavors include Hilda Lauhala, as a speaker; Impi Salo, as an important figure in the Minnesota temperance movement; Elli Sandberg, as an actress; John Romppainen, as temperance society official and newspaper correspondent. A similar listing of figures from the workers' society would include Jenny Lundquist, Erika Saarenpää-Lehtinen, Alma Passoja, Olga Kuusela, Hilma Keränen, Alma Koski, Ellen Mäki, Edith Koivisto, Jalmar Hedman, dramatics director, Herman Kari, Heikki Lahti, William Mattson, Kalle Dahl, dramatics director. In music, the names of Dagmar Kuusisto and Esther Huovila appear. Women in the cooperative movement include Amanda Wuopio, for many years chairman of the Cooperative Club and member of the board of directors of the Consumers' Cooperative; Syyne Alanko, delegate at many meetings, editor of *Illan Uutiset* and cook at the Co-op Kiosk; Hilja Wiiliäinen, for many years member of the board of directors of the Consumers' Cooperative, business manager of the Kiosk; Edith Koivisto, member of the board of directors of the Consumers' and the Credit Union for many years, regional secretary for three years of the Mesaba Cooperative Clubs and guilds, *Illan Uutiset* editor, Co-op Radio Chorus director for eight years, one of the founders of the Co-op Kiosk and its business manager for four years, dramatics director, summer camp teacher.

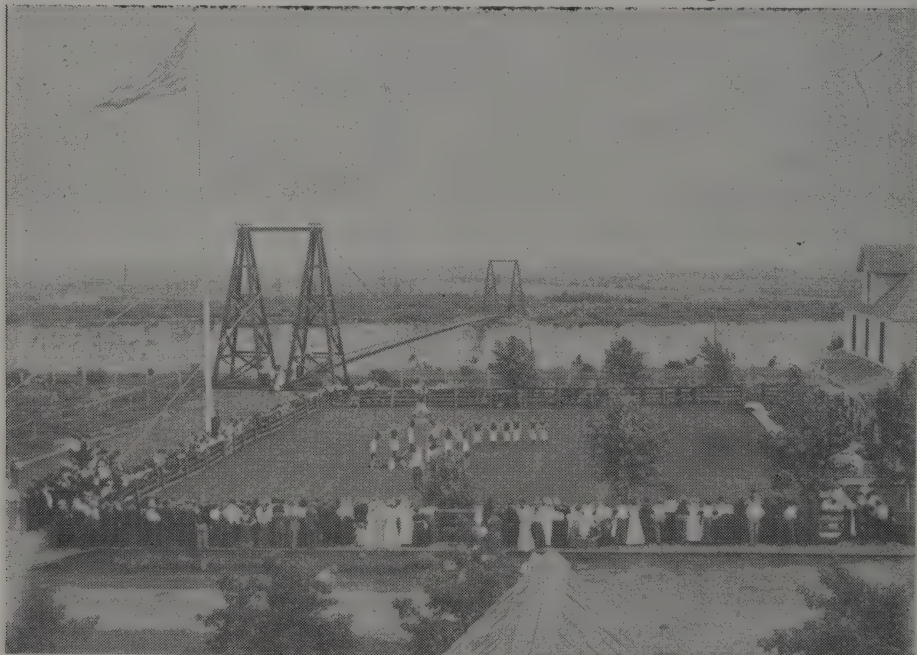
It is obvious that in a community with such a large number of Finns as Hibbing possessed, many of them were to take part in the nation's wars. Indeed, eight Hibbing Finns died in World War I: Carl A. Aura, John Hario, Arvid Hyväri, Victor Kangas, Urpo Ranta, John Sallila, Mike J. Siermala and Arthur J. Vesa. In World War II the following lost their lives: Hugo Kauppi, Clifford Koski, Ollie Heikkilä, Eino Wiitala, Jack Malinen, Jalmer Ranta, Harry Paavola. In World War II, incidentally, 17 other Hibbing Finns were wounded, three were prisoners of war; seven women served in the women's auxiliaries, four more were nurses; and at least 210 other Finnish men served in the armed forces.

Mesaba Park: Property of the Mesaba Range Cooperative Park Association, Mesaba Park lies on the shore of a small lake, surrounded by pine forests. It is situated about 7 miles from Hibbing and approximately the same distance from Chisholm. It was started and built in the last years of the 1920s by local chapters of the workers' societies in the Range area, assisted and

supported by groups of subscribers of the *Työmies* and by the cooperative associations. In the park, which comprises 120 acres, there was built a pavilion for dancing, shelters for summer camp functions and other necessary buildings. It was the site for joint summer festivals, the scene of dances and program evenings. When dissensions within the ranks brought an end to most of the Range area chapters in 1929, when the cooperative movement also repudiated the *Työmies* and began to follow an ideologically more liberal trend, there came a change in the management and ownership of Mesaba Park: it fell into the hands of the more radical factions, which have tried their best to continue to finance and maintain it.

Stevenson

In the communities which sprang up around Hibbing, Finns have been present, as in Kitzville, when the village was founded in 1912, and similarly in Mahoning village, in 1915, while in Carson Lake, according to Ilmonen, there was a 'sizeable' group of Finns. However, only in Stevenson, at the edge of St. Louis



Fourth of July festival in Stevenson in 1908. A Finnish gymnastics group is making a presentation.

County, have there been Finns with a communal life. Documents and interviews point to the brief existence there of a temperance society — Onni — with its own hall. Just when it existed is not

clear, for even Ilmonen mentions at one point that it was founded in 1902, while later he mentions the year as 1904. Interviews suggest that the first Finns came here in 1900, as claimed by the children of William Leppänen, who was among the first to come but who died in 1913. Suomi Synod records indicate that Stevenson was a 'preaching outpost' during the years 1904-07, when Pastor J. Rankila came on visits to hold services here for some 50 Finns who did not, however, constitute an organized congregation.

A graphic picture of the rise and fall of Stevenson is presented by Julia Wilippa, one of its residents: "My father, Nestor Mäki, and my mother came to Stevenson in the spring of 1900, when mining operations were begun. It was difficult to make a start here, for the region was such a dense forest that the sun could be seen only by looking straight up. My parents built a big boarding house, and sometimes there were two and even three shifts of men occupying the beds. There were so many young Finns here that sometimes there were 50 to 60 of them living with us.

"Our house was open to all, especially to those who had just come from Finland to make their way in the world. Some of them later returned to Finland, but the big majority remained in this country. Many of them, out of work and penniless, were put up by my parents; some remembered to pay later, when they could, but others forgot their indebtedness. My father worked in the mines, too, as a smith, and later he was a mail carrier in Hibbing. I was the first white child to be born in Stevenson, in the year 1900. Church services were held at my parents house as long as they were alive.

"Stevenson village was a lovely place once it got started. There were three clothing stores here, three grocery stores, four saloons, one shoemaker and one tobacco plus candy store. There was also a school and a Finnish temperance society, where meetings and program evenings and lectures on temperance were held. Of these early years I remember best the annual Fourth of July celebrations; they were big events, with playing bands and ball games.

"Five hundred buildings once stood in Stevenson, but only eight are left now. Stevenson has been wiped off the map; it is now merely R.R. 3, Hibbing, Minnesota. Over forty years ago my husband, Arvid Wilippo, and I built our home here, and here we live on in peace and quiet. Only memories are left of my childhood years and of the hundreds of Finns who once came here and then left again."

Chapter X

St. Louis County: Farm Country Fringes

There are in St. Louis County many farming regions in the birth of which the Finns have played an important role. One of the biggest and most unique of these areas is the one around the Mesabi ridge, where settlement extends outward in all directions; the pioneering here has been done almost exclusively by the Finns.

A general picture of the nature of the Northern Minnesota landscape has already been given. Let here be added the statement of a government meteorologist, H. W. Jackson, regarding the climate of St. Louis County and its suitability for agriculture, as given in the *Päivälehti*, 20 August 1915: "The last day of frost in spring comes on the average on the 3rd day of May, and the first frost in autumn occurs usually on the 4th of October. On the longest day of the year, 21 June, the sun may shine for 15 hours 55 minutes, and there are, on the average, 144 sunny days per year."

For agriculture proper, then, nature does not offer nearly the advantages apparent in the southern and western parts of Minnesota. This is one of the reasons why homestead sites in Northern Minnesota were among the last to be taken up and why St. Louis County was still virgin wilderness up to the end of the 19th century. Since forestry operations, which were at their peak in the 1880s and 1890s, needed manpower, the Finns set out for this region to fill the jobs being offered. In those days, food supplies were brought in over great distances, and it did not occur to anyone that productive farms could be carved

out of the surrounding forests. The Finns, however, did entertain just such thoughts.

"Health is more important than the riches of the world," wrote the *Päivälehti* in 1902; " 'Back to the land,' is the motto of those whose health is threatened in the mines," wrote the *Amerikan Suometar* in 1909. But the Finns were motivated much less by the instinct for self-preservation of health than they were by the mining strikes of 1907 and 1916. The consequence of these strikes was the shutting off of the main possibility of gainful labor from the majority of the Finns in this region of mines, and there was not much of a choice left: either leave the mining region, or settle down there as farmers.

The history of agriculture in St. Louis County is characterized by sudden spurts of growth, resulting from just such external factors as strikes in its mining regions. If the iron ore area is considered as the core of the county, Finnish farming regions did begin to spread out from that center toward the northeast and southeast during the homesteading era in the late 1890s, while expansion toward the south began at about the turn of the century and toward the northwest in 1906-07.

Embarrass

Embarrass Township, located just northeast of the Range and north of White (previously considered in these pages), was among the first places where Finnish pioneers arrived in northern St. Louis County. Actually, a fairly extensive area was included in Embarrass, which gets its name from the French fur traders and refers originally to a log and debris jam in a river or more generally to a river in which such jams occur. Such was the case with the Embarrass, flowing through the region in question. The township of the same name was not organized until 1905, but a railroad stop of that name existed as far back as 1892. A primitive store, a small school and a few French inhabitants were on the scene when the first Finns arrived in 1894.

According to local historians, the Finns moved there both because of the miserable working conditions prevailing in the mines and because the lack of jobs in those mines forced them to it. The first to arrive was Alex Palo (Palokangas), native of Kortesjärvi in Finland. He came from the Virginia mines, and his success as a pioneer led to a group of his working comrades "rising up from below the earth to its surface."¹ Since the lands

1. Bercevic, Konrad. *On New Shores*. New York, N. Y., 1925. pp 101-18.

were not particularly adapted to farming, harvesting of timber from one's own land was the first basis of subsistence, with temporary returns to the mines whenever necessary to make ends meet. The railroad was a boon to the inhabitants of Embarrass, for it allowed them to market their timber and later their crops. Subsequently, of course, good roads and highways have been built also, but when the Finns first arrived there were no roads, merely trails through the forests. There were no doctors, not even a veterinarian. Help had to be procured over great distances in case of need. A trophy given to the local schools by the Kaleva Knights, Pohjolainen Chapter, commemorates the trip of a 15-year old Finnish boy in 1901 to fetch medicine in an emergency: Gust Päivärinta ran 25 miles over forest trails and in part through thick forest to the nearest apothecary and 25 miles back, all in one day, truly a memorable marathon run by this Finnish American lad.

In time progress became evident. The forests were felled, the stumps cleared, the marshes drained, and hay fields and tilled land took their places. Horses, and later farm machinery, replaced the oxen and supplemented the farmers' own brawn. "Whoever knows the early history of this region knows how barren it once looked. One must salute these zealous and tough pioneers who alone know the real worth of land they themselves have created by taming the cold forest and winning it to the plow. The Finns have been accustomed to a hard struggle for life in their native land, and here, too, they dare to plunge into the wilderness. They bear up and persevere, and the tough Finns have not only subdued their native wilderness but have conquered Embarrass also," were some of the things the speakers proclaimed on a Pioneers' Day in Embarrass in 1914, according to the *Päivälehti*.

The haphazard growth and appearance of Embarrass was due chiefly to the fact that an administration was not set up until a decade after the first pioneers had begun to arrive. The farm buildings generally were put up in the fashion traditional in Finland, and the barns which were erected received their share of praise in a study in the 1937 *Agricultural History*, in which their qualities for drying hay by means of complete air circulation were pointed out. Horace H. Russell has stated that the Finns of Embarrass produced more rye than any other community in Minnesota, although the Finns apparently grew enough only to meet their own needs.² The main crop of the Finns, of course,

2. Russell, Horace H. *The Finnish Farmers in America*. Washington, D.C., 1937. P. 72.

was the potato, and huge potato cellars marked every farm. Barns came later, when the emphasis shifted to dairy farming.

This shift occurred almost simultaneously among all the Finnish farmers in Minnesota, and in part it reflected a definite campaign: "Less grain growing, more dairy farming — that is the way to ward off poor times," became the general theme in the press. Agricultural journals like *Aura*, *Pellervo* and *Pelto ja Koti* published all pertinent material in this respect from American sources, while several Finnish publishers were putting out literature on the same subject. The starting of cooperative dairies, breeding stations, and the appearance of cattle barns beside the house and sauna were signs of these developments. Frequently, also, the change was connected with the younger generation taking over the farms, while the oldsters sat back and shook their heads like doubting Thomases.

Alex Palo wrote (13 January 1918) to L. B. Arnold, that "many of the farms in this community have about 1,000 bushels of potatoes in their cellars, and everyone has from 5 to 10 cows. The farmers get 60c to \$1.00 per bushel for their potatoes; 39c a pound for their butter. Hay (timothy) sells for \$20 per ton." Ten years later farmers were offered 80-90c per bushel for their potatoes, with the retail price standing at \$1.50. In a report to the Land Commissioner of the Duluth and Iron Range Railroad, Erik Nelimark (Juhani Erkki Takala) wrote on 17 January 1913: "A few years ago the agricultural potential of the Embarrass valley was an unknown factor. Today the Finns have begun to make it into a grainfield. I do not hesitate to prophesy that one day it will develop into one of the outstanding agricultural regions of St. Louis County. At present there are about 200 farmers here. During the winters they work their forests, bring to market the remnants of their timber still available from their own lands. During the summers they bring increasing amounts of land under cultivation. They all have all the necessary buildings, about 60 to 70 acres of cleared land, 6 or 7 cows, 2 or 3 horses, and all sorts of machinery." The oxen of the pioneers had disappeared, and even horse-drawn plows were giving way to tractors in this new pattern of farming. Amenities were appearing on the scene, too, in the form of electricity and the telephone — in 1914 the Finnish farmers of Embarrass were establishing their own telephone company and hoped to have 20 farmers committed by the time they intended to start putting up the poles. And still later phases of farming brought in specialization, with some

farmers turning to truck gardens, others to orchards or berries, which the earlier farmers had shrugged off as "kid stuff."

Cooperative Activity: Toward the end of the 1920s dairy farming in Embarrass had reached its most splendid point and had brought about a security often lacking in earlier decades. The depression which followed, however, again caused a drop of more than 50% in farm production prices within a three year period. If their security seemed threatened, the Finns were also protected by two factors: first, most of them did not have big debts, and second, they did have their own cooperative enterprise.

The beginnings date back to 1909, when the Embarrass Cooperative Association was founded: it joined the Cooperative Central in 1919. The beginning, naturally, was modest, with the first quarters in a small storeroom beside the railroad. There sales were begun, with Matti Ropponen in charge. Later, with the opening of new quarters owned by the cooperative itself, Gust R. Päivärinta became the first permanent business manager. He has had several successors, among them Helmer Märsylä and Lauri Passi, who both served for relatively long periods. With an increase in the volume of business, branches were established in Tower and Vermilion townships, but the Tower branch was closed down after a few years. In addition to the usual lines of supplies, the cooperative sold machinery and electrical supplies, building materials, and forest and farm products. It was this fact of dealing in agricultural products, as well as through its short-lived milling program and dairy project, which made this local cooperative an important factor in keeping many Finnish farming families from starvation and bankruptcy during the depression years. The cooperative used to supply food, and it accepted food for sale when individual storekeepers had stopped all purchases from the farmers. As a result, very few Finns lost either their farms or their possessions in those difficult years of the early 1930s.

For Embarrass, those difficult years brought a change in the dairy farming picture. Added to the economic pressure was the fact that increasing numbers of the younger generation moving to the cities and into the mines left the rural areas without sufficient manpower to carry on. The result was that more and more of the big cattle barns were left empty; and fields cleared with such backbreaking labor began to revert to scrub.

Finnish Organizations in Embarrass: At the time when the Finns first began to settle in Embarrass, the pastors of parishes in the region rarely made visits to this new community. However,

the Apostolic Lutherans did occasionally hold services here, but even their formal congregation did not get underway until 1906, and a church was built the following year, on land given by Samuel Norha. The first members of the board were Gregori Hanka, Isaac Lamppa, John Nelimark, Alex Palo, John Päivärinta, John Soini and Tuomas Wärlin. Of these, Isaac Lamppa later served as preacher, but he was preceded by John Pylkkä, while visiting preachers have been frequent guests over the years.

Although the Laestadian movement was the first to hold services in Embarrass, the first church to be organized locally was the National, in 1905, with J. Rankkila as pastor. Rankkila lived in Gilbert, and he had to make his way on foot to Embarrass and still farther afield to Waasa to meet his parishioners in their pioneering communities. Later, a church was built in Embarrass, but it was found necessary to sell this church in the years preceding World War II; membership had been 152 in 1923 but had dropped to 11 at the time of the sale. Rankkila was succeeded as pastor by D. Ruotsalainen, A. Karen, L. N. Wilenius, R. V. and E. V. Niemi, and R. J. L. Aho.

Finally, Embarrass also had a Suomi Synod congregation, directed from Ely. Activity was gotten underway in the 1920s, and during the following decade a church was built. Membership here has varied between 40 and 60 persons.

Although Embarrass has been a farming community, it has also had its share of workers' chapter and hall activity. The local socialist chapter was started on the eve of World War I, but it had a difficult period during the schism, until the IWW faction won out. After that, many dances were arranged, plays were produced, a lending library maintained and a youth group started, all within the framework of a workers' hall. Gradually, however, interest in all this activity died down, and when fire destroyed the hall in 1934, the end came. The number of persons active in this organizations was never very large, perhaps some 20-30 at the most.

The reason for the limited membership, and for the fact that the IWW never made much headway in rural communities, lay primarily in the fact that farmers were not permitted to become members, whether they owned much land or only a little. Farmers were classified as belonging to the exploiters, "who had nothing in common with the working class." In spite of that, former miners and forestry hands, who had been supporters of industrial unionism and even members of it, were often still favorably disposed toward it when they became farmers, and they did in fact start up workers' organizations supporting the *Industrialisti* and

the IWW. Such had been the case in Embarrass, as in many other farming communities as well.

After World War I, the communists also made some headway in Embarrass. Inspired by these new teachings, a number of Embarrass Finns left for Russia. Among them were Väinö Laakso, Ed. Lindholm, and Lyyli and Toivo Ullakko.

Finally, there was also a temperance society in the community, affiliated with the state organization, and still active in the years after the workers' hall was destroyed and everything there had come to a halt. Very active for a time, also was the Embarrass Valley Townsend Plan Club, which Adolph Pernu served as chairman, Stephan Ilkka as vice-chairman, Miss Jacobson as secretary and M. Heikkilä as treasurer.

The last of the Embarrass organizations have been the Finnish aid committees. According to Halonen, the chairman of the local American committee was J. Anderson, while the Argo-Waasa Finnish committee was directed by Sam Laurila, with Mikko Järvi as vice-chairman, Wilho Peuramäki as secretary and William Koski as treasurer.

Finns in Community Life: Although Embarrass did not have an active civic club, the Finns, being in the majority, have filled many local positions. The first board of selectmen included Alex Palo, John Wilhelm Päivärinta and Frank Stohle. Supervisory posts have been filled by Andrew Wäisänen, Victor Helbacka, Henry Niemi and Nick Lehto. Eino Norha for 19 years, and Emil Mäki for 12, served as assessors, while both Toivo Hill and Kathryn Kangas served as secretary to the selectmen for two decades. In 1919 the Embarrass town officials included Erick Lehto as president of the board of selectmen, Nick Lehto and Matt Hill as supervisors, John Wäisänen and John Kangas as assessors, John Koski as treasurer, and A. Wäisänen and Charles Reinström as constables. Thirty years later we find Leo Hannula, John Palo, Elmer Koski, Kathryn Kangas, Art. Lamppa and Floyd Saranpää in the same positions. School committee members have included John Holm, M. R. Hannula, and Matt Ropponen. Two Embarrass Finns, Erwin Dorff and Elsie J. Norha, have gone on to teaching positions on the university level.

As local businessmen, the Finns have been well represented. The first of them was Isaac Lamppa, who began by operating the store owned by Henry Huhta of Virginia but who later had his own store and also became a lumber dealer. When the Finns first came here, there was a small store near the railroad station, also housing the post office business, owned by one Linnall. This

was purchased in 1905 by M. R. Hannula, who also took over the post office duties. As the community grew, so did Hannula's business, until it became the leading lumber, food and farm produce outlet locally. In 1928 this firm was purchased by Isaac Lamppa, Jr., and his brother Alex, and became known as Lamppa Bros. Isaac became the local postmaster and continued in that post even after the partnership was dissolved and the business was in the hands of his brother and became the firm of Alex Lamppa and Son. Under this name the business moved into new quarters and continued to flourish as the largest privately owned local business enterprise. Other local Finnish businesses include the Corner Store owned by Henry and Mary Salo, and the gasoline station and coffee shop owned by Leonard Johnson.

The population of Embarrass Township was 49 in 1900, then 648 in 1910 and 712 in 1920. No figures are available to state how many of these might be Finnish, but in 1940, when the population was 670, the Finnish Legation in Washington made an inquiry and came up with the figure of 500 in round numbers as being of Finnish descent. The estimate is perhaps not exaggerated.

Waasa and Allen

East of Embarrass lies the Township of Waasa, and north of Waasa lie extensive areas which have remained wilderness in spite of Finnish attempts to settle there. If Waasa has remained an area of sparse roads and wilderness trails, the situation in Allen has been even worse. As soon as Finns had begun to settle in Embarrass, a few went farther on, and in 1899 J. Antuli, Julius Dahl and H. Eno appeared as three whose names were on the petition to organize the Township of Allen, which is better known on the maps as T 61 R 14. Although there were a few pioneers there in the early years, in 1920 there was but one solitary person left, for even the Finns, in the majority among the total of 179 of them at one time, had abandoned their holdings. Allen died basically because of its isolation, for there was no railroad to serve it, no highways or roads to pierce through its forests. It has not been until the years after World War II that a few persons have ventured again into this still virgin wilderness.

Vermilion Lake and Payla

Northwest of the Embarrass-Waasa Finnish region, and north of the Aurora and Biwabik area, lies another Finnish region dating from approximately the same time and consisting of Vermilion

Lake, Pike, Sandy and Kugler townships. Of these, Pike and Kugler were established in 1904, Vermilion Lake in 1912 and Sandy in 1916, indicating that administrative boundaries followed years after the Finns had begun to settle in these wilderness regions in the 1890s.

The Pike River winds northward between two iron-rich ridges, the Mesabi and the Vermilion. The first Finn to settle in the valley was Fred Anderson in 1893, and he was soon followed by Andrew Hiltunen and J. R. Salmela. Arduous effort was required here, too, to clear the forest and to make way for cultivation, to open even a primitive road, to establish fords and rafts for river crossings. According to the Vermilion Lake history prepared by the St. Louis County Rural Schools Leisure Education Department, "Cattle were fed with wild grasses, and frugal housewives sold butter in five-pound crocks while the children gathered berries to be sent to Tower to be sold."

The Finnish center of population clustered at a point about 8 miles southwest of Tower. Settlement was furthered by the presence of the Vermilion Trail and the Duluth and Iron Range railroad with its stop at Athens; the pioneers themselves cleared a road from Tower to Vermilion Lake, via Wahlsten.

Olof Määttä was the first Finn here who owned a horse and wagon. He and his wife Hilda (Pöyliö) were the first to marry here. Lauri Salmela and Alma Simonson were the first white children born here. There were many Indians in the area, and the Finns generally got along well with them. The Indians used to paddle along Pike River in four-man canoes, peddling game and fish, and the Finns often bartered with them, offering dairy products in exchange. Game, of course, was available to the pioneers as well, and even bears were far from uncommon here.

Early settlers included Fred Anderson and his wife, and Peter Payla and his family. In fact, Payla became the first local postmaster and as a local businessman was among the first. The very first local store, however, was opened in 1919 by John (Soine) Hendrickson, who later sold out to John Salmela, while later storekeepers included Matt Hill and Uno Huttula. Payla kept his post office and store at his own home, and the community got its name from him. Subsequently Peter Payla was also a member of the school committee for years, after the first school was opened in the home of Charles Kangas in 1905. Other committee members were Jacob Carlson, Matt Hill, John Mäkelä and John Salmela. Later, Lillian Arkkola became teacher in the Payla school. Peter Payla, meanwhile, went on to become one of the

original selectmen of Vermilion Lake Township when a local administration was set up in 1913. Other town officials in that administration were Charles Tarkman, chairman of the board of selectmen; Erick Koski, Matt Luoma and Henry Simonson, selectmen; Uno Huttula, treasurer; Olof Määttä and Peter Mustonen, constables; Matt Hill and Matt Lehtinen, inspectors of roads.

By this time, of course, the Finns had already established typical organizations of their own. In the spring of 1909, Esa Torkko arrived from Soudan to begin organization of a temperance society: Valon Tuote (Product of Light), organized in May of that year, immediately joined the Temperance Brotherhood. The first officers of the local society were Henry Simonson, chairman, and Ida Männikkö, secretary. Within two years, a hall was built, with the local National Church congregation sharing in the project. Once the hall was up, the younger members of the temperance society also built themselves a dance pavilion on land donated by Charles Niemi.

Another hall was built, in 1914, by the local workers' society. Support in this group, however, was weak and began to decline, and the hall was eventually taken over by the temperance society, which in turn later put it at the disposal of the local farmers' club. This Finnish hall of Payla was used by dramatics groups and choruses; for several years Emil Björkman used to come from Virginia to conduct the chorus rehearsals.

The Payla congregation, naturally a small one, was already in existence at the turn of the century, when Heikki Sarvela used to visit Payla to hold services. In 1932 the congregation decided to affiliate itself with the National Church, and since that time the services have been conducted by pastors from Ely. In 1949 there were but 30 parishioners left, plus 11 children. Services apparently had been conducted from the very beginning of local Finnish settlement, and their church, built of logs, was originally a school. In front of the church stands a red marble marker, with names of those Finns who had arrived here by 1903 inscribed on it. This memorial, unveiled in 1950, was erected by the Pioneer Reunion, whose purpose was to preserve the traditions of the Finnish pioneers.

In December 1946 a local chapter of the MFAHS was also established here at a meeting held at the Vermilion school. Its first chairman was Peter Hiltunen; vice-chairman, Eino Salo; treasurer, Matti Holappa. Interest in the local Finnish pioneer past has also been in evidence among the younger generation,

even among children in the schools, who have collected and compiled a local history on their own.

More than 50 Finns of Vermilion Lake Township served in World War II. Of them, Ray J. Hiltunen and Carl P. Hujanen sacrificed their lives.

Pike

One summer day in the 1890s — the precise year is apparently no longer recalled — a party of six Finns left Virginia to look for land for themselves. They were Herman Johnson (a surveyor), John Karjala, John Kivelä, John Latvala (also called 'Baker' Mattson), Salomon Mänty and John Willman. They eventually hiked into Pike, and there Karjala, who was the oldest in the group, sat down on a rock at a point where the Sandy and Pike rivers meet, and said, "This is my land — and there have to be four 'quarters' to it." Today, the oldest house in the region stands right there, but Karjala actually had to wait for seven years before that land was his, for someone before him had already signed for this land grant acreage. His house, however, was ready to move into at Christmas, 1896, and others followed. But in those early years much had to be done by everybody pitching in for the common good: that was the way the forest trail was widened into a passable road, vestiges of which could still be pointed out more than half a century later.

With the lands being low-lying stretches along the Pike, floods presented a recurring danger. Every year there was the breaking of the ice in the Pike, and at other times of the year torrential rains might also make the waters rise dangerously. In September 1900 the water rose so high that one could row by boat through the windows into the farmhouse of August Matts.

The first wedding celebrated in Pike was that of Gust Kivelä and Hilda Lundström, in August 1908. The first white child born in Pike was Edward Matts, who left Pike as a young man, like so many others, and who died of a heart attack in Virginia at the age of 50.

Many other Finns lie buried in Pike, which is big enough to have two Finnish cemeteries. One of them, the West Side Cemetery, was started when Henry Jacobson (Karjala) offered an acre of land for that purpose, "because it is too far to carry the dead all the way across the township." John Jacobson (Petäjä) and Jack Finn helped the donor to clear the land, fence it, and erect a big black cross in the center. Pastor John Rankkila came in August 1902 to dedicate the site. Alma Laulunen, who



Finnish Ev. Luth. Church dedicated in Pike in 1910. The building has been remodeled twice since that time.

lies buried there herself, has described the early years of this cemetery: "The first to be buried there was Väinö Petäjä's infant, and the first adult was Heta Ojanperä in February 1910. The funerals were very simple affairs. The caskets were made at home, sometimes with the help of Kusti Saarinen. When it was an infant's burial, the casket was carried under one's arm to the cemetery. A burial plot cost \$3, later \$4. The grave digger was paid \$5 for his work, but later that was doubled, but if someone wanted to dig a grave himself he could do it. The first cemetery officials were Henry Karjala, who was maintenance man and gravedigger, and John Petäjä, who was president." Describing the other local cemetery, Alma Laulunen wrote: "The East Side Cemetery later became the larger one, and it is here that the majority of Pike's pioneers rest on a lovely knoll. The first person to be buried there was Senia Hirsimäki. At this cemetery the gravedigger was paid \$12 in summer and \$16 in winter. Later the winter fee rose still more, since one man alone could not budge the frozen earth. Both cemeteries have long since been transferred to township administration."

Immediately adjoining the Finnish cemetery, and at a corner of Henry Allen's land, stands the Pike Evangelical Lutheran church, built in 1906. Earlier, services had been held at mem-

bers' homes, chiefly at Isaac Hill's, whenever Heikki Sarvela was in town. The congregation had been officially established in May 1903 at a meeting held at August Esteström's home. Once the church was built, services were held every fourth Sunday, and the sewing circle met on the second Sunday of every month. The building has seen alterations and improvements over the years, the most significant recent one being a tablet in memory of Finns who fell in World War II. Membership has been small — about 30 in 1911, up to 46 in 1935. Pastors after Sarvela have been I. Katajamäki, John Rankkila, K. J. Rissanen, Heikki Anias, Jacob Hirvi, B. A. Uusitalo, A. Karen, G. A. Aho, David Ruotsalainen, E. A. Heino, Toivo Miettinen, R. J. Aho and Viljo Puotinen.

The Pike Apostolic Lutheran church was established at a meeting at Carl H. Nikimaa's home in May 1920, although services had already been held prior to this on an informal basis for years. At the founding meeting an executive committee of seven was appointed, with Carl H. Nikimaa becoming its chairman and Vivian Ilkka the secretary. A church was subsequently built, located on one corner of land owned by Matti Hietala, along Route 196. Among its pastors has been August Saarela, who served for several decades. Among the Pike residents of this denomination there has been some dissension, resulting in a faction starting a separate group, which has existed without a church proper but which has held services in members' homes.

Meanwhile, the younger people in Pike managed to erect a dance hall for themselves in 1908, located near the school. There was still a need felt for a more serious meeting place, however, and funds for it were collected in various ways; the hall, built in 1911, was then taken over by the group of local socialists, whose chapter had 34 members the following year, but only five of whom were subscribers to the *Työmies*. The local craving for more halls was not fulfilled, however, until a larger one was built during World War I. It was called the Pike Athletic Hall and was also referred to as the 'big hall' or the 'club hall.' With the building of this one, the old hall was abandoned and in time sold to the Pike-Sandy Cooperative in 1937. Both halls, in their time, have served as town meeting sites.

The first meeting of the local inhabitants to discuss community problems was held in the year 1900 at the home of Matti Lakanen. The building of roads and schools were on the agenda. As far as education was concerned, Pike belonged to the Tower school district, but since the people of Pike felt that was too far

away for their children they requested permission to set up their own school district. With permission granted, the local Finns proceeded with zeal: August Matts gave an acre of land, logs were hauled to the scene, and everybody turned up to erect the building — a log structure with a big stove in the one big room with desks, a big blackboard, shelves for books and charts. The school was opened in the fall of 1902, with Joseph Sundin as the first teacher, followed by Charles Kangas the next year and by O. Reardon the third. Some of the bigger pupils were already 18-year olds, and they were the ones who had the hardest time learning English.

The township became responsible for school costs in 1904, but this also made it part of the county school system: the school, which had only 5 grades, now had to expand to 8, and this in turn involved a larger building. The new school, built in 1913, had two classrooms — and two teachers. (Later, two more grades were added to the school program, and secondary school facilities were made available in Virginia.) The pupils took care of heating their school and keeping it clean. The teachers lived on nearby farms, until a 4-room house was built for them near the school. It was not until after World War I that the educational pattern in Pike began to assume more modern aspects and to meet new standards. In the early years children had walked to school, often many miles. Later, during rainy weather or in winter, horses were called on to haul the children to school. Finally, school buses have begun to call for the children at their very door and bring them back to the same spot.

A corollary to one's own school system was a local government: Pike Township was incorporated in 1904 and was to include a population of 340 in 1910 and 564 in 1920. When it came to naming the township, several Finnish names were proposed but rejected, and the place was named after the river which flows through it. The majority of the population was Finnish in those days, and although the Finnish percentage of the local population later began to decrease, up to the period of World War II the town meetings were even conducted in Finnish. Town officials, of course, were consistently Finns. In 1920, for example, Leander (Leo) Lundstrom was chairman of the selectmen, Jacob Anttila and John Bukkila were supervisors, Arvid Johnson was treasurer, and Gust Kivelä and W. Matts were selectmen. Lempi Lakari was the first woman elected and served as township secretary, while Alma Laulunen later was victorious over male candidates and was elected Justice of the Peace in 1949.

There has probably been no phase in the community life in which Finns have not had their share. A good example is that of postal service — or the lack of it to begin with. In the early days, mail destined for Pike was directed to the Virginia post office, and from there it was picked up every Saturday, with all



Pike farmers' summer festival in 1912 on the grounds of the workers' hall. The hall is one of the oldest on the Iron Range.

the farmers taking turns according to the list posted on the kitchen wall of August Matts's home. When this system proved onerous, it was decided to pay one man to do the chore every week. John Karjala volunteered and kept it up, winter and summer, afoot and on horseback, until Henry Kangas succeeded in getting a post office established in Pike. Kangas was also named the postmaster and operated from his own home. He later relinquished it to L. Lundström, and in 1907 the 'office' was transferred to Kusti Lammi's house, and his wife served as the postmistress until 1914. In the meantime, the mail still had to be picked up in Virginia, and after Karjala gave up the collection others succeeded him, finally John Dorff, who began to pick it up in Embarrass. This route became the established one, and the local post office was closed. Through World War I the mail was picked up twice weekly in Embarrass, later daily, with Gust Päivärinta putting in the longest service on this RFD route, all of 24 years.

Agriculture was the mainstay of the local Finns, and the importance of mutual assistance was realized at an early date, and in 1914 a program for pooling their resources to buy farm

machinery was begun.³ This 'trust company' began its existence with Heikki Allen serving as president and Hiski Abelson as secretary. The first big machinery procured was a thresher, bought in Chicago for \$1,400 plus delivery fees, and this machine was taken from farm to farm to help the Finns in their harvesting. Actually, the program was successful as long as the old Finns were still able to keep on farming their lands.

The winter of 1914 also saw the start of a Farmers' Club in Pike, which was to aid the farmers with their problems and furnish them with guidance. The same purposes were behind the 'farmers' days', held chiefly in the bigger centers of population in the Range, and the special demonstrations often held in rural areas as well. Examples such as the Hibbing plus county agricultural fair of August 1915 and the Eveleth Farmers' Days in September 1923 fall into this category.

The farmers of Pike, out to make progress on their own, began to plan a telephone company in 1920 as a welcome convenience



Joseph and Kreetta Kultamäki's store in Pike in 1920.

in a rural area where farms were far from each other. When Matti Allen, Jacob Finni, Matti Holkko, Verner Lake, Matti Ranta and Victor Williams held their first meeting to discuss this project, they estimated it would cost each participating party about \$100, but before it actually materialized it was found the cost would mount to \$180 plus 20 telephone poles to be furnished

3. Laulunen, Alma. MS in files of MFAHS. Cf also, Päivälehti, 3 September 1914.

by each party. The switchboard was set up in Matti Allen's home, and he was paid \$8 per month for his services, with another \$8 per month going to the exchange in Virginia. This system remained unchanged for decades.

The beginnings of business as such in Pike had modest proportions, when Joseph and Kreeta Keltamäki began in 1909 to retail goods they bought during the winter in Virginia. Out of this enterprise developed the first store in Pike. Later, in the mid-1930s, the Finns of Pike and Sandy townships got a joint cooperative store, set up on Route 169. Focus was naturally on agricultural lines and was so completely Finnish that whereas all seven of its original board of directors had been born in Finland, all seven of its directors in the 1950s were second or third generation Finnish Americans.

Younger Finnish Americans have participated to some extent in the relatively more recent Finnish organizations in Pike, in the temperance society Rauhan Maja (Peace Shelter) established in 1930, in the Townsend Club. The former purchased the old school for its meeting place, but enthusiasm soon lagged, although nominally it was still in existence and participating in subsequent Finnish relief programs. Support for the Townsend Club was limited and of short duration. And in general, here as elsewhere, purely American organizations have attracted the younger Finns, with the Scouts and the 4-H being the most popular.

Sandy and Florenton

Immediately west of Pike lies Sandy Township, in which the Finns also played their role. The township was not organized until 1916, and its population then cannot have been large, for in 1900 it was 16, in 1910 it was 199, and in 1920 it was 136. Its neighbor, again, was a typically Finnish township, incorporated in 1908 and named Wuori — Finnish for hill, but Hill was rejected as a name because there were already several towns so designated. Here the population was 222 in 1910 and 296 in 1920. The first people to move into the wilderness of Sandy were Matti and Aina Jacobson, while the honor in what was later to be called Florenton fell to a Finn named Siikala. Florenton never developed into any sort of population center, but since it was known originally as a postal address it has expanded as such to embrace a big postal area, a farming area all of which is now named Florenton.



Finnish mixed choir at Sandy. Front row: Elsie Möttönen, Jeanne Wierimaa, Elsie Matts, Avis Pernu, John Lintula, director, Julia Möttönen, Esther Kivelä, Signe Taskinen. Second row: Mabel Jauhola, Ethel Esala, Hilda Balki, Martha Nygaard, Alma Koski, Lempi Tamminen, Julia Keskitalo, Turna Esala. Third row: Toivo Esala, John Lintula, Sydney Pernu, Willard Esala, Walter Haryn, Sulo Esala, John Jacobson, Edwin Palen. Fourth row: Frank Jacobson, Oscar Balki, Fred Erkkilä, Walfred Esala, Kauko Honkanen, Clifford Pernu, Hugo Esala, Arthur Manninen.

Although Finnish families were usually large and the number of families relatively high, they did not begin by and large to maintain in these wilderness areas the kinds of fixed organizations the Finns have had in their centers of population. They did have their small congregations, of course; the Sandy-Florenton Evangelical Lutheran church, started in 1905, which joined the National Church in 1911, when a small chapel was also built. A church proper was built in 1937, although membership at that time was less than 50. The Apostolic Lutherans have also had

several groupings in the area, with meetings held at regular intervals.

There was even workers' society activity, with a chapter in Florenton with 31 members in 1912, another in Sandy Lake with 9 members that same year. When the schism came, the IWW wing emerged victorious. The Florenton society continued to manifest signs of cultural activity, with a dramatics group which put on plays for several years.

As was the case in Pike, the Finnish majority in Sandy naturally filled most of the local administrative posts. In 1920, for example, Alex Pursi was chairman of the board of selectmen; William Jacobson and Nestor Wolun, supervisors; Ed. Janhola, treasurer, and Otmar Järvinen and Lars Koski, selectmen. That same year the Wuori administration was made up of Ed Arvola, chairman of the board of selectmen, William Rekonen and Emil Wittanen as supervisors, Sam Lampi as treasurer, and Antti Heikkilä and Alex Niemi as selectmen. For many years, Aino Evelina Heikkilä was secretary of the townships of both Sandy and Wuori; and she also started the Florenton post office at the time Henry Kangas started his in Pike. She used to walk to Pike for the Florenton mail, for the distance was only a mile and a half. She kept the Florenton office for 42 years, and after her retirement the office was moved to the Pike-Sandy cooperative store.

Saved from losses in World War II — for there were no longer many left of an age to serve in the armed forces — there was one casualty in World War I: Leander Wall, an immigrant from Finland, lost his life in battle in November 1918.

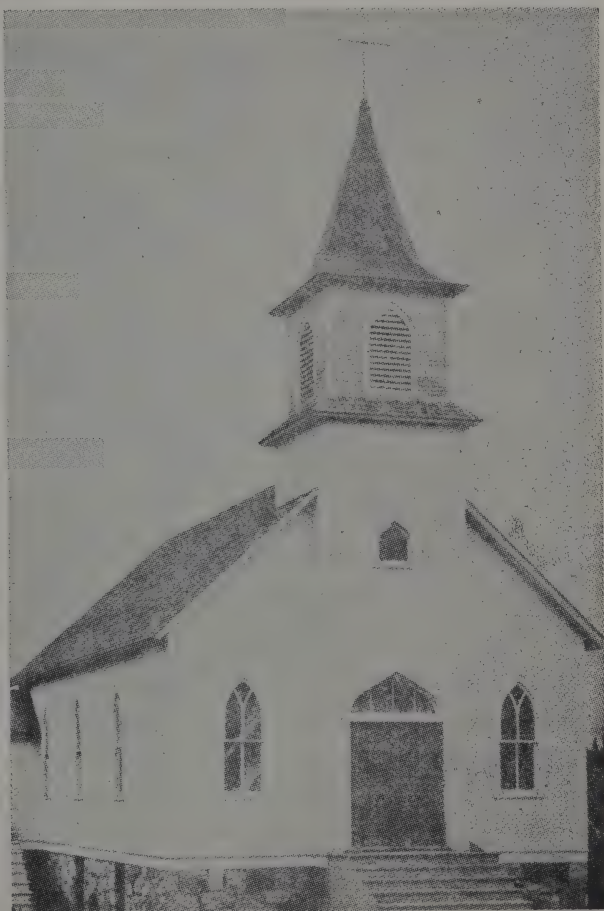
Angora

Angora Township, which embraces Angora proper and Idington, lies west of Sandy, and its settlement is of more recent date than the communities just previously discussed. However, the first Finns came here in 1902, when a foursome of Finnish miners from Virginia — Jack Latikka, Kusti Mäki, Henry Ronback, and a man named Perkola — came here looking for land on which to settle. It was a day in April; they had just left the night shift at their mine and set out directly, walked 15 miles, saw the land they had come to look at under a blanket of fresh snow which fell while they hiked there, and then hiked 15 miles back to Virginia and straight down into the mine to work the night again. All that summer and fall they trudged to their new land, to start the job of clearing it whenever they had

a free day, and by Christmas two of them, Perkola and Ronback, were installed in their new cabins in the country. Increasing numbers of Finns followed their example.

The *Päivälehti* (2 May 1914) found much to praise here: "In the vicinity of Angora live hundreds of Finns in a neat settlement. Good roads and schools, postal service, and the telephone have been made available. There are good market outlets in the nearby big cities, and Angora has its own farmer stores."

By 1909 the Finns were involved in temperance work, but when they succeeded in a local referendum in stopping the granting of a liquor store license, they did not start a society of their own but supported the society in neighboring Alango. However, there was a local church, in Idington, affiliated with the Suomi Synod, with a membership fluctuating between 25 and 50. There were also, surprisingly, two workers' societies, one for Angora proper, with 33 members in 1912, and the other covering the township area, with a membership of 27. Both tried to arrange cultural activities, and both sponsored dramatics. Out of some of these workers also developed communists, and some of them even emigrated to Russia: Nick Han-



Suomi Synod Church in Idington.

nula, Andrew and Salomon Laine, and Reino Roine. And in 1945 there were still some 30 subscribers in Angora to the communist *Työmies* and *Naisten Viiri*.

Finally, there has been a Finnish relief committee, which Alex Jackson served as chairman, and even more recently a chapter of the MFAHS, started in December 1946 at a meeting at which 12 persons were present and chose Matti Erkkilä chairman, Andrew Aho secretary and John Ketola treasurer.

The population of Angora was 225 in 1910 and 392 in 1920. A significant percentage of them were Finns, but they did not succeed in making their mark on local administrative affairs the way their Finnish neighbors to the east of them did.

Alango

Finnish settlement began in Alango, which lies west of Angora, as well as in Field, which lies north of it, and in Sturgeon, which lies west of it, in significant numbers and at about the same time as the settlement in Angora. The Township of Field, named after James A. Field, was the first to be incorporated, in 1906, with incorporation coming the following year in Sturgeon, named after the river flowing through it. Alango came last, in 1910, with a Finn, Elias Matson initiating the move. The name of Alango, also, is Finnish; it means a lowland or dale, and locally it is said to have had its first use in 1906, when Heikki Anias, first pastor of the local church, proposed that name for the congregation which was just getting its start because to him the whole stretch from Ely and Sandon was 'like walking through a dale.'

The first inhabitant of Alango was Henry Jacobson, who built his cabin here in 1902. The following year he got as neighbors Fred Saari and family. Two Finns from Ylistaro, Finland, who had been neighbors in Chisholm, where they worked in the same mines, chose to become neighbors in Alango, too, in a part of the township which the Finns called 'Wilderness village' but which later was called North Star Community; these two Finns were Kusti Kujala and Matti Pohto. Another Finn, John Ketola, who had first lived in Sturgeon, was also a surveyor of sorts and helped newcomers to pick out available lands. When he himself moved across to the Alango side, he got as neighbors Nestor Vainio (in 1904) and Charles J. Johnson and Matti Beirson, who all came from Chisholm.

What they all came to was a wilderness difficult to get in and out of or to move around in, because there were no roads to speak of, except the old Tower-Itasca road, probably an old Indian trail, which eventually did become a state highway. If

trails did eventually become good clay country roads, there were never enough of them to reach all the pioneers in this wilderness, and it was not an easy job to carry a 5-gallon milk can on one's back from an isolated farm down to the nearest road to be picked up, as Fred Leinonen had to do, and his complaint to his neighbors might well have been echoed by them: "Why do we have to live in America in a spot like this and go through all this torture, even though we haven't committed any crimes?" The local historical society gives its unqualified recognition to these pioneers in the introductory paragraph to the local history they have submitted: "A person who learns the life stories of these pioneers and still refuses to doff his hat to them cannot comprehend the dangers and difficulties, the perseverance and will power which has dripped in sweat from the brows of Finnish men and women upon this soil. Certainly the settlement of this wilderness has been possible only for those whose zeal has been unending, who have known no fear of the difficulties facing them, and who, with deprivation to themselves, have dedicated themselves to work for a future which was to benefit their children and future generations."

Increasing numbers of Finns came, to do just this. Lydia Aho and Valentin Takala were the first couple to get married here; Albert Simonson in Alango (1903), Lydia Aho in Wilderness Village, and Aino Aho in Field were the first white children born here. In time some of these families grew so large that those of Henry Jacobson, Alfred Johnson, Andrew Pihlaja and Carl Simonson each had eleven children.

As the numbers of children increased, the Finns had to begin building schools, for the nearest ones outside were 20 miles away. Anton Alto and Otto Mäki built the first one, in Wilderness Village, and the teacher who came there in February 1909 found 30 children to teach. (Later this village was incorporated into the Buhl school district, and children have been transported there to modern schools.) The first one-room school in Alango was built on Fred Saari's land, another rose on Isaac Pihlaja's land, a third on Nikolai Haavisto's property in 1913. All of them originally formed an independent school district but were later incorporated into the county system, which built its first two-room school here on Isaac Pihlaja's land on the Itasca road in 1914. When fire destroyed this school in 1926, high school classes were held in Andrew Pihlaja's home until a new school was built. In Field the situation was similar: one school built on Oscar

Heikkinen's land, another on Matt Neva's, a third and fourth elsewhere.⁴

The earliest form of united action by the Finns here was probably in their getting together to help newcomers put up their cabins. They were also helped in clearing their land and even in harvesting their first crops. Weather conditions called for quick harvesting of grain, and before machinery was available only sufficient manpower assembled together could do it in time. Even when machinery became available and was admitted to be effective by those who had worked on farms in the Dakotas, it was still too expensive for any individual poor Finnish farmer here to contemplate. Cooperative action was the only solution, and with 30 farmers investing \$100 each it became possible to buy a thresher to be used by them all in turn, moving from farm to farm, with Henry Saari operating the machine, William Ongalo hovering around it with an oil can, Walfred Pajari acting as mechanic. Efficient use of the thresher still required about a dozen men, and so harvesting was almost a carnival moving from farm to farm. It was only when the pattern of farming began to change and dairy farming grew in importance that farmers began to give up their membership in the combine and the big thresher was used less and less.

Meanwhile, to turn to a more somber note, the Finns did band together for other purposes as well, and their first concern was to establish a cemetery, and that they consecrated in October 1906, with a procession moving slowly down a muddy lane from Nels Nukala's home, with pastors Heikki Anias, Nikolai Haavisto and Jacob Karvala in the lead, to the site on the Itasca road. (Mayme Juntunen and Maria Blixt were the first to be buried there, and hundreds of other Finns were to follow.) Later, some distance removed to the left and the right of the cemetery, were to come the two Finnish churches, the Lutheran and the Unitarian.

The Alango Evangelical Lutheran congregation was established within a very short time, in December 1906. (It was to change its name, in 1924, to the Alango-Field Evangelical Lutheran church when the Finns from that neighboring township joined it.) In 1907 membership already included 74 families. The question of affiliation came up, but the congregation preferred an independent existence and a broadminded one, for pastors of both the National and the Synod churches were welcome to preach from its pulpit. Affiliation with the Suomi Synod did

4. Pioneer of the Wilderness. Alango-Sturgeon-Korvenkylä-Field Region Trail Blazers Souvenir Day. (Mimeographed brochure.)

come in 1922, and from that time until 1947 the congregation belonged to the Virginia district. After that, Alango formed a new district, together with Idington. Pastors of the church have been, first, Heikki Anias, followed by Kaarlo Salovaara, John Wargelin, Mathias Ström, K. C. Rissanen, Heikki Sarvela, M. E. Merijärvi, Victor Kuusisto, Douglas Ollila and John Saarinen. The church building itself, long in the planning, was dedicated in 1928. This church has had a very active sewing circle; it has also had a missionary group, Luther League, Deacons' Society and a Sunday school, in which the first teachers were Isaac Pihlaja, Jack Rautio and August Saarela. Church officers have included, chronologically, Carl Simonson, August Saarela, Gust Gustafson, Peter Koski, Isaac Pihlaja, Alex Jackson, Andrew Pihlaja, V. Kuusisto and Douglas Ollila.



Alango-Field Suomi Synod Church.

It was from Virginia, where the Unitarian church had made headway among the Finns, that its influence reached Alango — via the Alango temperance society which had invited Pastor Risto Lappala to speak to them in a meeting on Christmas eve, 1914. He was well received and was invited to return on numerous later occasions. This led, subsequently, to the establishment of a local Unitarian church in October 1916. The new church elected Fred Leinonen as its chairman, Carl Simonson as its secretary, and Alfred Johnson as its treasurer. Services were held once a month at the Pihlaja school. Whenever Lappala was prevented from coming to hold the services he used to send his wife Milma, who was also ordained, and who took charge of all her husband's commitments after his death. Later, her second

husband, Matti Erkkilä, served as assistant in this Alango-Field church. Since the pastor received only \$2 for each visit he made, and since there were no other expenses, money was gradually accumulated for a building fund. Realization of the project came closer when the Virginia Rainy Lake Company made the gift of two acres of land on the corner of the Itasca and Samuelson road and the American Unitarian Church made a loan of \$600. The building was finished in the autumn of 1919 and in 1933 received an addition when a former schoolhouse was bought and moved to adjoin the original building. In 1949, membership was 92, including 11 of the original members. Chairman of the church have been Fred Leinonen, Mrs. A. Johnson, Mrs. O. Heikkinen, John Kajaanus, Peter Ongalo, Oscar Heikkinen, Walfred Pajari, Mrs. W. Johnson and Emil Rautiola.

The more social needs of the local Finns were met by the temperance society, Apilanlehti (Cloverleaf), established in September 1914, with Erick Anttila and John Porthan from Ely on the scene to assist in the ceremonies and to welcome the society into membership in the Temperance Brotherhood. The first officers of the new society were William Ongalo, chairman; John Rintala, vice-chairman; Carl Simonson, secretary; Gust Gustafson, treasurer; Henry Saari, recorder; Aino Saari, matron; Erick Keiski, sergeant-at-arms. In addition, various committees were also appointed and activities promptly begun, but when it proved too difficult to procure premises suitable for the club's purposes, enthusiasm just as swiftly subsided, and the society died altogether in 1918, dividing its cash on hand into gifts for the Minnesota Temperance League and the two local churches.

Prohibition, perversely, brought the society to life once more. The local boys who had gone off to war returned as less innocent men, and some of the older generation had also begun to visit the cities to buy an occasional bottle, so that when a group of members of the Valon Tuote society from Virginia paid a visit to Alango in 1930 they were able to get the local Apilanlehti to its feet again. Meetings were held at the Rice River hall, monthly coffee parties were held, temperance lectures sponsored, a dramatics program initiated, a summer festival put on, the hall purchased with a loan granted by Valon Tuote. Within two years the debts were paid off, but once that happened, interest immediately began to flag and very soon absolutely nothing was going on at the hall. Attempts to rent it out came to nothing, and finally the building was sold to Alma Matson for \$175. The

society now had \$209.50, more money than ever before, and a problem of what to do with it.

In Minnesota Temperance League meetings the members of the Apilanlehti had become aware of the funeral benefit societies which existed and now decided (1934) to start one of their own with the capital on hand. Their plan called for 75c annual dues from members in return for \$75 to be paid in case of death, plus free coffee to be served to all at members' funerals. Expenditures, however, soon began to exceed income, so it became necessary to raise the dues to \$1 and cut the benefits to \$50. With this, a favorable balance was achieved, and successful program evenings and the good health of members brought the capital up to \$450 in 1938.

Within this altered framework, then, Apilanlehti was in a position to carry on modest activity, to participate in the Delaware Tercentenary project and in 1939, finally, to turn its attention to Finnish relief: in a meeting in December the society donated \$15 of its own funds and appointed a committee to solicit additional money. That seems, once more, to have been the last spurt of activity, but it was not until January 1947 that a meeting of nine members voted, 5 to 4, to terminate the society again — at a point where its financial status was even better than before, with \$707.33 cash on hand.

Workers' societies also made their appearance on the local scene, to fall later under the IWW influence as did so many others. From at least one of them, the society in Sturgeon, there was a splinter faction which became communist and was still alive as such in the 1930s. However, these local societies did not own their own halls, for the simple reason that the halls were independently owned by associations set up for the purpose. This meant, in practice, that the halls could not be considered the property of any political organization. In Alango, for example, it was the Alango Farmers Association, set up in 1914, as the first of this kind, which owned the hall. John Hiltunen was president, Nestor Kutsi vice-president, Gust Laine secretary and Isaac Kymberg treasurer. The association invited membership and declared its purpose to be 'educational and purely social activities.' For decades, then, there were dances and plays in the association's hall, which was even enlarged in 1935. In 1940, however, with only 14 members left, it was no longer possible to maintain the premises, which were then given to the local cooperative organization as a gift. This was a 'cooperative guild' which had been started in 1930, with Hilda Wirtanen as its first

chairman; with the quarters now presented to it, it was able to remain active even in the 1950s, still with approximately 50 members.

The Rice River athletic society also built a hall of its own, in 1910, but their building was the one purchased later by the temperance society. There was another Finnish hall in Sturgeon, later destroyed by fire, and even a private meeting room, owned by Eino Eskola.

To preserve the record of all these local activities there was also an Alango chapter of the MFAHS, started in 1947, with Matti Erkkilä as chairman. It was preceded in 1938 by a Pioneers' Day, for which a general committee had been named: Adam Kattainen, chairman, and Walter Nelimark, secretary. Other committees included historical, program and publicity groups. A brochure to commemorate the event was prepared by Andrew Aho and William Heikkinen.

Cultural efforts were also reflected in the Finnish Shrovetide celebrations, which have been previously discussed (Cf, Virginia pages.) In Alango such celebrations had been in vogue from the 1920s, and it was from here that the wider celebration presumably spread and was adopted into school programs. The Alango festivities grew to rather elaborate dimensions, including skiing and sledding events, evening programs and arts and crafts exhibits where women spun yarn on spinning wheels and wove cloth on hand looms, etc.

It is obvious that in a region so overwhelmingly Finnish their influence on community affairs was to be evident from the start. Even before the townships as such did get their start, the Finns considered mail service to be of primary importance to themselves. They did not, perhaps, expect many letters, but many of them were avid readers of newspapers and wanted to keep up with the world outside, even though they themselves lived in this isolation. The start, once more, was among neighbors to pick up the mail in turn, with the Alango mail picked up from Angora and the Wilderness Village mail from Mt. Iron. In 1912 an office set up in Wagoner, with Carl Hagglund as postmaster. Einar Wright used to bring the mail to that point from Angora until 1916, when the office was moved to John Kontio's home. At that time Henry Nelimark brought the mail a part of the way to Kontio's home, for it was not until 1919 that a normal RFD route was established.

When the township administration was established, Finns were involved in it: John Buskala, Hjalmar Hakola, John Hiltu-

nen, Jack and Victor Kuster, Elias Mattson, Isaac Pihlaja, August Saarela, Fred Saari and Kusti Virtanen were in that first administration of 1910. In Sturgeon, on the other hand, Finns in the first administration were Frank Fredlund, John A. Gustafson, Claus Olson, Charles West and William Winter.

Finally, one might say the Finns were involved from birth to death, for Heta Savolainen was a midwife, schooled in Finland, whose services in this wilderness proved invaluable, and Andrew Roine, who had worked for an undertaker in Chisholm, became the local undertaker.

The 1910 population of Alango was 335, and that of Sturgeon 125. A local correspondent made the picture clearer in the *Päivälehti* in 1915: "There are now 81 farmers living here: 1 Englishman, 1 Norwegian, 2 Swedes — and 77 Finns." Of these Finns there were left in 1950, according to Erkkilä, 27 women and 20 men, 8 widowers of whom only 1 has remarried, 14 widows, of whom 4 have remarried, and 1 old maid.

Cook

The first Finns intent on permanent settlement in Owens came there in the autumn of 1905. Others followed, and in time Owens became another of those communities largely created by its Finnish pioneers. Originally it was a part of Field, but in 1912 it received its own area and identity, and its name after John Owens, the first village president of Tower and Virginia. The most significant settlement in Owens was at Cook, known originally by its Indian name, Ashawa, and organized in 1915. At that time there were 63 farmers there, many of them Finns. In addition to those who had made their way there through the forest, others had arrived paddling along the Little Fork and Rice rivers. Two or three years after the first settlers came the river was dredged a bit to make it more navigable, an important factor since there were no roads.

Later, of course, the river lost its importance as a highway, but it continued to make its presence felt on occasion, as in May 1950, with torrential rains falling on ground still covered with snow in the forests and swamps. Within hours the water level had risen alarmingly, and before dark some streets were under water. The following morning, highways north of Cook were usable only by boats. Bridges threatened to be washed away, the loss of electricity seemed to loom. Houses were abandoned, stores flooded, the hospital evacuated.

The local Finns have had a small Baptist church; a temperance society, the Taisto (Struggle), which was affiliated with the Minnesota Temperance League and which was still active in the 1940s; a small workers' society, which later became communist. There was a Finnish relief committee, with Mike Krause as chairman. The store owned by Mike Sorvari is one of the biggest locally, but there is also the Northern Farmers Cooperative Society, begun in 1920, when it also joined the Cooperative Central. The first directors of this enterprise consisted of 11 men, all born in Finland; three decades later, one old Finn was left, together with 7 second-generation Finns and 3 Americans.

Beatty

The name of Victor Taipale, mentioned in many instances in these pages, belongs to the history of Beatty, for this is the story he tells: "More than a century ago there arrived here from Nurmo, Finland, one Johan Nyybacka and his wife Maija (Leppilahti.) They had two sons, Herman and Jacob, and two daughters, Elisabeth and Susanna. These four, and their descendants, have cleared for farming the wilderness of almost the entire Township of Beatty in Minnesota." Susanna's son was Victor Taipale. In the year 1900, there were but 12 inhabitants in Beatty, located north of Owens and Cook; in 1910 there were 53, and in 1920 there were 139. Charles Lappi served for many years as supervisor of the township.

The tale of Finnish pioneers in Beatty was very much the tale of them all in this northern wilderness. Typical of their story is the one Matt Laakkonen told: "Clearing a place to live in this wilderness was the hardest task I ever undertook. I started to fell trees to get the logs I needed. I did that all day, lopping off branches and trimming the logs, and then I put my axe down and began to wonder why I had ever begun such a laborious task. Wondering about it didn't help, so I went back to work, and it was not until after a few hours more of that backbreaking labor that I threw down the axe with a curse. That evening such a horde of mosquitoes swarmed out of the nearby swamps that I knew I would have to dig drainage ditches, too, if I stayed." By autumn Laakkonen was ready to leave everything and go back to Virginia, but each time he made up his mind to go, some little thing like the chirping of the birds, a rosy sunset, or the sight of his flourishing potato patch made him put it off. "And here I still am," the pioneer admitted, half a century later.

Portage

In the year 1900 there were 15 white inhabitants here, a decade later 287. When the administration was being organized in 1906, the Finns wanted to name this township Deer or Moose, for very obvious reasons. Moose seemed to meet with approval until it was reported that the name was already in use, so it was named Buyck, after Charles Buyck, and was called that for a dozen years, when the name was changed officially to Portage. At the time this change was made, several Finns served in administrative posts: William Lipponen as township president, Perry Franck and Valentin Sinsta as supervisors, and John H. Laine as treasurer. One of the pioneers of the town, A. N. Wene (born in Rauma, Finland) died in battle in France in World War I. In the next war, Hans Richard (Riesto) and William Takala lost their lives, and August Kujala was a prisoner of war in Germany.

Leiding - Orr - Pelican Lake - Gheen

West of Portage lies Leiding, once a vast wilderness. It became a vast township in 1907, and the first name on the petition requesting that status was Frank Korpi, one of the early Finns here. There were only 22 white inhabitants in 1900, but by 1910 the figure had climbed to 610 and a decade later to 892. One reason for this growth was the development of three lumbering centers within the township, at Cusson, Orr and Pelican Lake.

The residents around Pelican Lake tried in 1914 to get their own corner of the world declared a separate township, but this was denied. There were at that time many Chippewa Indians living on the shores of the lake, and the relations between them and their Finnish neighbors were good. The Indians were quite lazy but were ardent hunters, and many Finns learned to speak a bit of their language and to trade with them for the game they caught and for some of the things they made. However, since the best stand of White Pine in the United States covered this region, foresters moved in with their axes and saws and began to destroy the Indian hunting grounds. Some of the shore was reserved for them, however, and there the Boise Fort Reservation was built. Meanwhile, the number of men felling these forests continued to grow, and several thousand were employed there for years on end. Many of them were Finns.

A more permanent settlement developed at Orr, whose first permanent residents were a Finnish couple, Charles and Amanda Auvinen (Kiiskilä). When they came to Orr there were no roads at all, hardly even trails through the wall of forest which separated them from the rest of the world. In fact, even at the end of World War I there were still no roads, but a railroad had penetrated to it because of the forest wealth. A Finnish settlement grew, then, around the station, and for a time there were even a few Finnish organizations here. The socialists had a chapter with about 30 members before World War I, but it was another of those chapters which left the party and turned IWW. This group built its own hall, and for several years they busily put on plays. Later there was even a communist group, also with some 20 to 30 members. Not far away, in Alvina (Gheen) there was also a socialist chapter and a cooperative association. Coming later than these workers' societies there was in Orr a Lutheran church, affiliated with the Suomi Synod, and this church still had about 30 members in the 1940s. Still later came a temperance society, Pohjantähti (North Star), started in 1931 with 15 members. Three were promptly read out of the society again "because they did not appreciate the seriousness of the work but had only joined for the fun involved," while the remainder continued to hold meetings as long as interest lasted. In 1940, there was a Finnish relief committee, with Herman Lammi as chairman, while Martha Brandt headed a similar committee in Alvina.

Lammi, by the way, had opened a store in Orr when he moved there in 1918, and in time it became the most important one in the community. Also, the local post office was located in his home. Of other Finns in Orr, V. Vanhanen served on the board of directors of the local bank. The Orr Farmers Cooperative Trading Company was established in 1919 and took out membership in the Cooperative Central at the same time. On its board of directors at that time all 9 members were Finnish born; in 1952, two of them were left, while 3 second-generation Finns and 4 Americans filled the rest of the seats.

Still farther north, a few Finns lived in still unorganized townships. In Kabetogama there were enough of them at one time to maintain a hall of their own and to have a cooperative club.

Five miles north of Orr lies Cusson, known in the early decades of the century for its vast timber operations and big lumber camps. The Virginia Rainy Lake Lumber Company was responsible for the operation and owned the Cusson camps. The most active period here was circa 1915-1925. At that time some 1,500

lumberjacks were employed here, and the majority of them were Finns. It was seasonal work for the most part: in winter the camps were filled, in summer the men were away, on farms or in the mines. Mining was also apt to be seasonal at that time, being slack in winter, while quite a few of these lumberjacks owned their own farms on the fringes of the Iron Range or even farther distant.

Men for the Cusson camps were recruited mostly in Duluth employment agencies. There were not many 'permanent' employees, but men simply seemed to come and go. In addition to running the camp, the company also managed the small store connected with it, where the men could buy pretty much what they needed, clothes, tools, tobacco, etc. Living conditions were fairly primitive and miserable, the food poor, sanitation nonexistent. Due to these poor conditions coupled with low pay, occasionally small strikes would take place, but it was not until the IWW encouraged and directed a major strike in 1917 that conditions improved considerably in respect to health, welfare and wages.

As the forest wealth was depleted work decreased in the Cusson area, and the 1929 depression brought a complete halt in operations. The company closed its sawmills, in Virginia, and shut down the Cusson camp. Everything was sold to smaller operators, and the big camps were torn down. Today, only a few small camps are left, together with a few isolated houses and a filling station. A few Finnish farmers still live in the vicinity.

Willow Valley - Linden Grove

Timber was also the significant factor in Willow Valley Township, located south of Leiding. Here, too, Finns with a bare minimum of cash had to leave their homesteads in winter to work in the lumber camps. Management would advance them enough against their first pay to buy clothes and tools. Willow Valley, according to records, did not have a single inhabitant in 1910, but in 1920 there were 180, many of them Finns. Local administration was organized in 1916; Esa Teppo was for a long period township supervisor.

Ilmonen has stated that in Meadow Brook, the border region between Willow Valley and Linden Grove, immediately to the south of it, the first Finns had arrived in 1905. Perhaps a few did appear at that time, at least to reserve land grant holdings, for in adjacent Silverdale the first arrivals are said to have

come at about that time. Linden Grove Township was organized relatively early, in 1907, so population must have started arriving immediately after the turn of the century. In 1910 there were 223 residents; in 1920, just two more than in the previous count.

Bear River - Sturgeon Lake - French

French and Morcom townships, on the western edge of St. Louis County, saw their first pioneers about a decade earlier than Linden Grove. Andrew Mattson, for example, came to Bear River in the 1890s; apparently he was a Swede, and the first Finns apparently did not arrive until the turn of the century.

True to its name, there were many bears here, and encounters with them could be dangerous, particularly if a pioneer happened to be unarmed and had to kill his opponent with a heavy stick picked up in the woods, as farmer Huttunen had to do.



Fred Tepo's home in Zim in 1912.

Organized local government began in 1903, when the local residents petitioned the county authorities to form their township under the name of Sturgeon Lake — the township a bit to the east bearing the same name was not then in existence — but the name was changed to Roosevelt and later still, when discovered that that name was already taken, it was named Morcom, to honor the county commissioner. In 1900 there was just one inhabitant here; in 1910 there were 76 and in 1920 the figure was 125. Of these, 95% were farmers, and many of them were Finns.

In the area organized two years later as French, there were 167 persons in 1910, but only 31 in 1920. Of these, also, many were Finns.

Zim

In the same way as the areas north of the Iron Range, those to the south also saw the birth of a Finnish farming region. One difference between the two appears to be that while the northern settlement began directly beyond the range, the sweep of Finnish farms to the south is at some distance removed from the range itself. This is explained by the fact that there were roads here: even at a relatively early period there was a road out of Eveleth southward to the Zim and Sax areas, so more distant settlement



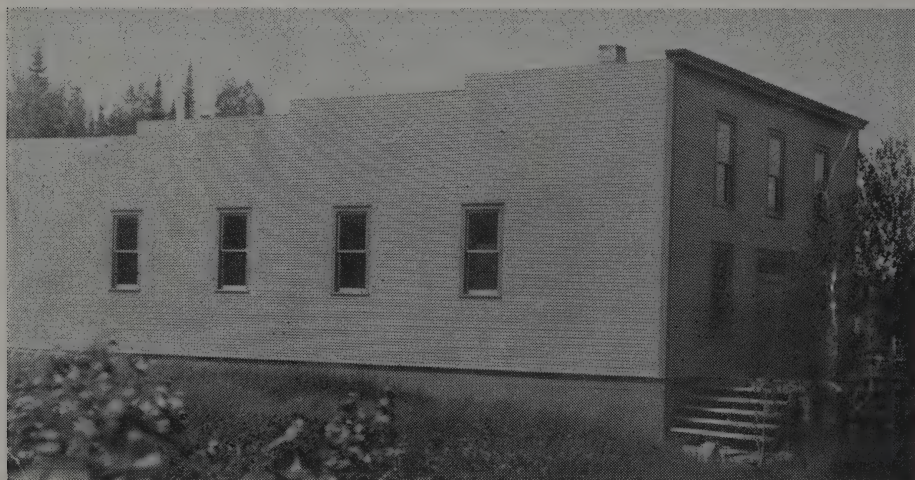
Emil Johnson's lumber camp in 1914. Emil Johnson is first on the left. Woman standing at the right is the camp cook.

was possible. Going out along this road, Finnish miners started their farming projects back in the 1890s. A decade later many more began to settle here — a result of the strikes.

The village of Zim lies 12 miles south of Eveleth. It was, originally, a railroad stop, with a small station house, and the road south from Eveleth passing by, and a small country store owned by one S. V. Levin, who was also the local postmaster. The Ojala farm is here as the solitary Finnish home, but a county road heading west from the station is dotted with Finnish farms

and homes, many of them homesteads cleared and made productive by the Finns, many of them now in the hands of other Finns. Among the pioneer names appear those of Emil and Senja Hallila, Siik, Peterson, and on the Sax road, Ollila, and beyond the crossroads Nestor Salinen, Alfred Olson. Along these roads, also, are the church, the cooperative club hall, the cemetery.

According to Ilmonen, the first Finns arrived in Zim in 1894, and he states that in 1926, according to his count, there were still 40 of them there. Hilma Kanerva suggests that this figure might be a slip of the pen and should read '40 families.' This would seem more reasonable, because at one time there was so much organized Finnish activity here that it can hardly have been possible among only 40 individuals.



"Finn Hall" in Zim.

As far as religious activity is concerned, Kanerva states that there was never a Finnish parish here. However, Zim did belong to the Kelsey-Little Swan-Sax region of the Congregational church under Pastor Saarikoski. Services were held at Isaac Holso's farm, and the pastor in the 1930s was Johannes Väänänen.

There was, however, a Finnish hall in Zim, built by the 'Finnish National People Society' started in 1908, which was originally a group of members of the local temperance society Laakson Ruusu (Rose of the Dale.) The hall was used first by the temperance society, but it soon also housed the workers' society (1910-1920) as well as the society started in 1928 to support the *Industrialisti*, and then the cooperative club. It was owned subsequently by the Farmers Club and finally by the Cooperative Club. The first board

of directors under the original ownership consisted of Emmi and M. P. Heikkinen, Kaisa Johnson, Charles O. Stenlund and Kalle F. Tuomi. The first caretakers of the property were Emil Johnson and Kalle Tuomi, who were succeeded by Victor Aro, who remained in charge for more than two decades.

Of the societies which the hall has housed, the temperance society had the shortest life and has left no trace of itself in any temperance league records.

The workers' society brought the pattern of Finnish hall activities to the building, leaving their subsequent development in the 1920s to the society which was an IWW supporter. Play productions were directed by John Korpi, who also painted the first stage sets with Fred Bäckman, while



Women's choir in Zim: Paulina Joki, Mrs. Wm. Mannila, Mrs. Hjalmar Aho, name unknown, Mrs. Otto Heikura, Mrs. Emil Lammi, Hulda Salmi, Mrs. Evert Heikkinen, Hanna Heikkinen, Selma Syrjänen, Hulda Hendrickson.

Henry Isaacson worked on the curtain. A library was added, still intact in the building in the 1950s. The gymnastics group attracted almost all the Finnish youth to its projects. There was a band; there were enough voices for a chorus.

Gradually, however, political voices dictated a change in the organized life of the Finns in Zim. The 1924 incumbents of the hall became a communist majority and proclaimed their purpose to be "the maintenance of revolutionary agitation in the community and action in cooperation with all revolutionary organizations," and faced with this militancy, the IWW group effectively came to an end in 1925, although technically it did not cease to exist until 1928. Later still, communist ardor led to three local men — Oscar Aho, Bill Niemi and Erkki Tervo — emigrating to Russia, and even after World War II about 10 copies of the communist *Työmies* and *Naisten Viiri* came to subscribers in Zim.

The Zim Cooperative Association was established in 1926, with its membership in the Cooperative Central coming the following year. The original board of directors was made up exclusively of Finnish born men, but after World War II the

picture was considerably altered: three Finns, four second-generation Finns, two Americans made up the board. In neighboring Sax, there was the Sax Consumers Cooperative Association, started in 1936 and two years later a member of the Cooperative Central.



Zim Temperance Society "Laakson Ruusu" sewing circle in 1908. In front: Rose Närvänen, Maria Johnson, Miss Viitala (Rajala), Helen Pakka, Ida Holkko, Henna Johnson (Salo). In back: Ida Isackson, Hulda Salin, Maria Stenlund, Maria Hillman, Kaisa Johnson, Mrs. Herman Viitala.

In 1946, the Finns of Zim started a local chapter of the MFAHS. Its first officers were Wäinö Syrjänen, chairman, Hilma Kanerva, secretary, and August Kanerva, treasurer.

Cherry (Alavus)

Chronologically, Finnish farming developed next in the region to the west of McDavitt, in the townships of Lavell and Cherry, although it had begun somewhat earlier in the southern parts of the townships of Clinton and Fayal, which belong to the range area proper. The most important Finnish clusters developed in Cherry (Alavus), Corbin, Forbes, Mäkinen and St. Louis River, while lesser numbers of Finns were scattered throughout the whole region.

The first Finn in Cherry was Erick Frantsi, who arrived with his family from Eveleth in 1892. Nine years later there arrived John Takala and Andrew Sandi, both with their families, both from Eveleth; Matt and Tom Hautala with families and John Tarvas, alone; John Kinnunen and Tarvas, with families, from Virginia; Alex Mutru, bachelor, from New York; Matt Pohjola with family, from Mt. Iron; Juntunen with family from Eveleth;

Matt Tusa and family from Ely and August Kurkela and family from Eveleth and Henry Naapila and his son George. Also, Paul Waltonen and family, and John Sandi and Henry Sandi, all from Virginia. These constituted the first population of Cherry.

A few Swedes arrived, but they all left again, with the exception of a man named Olson, who took a Finnish wife. Later, still more Finns came: Gust Tamminen, Matt Helberg, Eli Kätkä, Sakri Nikkari, Gabriel Mattson, Andrew Mattson, John Hallila, John Rasula, Matt Koivula, V. Latvala, and many others.

To the Finns, the settlement here known as Alavus got its name from the fact that its first settlers, who arrived there in 1898, came from Alavus, in Finland. The village called Mäkinen got its name from John Mäkinen who, together with John Kovanieni, kept a store and post office there from 1905 on.

Due to the fact that here the settlement of Finns has been so widely scattered, organized activities among them did not play as important a role as elsewhere. However, organizations did exist. The earliest of their congregations, for example, is the Alavus Lutheran church, affiliated with the Suomi Synod, established in 1906 at a meeting at Matt Pohjola's home, with 21 initial members. That same year the church bought an acre of land from M. Pajala for a cemetery. Services were held in private homes by the Reverend Kaarlo Salovaara until a church was built in 1912. In the new church, P. Waltonen served as organist and was also Sunday school teacher, together with M. Hautala and E. Hendrickson. A sewing circle was also started then, and later came other auxiliary groups: Dorcas Daughters, Luther League, and a youth group. Originally, the church was a part of the extensive Eveleth-Virginia parish, but after 1922, when new alignments were made, it was tended by clergy from Eveleth. Finally, in 1943, it was separated from Eveleth and joined Mt. Iron. This preceded by one year the dedication of a new church: fire had destroyed the original church in 1926, and a few years later the parish was able to buy a schoolhouse in Wolf, which they remodelled.

There has also been a small Suomi Synod congregation in St. Louis River, although there was also a group there which belonged to the National church. In Corbin, also, there was a National church congregation.

A temperance society was begun with 19 members in Alavus in 1914, the Valon Aura (Plow of Light). It joined the Brotherhood and fervently hoped it could 'plow, plant and till a soil favorable to the ideals of temperance,' and for two decades the

society did try to do its best. Finally, when the financial burden that membership in the Brotherhood entailed grew too heavy, the society terminated its activities in 1932. By the following year, however, a new society was already started, the Elontoivo (Hope for Life), and trying to ensure itself a longer existence it joined only the Minnesota Temperance League; it managed to live for about a decade.

A hall had already been built by a group of Finns in 1913, among them Elias Hautala, Alex Mutru, John Salberg, John Takala, Vick Latvala, Vick Luoma and Eli Koivula. Having built it, their question was, who was to get the use of it, the workers or the other side? The 'other side' won out in the voting, and so the building was named the Farmers Club Hall. There farmers held their meetings, and some years also they used it as a cannery.

The question of 'which side' was not an academic one, even in this rural area, for there were Finnish workers' societies in Cherry, Clinton, Corbin, Iron Junction and Mäkinen. In all of them, there was brisk activity and the spectrum of auxiliaries. When the schism came, most of them became IWW supporters; one, in Mäkinen, later became communist.

More recent organizations have been the Civic Club in Lavall, the Finnish relief committee in Cherry (John Wiitanen, chairman), several choral groups, a cooperative guild.

Finnish businesses, of course, have been relatively many. The first grocer in Cherry was Martin Virta, who sold his store to Anton Tonkanen, who sold it to John Karttu, who sold it to Väinö Salo. The local cooperative was established in 1919 by Andrew Mattson, Matt Talvitie, Einar Sepponen, Carl Härsilä, Carl Tamminen, Matt Halberg, Henry Johnson, Nestor Holmi, Alex Sompakka, Albert Hill and Oscar Kerttula. The first business premises were in the Farmers Club Hall. William Nieminen, from Floodwood, was the first business manager, and he was succeeded by Koivisto, Jack Anderson, and Edward Newman. Later, the enterprise was incorporated as the Cherry Farmers Cooperative Association and joined the Cooperative Central (1923). New business premises were built, and Ero Saarela became business manager, to be succeeded after 25 years of service by Toivo Pentti (in 1957). In Mäkinen, incidentally, the cooperative store was a branch of the Markham Cooperative Association.

In civic affairs, it might be noted that the Lavell administration in 1920 was made up of the following Finns: Jack Hellman, Matt Korpi, Herman Lampi, Alex Narva, Fred Rekkala and John Turkula.

Cherry had its own post office for a time, with Gust Tamminen in charge. Later, however, the mails were delivered from Iron, and Finns have been the carriers throughout, beginning with M. Virta, followed by A. Sompakka, William Hautala, Niemistö, Newman, Jacobson, and Matt Jussila, he for the last 30 years.

With the early settlers of Alavus growing old and dying, that name has given way to Cherry. Second and third generation Finns live here now, and the very countryside looks different. It is now a neat, wide cultivated expanse. The roads are good, no longer the trails cleared through forest and wood. The schools are modern, and no longer do the children have to go to the neighboring township to a one-room schoolhouse as an older generation did, with the smaller children hauled by Elias Tusa in his horse-drawn 'bus,' the bigger ones reluctantly walking. Of the early Finns, only a very few were left in the 1950s: John Takala and his wife, and Andrew Sandi, Maria Tusa-Granholm and Hanna Erickson.

Palo

The last significant Finnish center in the ring of farmlands formed around the Iron Range was the 'Palo-Markham country' in the southern part of the Town of White and in Colvin. The old Vermilion Trail went through that area where Finns, having crossed the St. Louis River, began to settle down. One Al Johnson, who lived by hunting and fishing, was the first white person to live here. A more permanent settlement was born when Alfred Blomberg, John Kilpelä, John Liimatainen and Henry Muhonen started clearing land there in the autumn of 1902. That winter, and during the spring of 1903, they were joined by Henry Hokkanen, John Perämäki and Isaak Sahlberg, and of these all, Muhonen was in a sense the senior: he had signed for homestead land here two years earlier. Alfred Lumberg, Alex Nopola and John Uusitalo are also listed as among the early settlers. When these men came, there were no roads here, no shelter from the rain, no protection from the cold. The *Siirtokansan Kalenteri* of 1945 contained an article showing what life was like in Palo in those earliest years:

"I was one of the first settlers here. Dense forest was everywhere round about. There was plenty of game, bears came snooping about, the howling of wolves woke me up many a night from peaceful sleep. Life was comfortable on the whole, but

getting in any kind of supplies was so difficult that when the second winter came I went into town to buy myself a horse. On the way home I had to clear the road for us in many places where it was too narrow for my sleigh. I already had a cabin of sorts for myself, but there was no shelter for my horse, so I had to take him into the cabin with me. There was no being able to sleep that night, for it was bitterly cold and the wolves were howling and the horse grew frightened: I had to calm him down, and at the same time my life seemed to be so immense and so full of happiness, knowing I had a horse with which I could get around. A few decades later I owned a new Oldsmobile, and I was able to drive along fine highways, but the feeling of happiness was nothing compared to that night when I lived in the wilderness and my horse shared the cabin with me."



Arkkola school at St. Louis River. In front: Ailie Anderson, Ero Wuori, Sylvia Stenbeck, Arthur Anderson, Gust Mäki. Second row: Jalmer Mannila, Elmer Mäki, Richard Sorvari, Albert Anderson, Hilma Sorvari, Eini Anderson. In back: the teacher.

The vast forests, of course, fell prey to the lumbering firms. Logs were hauled by horse to the river's edge, floated down the river to the marketplaces. Before long a railroad was being planned, "a road that would extend all the way to Duluth." Work began, with the roadbed being cleared through the forest, the

ties being laid down with all possible speed. That work was completed, but then the forests were depleted as well, the three sawmills at the southern end of Loon Lake were closed down, and finally even the railroad tracks were torn up and carted off, and now it is difficult to even trace where the railroad once was. But when that railroad was there, it meant a period of rapid growth in this wilderness, with homes being built, land cleared, a sauna here, potatoes growing there, on every farm. A Finnish village had been born.

In 1905 permission had been granted to open a post office, and one of the names the Finns proposed — Palo — was accepted as the official name of the settlement. (The post office was in existence until 1933, when improved transportation made it unnecessary and the Palo mail began to be routed via Aurora.) John Johnson, and after him August Halmetoja, served as postmasters. The first school in Palo was also opened in that year 1905, and the following year a second one was built. (Later there were as many as five at one time.) Population grew apace, and thriving farms replaced what had been wilderness only yesterday.

With the Finns now constituting a flourishing settlement, their typical organizations began to appear. The first was the church. The earliest services had been held by Pastor Heikki Sarvela at John Kilpelä's home in the autumn of 1903, and the following spring the Finns were ready for formal organization. At a meeting held at Alfred Blomberg's farm, the first officers were chosen: Heikki Kiminki, president; August Halmetoja, secretary; Alfred Blomberg, treasurer; Heikki Kiminki, John Kilpelä and Antti Häkkinä, deacons; August Halmetoja and Alfred Blomberg, trustees. Pastor Sarvela served as chairman: it was he who had proposed the congregation be established and that it join the Suomi Synod.

When these officers met again, they decided to procure a cemetery for their church, and Aleksanteri Nopola gave two acres of land for this purpose: everyone joined in to clear the land, and it was decided that those who worked six days on the project were to get a free gravesite for themselves. There was not a similar unity or speed in the matter of building a church, however, and the discussions went on for years: while the discussions were still going on, the women of the parish took matters in their own hands and gave out a contract for the church to be built. It was dedicated, finally, in 1922. Pastors from Eveleth and Virginia have taken care of the services here. Membership has fluctuated:

it was a bit more than 100 in 1911, rose at one point to 300, and was back to 100 again on the 50th anniversary of the church.

Another denomination got its start here in the 1920s: Congregational ministers first visited here in 1924 and in 1925, while students from the Union Theological Seminary in Chicago made occasional appearances to preach. When Pastor Alex Muhonen served the new parishes set up in Duluth, Eveleth and Hibbing, he agreed to extend his activities into Palo as well. As a result, formal organization was effected in 1926. Salomon Niemi was elected chairman, William Olson, secretary, and John Perä-mäki, treasurer. A former Palo schoolhouse was purchased and used for a church until a new one was built near the shore of Loon Lake and dedicated in 1928. Membership in 1947 was 76. Auxiliaries have included a Pilgrim Fellowship, with about 30 members, a Dorcas Society, a Sunday school. In 1957, Pastor Victor Holopainen was in charge.



Congregational Church in Palo.

The Palo temperance society, Riento (Endeavor), was started in 1907. Twenty-four persons joined in the first meeting, which also decided on affiliation with the Brotherhood. That same year a hall was built on the shore of Loon Lake, and this encouraged a growth in membership, to 74 at the high point. Behind the hall, furthermore, a stable was built, to put up the horses of those who came to the hall from greater distances. Although the society has had its ups and downs, periods of relative inactivity, a new spurt of life in the 1940s, the society is to a great degree responsible for the fact that Palo has always been a 'dry' town.

The local workers' society, on the other hand, remained weak compared to the temperance society. Membership here, in a group which later became IWW, was about 20 throughout its history. Even in 1911, there were only 16 local subscribers to the *Työmies*. However, it must also be admitted that even from

Palo a group of Finns left for Russia in the 1930s, including Antti, Raymond, Roy, Ruth and Sofie Niskanen.

In the 1930s there was also a Townsend Club for some time, and at the end of the decade a Finnish relief committee, in which Isaac Sandberg was chairman. In 1946, a chapter of the MFAHS was started with 7 members. This group, however,



"Riento" temperance hall in Palo.

was too small to be effective, and when its treasurer John Läntinen left for Finland and its chairman Charles Dahl moved to Superior, the chapter ceased to exist, according to its secretary, Hilma Nieminen, who then alone collected the data on Palo for the MFAHS files.

The mutual advantages of the local

farmers, however, did call for various and effective joint actions, and a start was made in 1912 with the Palo Farmers Mutual Fire Insurance Association. Its first board of directors included Erick Erikson, Emil Halmetoja, Frank Kari, Charles Korpi, John Nopola, John Peltonen, Paul Ruotsi and Nestor Salin. John Läntinen served 18 years as the association's president, John Kari 14 years as its chief accountant. In the years following World War II, the association policies covered property valued at about \$5,000,000. Next, in 1918, followed a telephone company, in which John Hietala was first chairman and E. Halmetoja secretary, and after a successful campaign a telephone was installed on almost every farm. In the 1920s came a cattle breeding station, and in 1931 the start of the local cooperative. John Läntinen had purchased a former schoolhouse, which he sold to the cooperative for their store, and he also served as one of the original board of directors, together with John Aho, John Hemming, Matt Johnson, Oscar Sillanpää, Emil Waltonen and Kalle Wuori, all of the men born in Finland. It was not until the 1950s that two second-generation Finns were added to the board which still had five of its original members.

World War II brought most of Palo's Finnish organizations to a standstill, for almost a hundred of its young men were in military service. They served in all branches, on all fronts, and it could happen that Howard Gunnari flew in the first bomber mission over Berlin while his brother Clarence Gunnari was one of the first to land in Japan. Even before the war, some of Palo's sons were involved in national defense, and one reserve officer, Captain Matti Nieminen, son of Erkki Nieminen, earned a reputation for himself as an aviator.

Markham

In the minds of the Finns, Markham is an integral part of Palo, but township borders do separate it into an entity of its own. When the first settlers arrived, they came to a wilderness just like Palo had been, faced the kind of life the pioneers in Palo faced: the isolation, the elements, the backbreaking task of clearing homes in a wilderness.

The first pioneer to come here was Pete Erikson, but it was not until much later that he settled down here, built a small log cabin for himself, but still did not take to clearing the forest and farming the land. On the other hand, Erkki Nieminen, who came in 1902, did clear his land, more and more of it each year, but he had a family to take care of, a wife and 6 children, the youngest aged 2, the oldest 16. For this family, all supplies from the outside had to be brought in from Biwabik, 16 miles away. In summer there was no road at all to make it easy to get there, but in winter, with snow packed down, a sleigh could cover the distance. The first spring Nieminen was able to clear about 4 miles of poor road for himself, and he bought a horse, and he said later that he had never been happier than that day when he had been able to use his horse and wagon to fetch the supplies.

The passing years saw more and more men like Nieminen move into the Markham wilderness, each of them adding to the roads in various directions, but it was not until after World War I that a highway was built. Schools came earlier, long before there were many roads. The first one, opened in the spring of 1907, was built on Kaskela land, and Naimi Puhakka was the teacher there. The next, built on Pekkarinen land, opened the same year. Both were one-room log cabins, and to each of them paths led from all directions through the woods, with these trails marked so the children would not lose their way. When

local government was organized, Andrew Anderson, Ed. Jacobson, Nels Magnusson, Alfred Maijala, Erkki Nieminen and Gotfrid Olson were elected the first selectmen. Some of these men were Swedish Finns; all of them proposed their township be named Vaasa. That name, however, was already in use, and the name Colvin was chosen, to honor a local timberman. When a local post office seemed to be in prospect, the Finns tried again to choose a name more to their liking and proposed Elo, but this time, it is said, the authorities in Washington hesitated, scanned the map, and chose Markham, after the nearby lake of that name.

The earliest organization in Markham was a workers' society, started in 1911, with membership over 50 at the end of the first year. Later it became an IWW organization, and still later, there was even a communist group in Markham. A cooperative was established in 1931, and in addition to its store it even built itself a hall. A temperance society, *Lyhty* (The Lantern), was started in 1933, and for several years it remained quite active.

For religious life, the local families had from the very beginning gone to church in Palo, a few miles away; they had even contributed funds to make the church in Palo a possibility. Later, in 1921, the women of Markham decided to start a sewing circle of their own, and this in turn led to a situation where it, holding meetings once a month, was addressed at those meetings by the Pastor Lepistö, who was paid \$5 for each such visit. This went on for four years, and then a complete break from Palo was made and a congregation established in Markham. Affiliated with the Suomi Synod, its membership has averaged about 60 in the post-World War II years. In connection with this church, a popular summer school has been held, missionary work has been enthusiastically fostered. All this work was done for the first few years in private homes, later at the 'Salin School,' which became the Markham church.

Floodwood

Five townships — Fine Lakes (organized in 1906), Floodwood (1893), Halmen (1903), Prairie Lake (1906) and Van Buren (1909) — form the southwest tip of the county. Of these five, Floodwood became the most important Finnish settlement after Erik Perkkiö had settled there in 1891. (Andrew Simi was the first Finn in Van Buren.) Other settlements were also born but remained abortive: for example, directly on the border with

Carlton County is a small lake — Lake Kytola — all that is left to say that a Finn, Kytölä, once lived on its shores.

This isolation meant great distances to be covered to purchase supplies, particularly if, like Perkkiö, one went all the way to Duluth to buy them. A small man — five foot six — with a long beard and flowing hair, a shotgun over his shoulder, a long Finnish knife stuck in his belt, a knapsack on his back — he must have presented a startling picture even in the wilderness scene in the 1890s. Once, coming into Duluth the police stopped him to see what he had in his knapsack, and they found he was toting over 100 pounds of game. If such a small man could do it, it should not be wondered that another Floodwood pioneer,



Finnish pioneers building roads in 1910 near Floodwood. Axel Waara, Erick Perkkio, Jacob Niemi, John Raihala, Matt Simi, Sr., Erick Newman, Constant Luoma, Andrew Hautala, John Simi, Keo Johnson, August Perkkio, Andrew Juola, William (Koski) Johnson, John Alapere, Andrew Simi, Mike (Takku-nen) Anderson. The road which these men carved out of the wilderness by hand is the present black-topped road No. 73.

Iso-Järvinen ('Big' Järvinen) slung a 100 pound sack of coffee over his shoulder when he came to buy supplies, "so that he wouldn't have to stop to recall every time he was in town if there was enough coffee at home," and then bought ten 5-pound packs of rusks to take with the coffee, and a 'small bag' of flour.

As soon as there were a few Finns in Floodwood, plans were made for a temperance society, with assistance given by Aatu Rekonen from Palo, who came on a visit for this purpose. It was in 1899 that the Onnen Ääni (Voice of Happiness) got its start and joined the Brotherhood. The number of members never grew very large, but enthusiasm was always apparent, and even

in the post-World War II years there have been meetings at least once a month.

The Floodwood church dates back almost as far. The temperance hall served it for its first years of activity, but in 1908 a proper church was built. In 1940 it was destroyed by fire which also damaged the adjacent, new parsonage, but rebuilding was started as soon as possible. Although there has also been a small Laestadian group in the community, membership at the Suomi Synod church has always been high: after World War II it was still over 200. In the beginning, clergy from Hibbing carried out the pastoral duties here, but in 1927 Floodwood, together with two communities in adjacent Carlton County, formed a separate district of their own.

The next organization, chronologically, was a workers' society. The pattern in Floodwood followed the expected: programs, play productions, etc.; the transformation from socialism to IWW support. Membership throughout hovered in the range of 20 to 40. Also, in nearby Gowan there was a workers' society.

In 1927 came the Kaleva Order with a small chapter, the result of several years of preparatory work by Alex Kyyhkynen of Duluth, who had been trying to arouse enough enthusiasm among his fellow Finns in Floodwood, Toivola and Elmer to make possible a start in at least



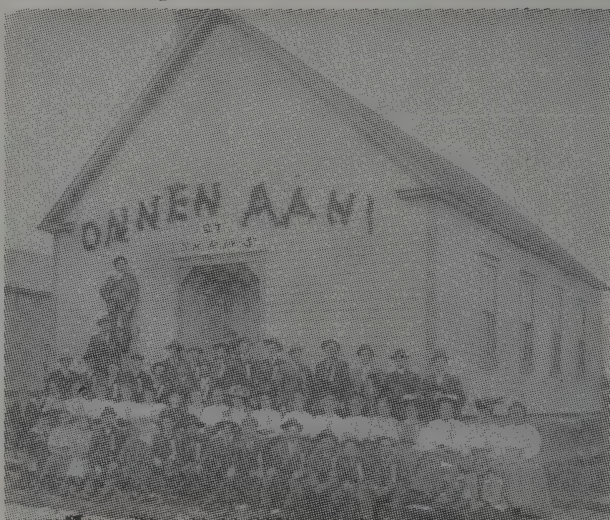
Suomi Synod Church in Floodwood.

one of these communities. The first convert was Henry Kangas, of Elmer, who got enough of his friends sufficiently interested to meet in Floodwood, the most central point in the region: Henry Harrala, Andrew Hokkanen, Arthur and Herman Järvi, Henry Kangas, John Mustonen, Oscar Nygoord, M. W. Räihälä, Otto Siikanen, Fred Wain, John Ylitalo and John Saralampi were the founding members. Before the first year of existence had come to a close there were 18 members, and a decade later a dozen were still left. In the Ladies' chapter, founded that same year, there were 24 members in 1929. Among the founding members were Ida Aho, Matilda Johnson, Ida Järvi, Aini Kangas, Hilma

Mustonen, Hilja Nygard, Ellen Rahja, Jenny Räihälä, Emelia Risku, Anna Siikanen, Hanna and Mamie Wain, Liisa Wilminko and Saima Ylitalo.

Over the course of the years, there have been several Finnish businessmen and undertakings on the local scene. Indeed, Ilmonen's statement that all Floodwood shops and stores were in one way or another both started up and kept up by Finns cannot be seriously disputed. In the cooperative field, there were the Floodwood Cooperative Association (started in 1925, joining the Cooperative Central the following year,) the Floodwood Cooperative Creamery Association and the Trico Cooperative Oil Association, as well as the Gowan Cooperative Association, which had

seen its start in 1918. The Floodwood First State Bank is in the hands of Finns, who are also important factors in the administration of other related enterprises and involved in all community administration offices. In 1938, M. W. Räihälä was president of the selectmen, Sam Koskela a selectman, Andrew Hokkanen



"Onnen Ääni" temperance group in Floodwood.

the assessor, a post he served for two decades. There has almost always been one Finn or another in one township office or another: Charles Nissi as Floodwood supervisor in 1920; Walde-
mar Aho as chairman of selectmen and John Hannula as treasurer in Halden; Anton Heikkilä as treasurer of Prairie Lake; Fred Wain as chairman of the board of selectmen, Matt Luoma and John Simi as supervisors, J. Kivistö as assessor and John Mustonen as treasurer in Van Buren; W. Kytölä, a Finn and first woman in Minnesota to be member of a Soil Conservation Committee, in Fine Lakes, and later township treasurer for approximately ten years.

For a time there was published in Floodwood a paper, the *Amerikan Farmari*, which later moved to Duluth. Räihälä, cited

above, also edited a journal in Floodwood in the years prior to World War II, the *Rural Farmer*.

Cedar Valley (Salo)

During the last Indian uprisings, the army built a road northwest from Floodwood, following the river, through an area later known as Cedar Valley. The Finns followed this road in their movement northward from Floodwood, and the settlement they made, organized in 1908, went under the name of Salo (the word means wilderness or backwoods). Up to the 1920s, this seemed a promised land for timbermen. In the wintertime, trees were felled and the logs hauled to the shores of Floodwood River, and when spring came they were floated downstream. Fields and meadows of Finnish farmers bordered the river, and the loggers occasionally caused some property damage as they worked along the shores. The Finns appealed to the lumber firms for payment of damages but received no satisfaction. In the spring of 1910 these farmers took matters into their own hands and constructed three booms across the river. When no logs arrived at their destination as usual, investigators were sent upstream to find out why. They found the first boom, but when the boss ordered it torn apart three warning shots rang out from the shore: John Luoma and his son were standing guard. The authorities were notified, and the Finns involved in obstructing the river were arrested, but when the case came to court, the lumbering firms were found guilty and had to assume responsibility for damages done to farmers' property . . .

Religious activity in Salo began with the organization of an Evangelical Lutheran church in 1905. Isack Niemi was the first chairman, John Kurki the secretary, and Erick Hill the treasurer. Pastors were Matti Strom and J. Rankila, and it was through their influence that the congregation became affiliated with the National church. Premises were built, and the church has for decades served as the Evangelical Lutheran center for the surrounding area, even in post-World War II years, when membership has dwindled. The Apostolic Lutherans were also present, but without a church; services were held at members' homes, by preachers such as Andrew and Eeli Juola, Alex Puotinen, Walter Isaacs and Matti Reed.

A workers' society also appeared on the scene, and a hall for it was also built, but a rather unusual one: it was made of round logs set up vertically, and its appearance gave it the

nickname, "Stump Hall." The association responsible for it went by the name of Young Peoples Educational Society, but when membership dwindled here in the years following World War II, the Finns deeded their hall to the township in 1953.

During the World War II years, there was a Finnish relief committee in Cedar Valley, formed at a meeting held at John Johnson's home in January 1940. The committee's secretary, Frank O. Luoma, was able to report at the end of August that over \$400 had been collected (this in a community with 270 Finnish residents). The committee was reactivated in 1945. Later still, there has been a chapter of the MFAHS here.

The first undertaking with profit implications in the community was the mill that Jacob Härry built around 1895, with millstones, as of old, doing the grinding, because he had grown tired of carrying his grain 'all over the country' to have it ground. In addition to grinding his own grain, he ground his neighbors', until 1916, when Constant Luoma bought a mill, powered with a gasoline motor. Today, one of Härry's millstones is in William Räihälä's museum, to remind a younger generation of an earlier Finnish businessman.

The first town meeting in Cedar Valley Township was held in February 1910, and at that time the entire slate of officials elected were Finns: William Gustafson, secretary; Andrew Juola, treasurer; Peter Seppälä, supervisor; Constant Luoma, collector of taxes; John Helman, justice of the peace; Jacob Luoma and Jalmer Perkkio, constables; and Oscar Aho, supervisor of roads. The Finns remained in office exclusively until 1918, when one non-Finn, a German, was voted in as constable, thanks to the votes of Germans who had moved into the township. At that same time, the Finnish constable elected was Andrew Hill, while John Helman was re-elected justice of the peace, Mike Siermala became secretary and William Tuominen supervisor. Since that time, others than Finns have won more and more offices, but the number of Finns involved through the years has remained high.

Toivola

Early in the pioneering days of Cedar Valley, the Finns had begun to hear of a splendid valley which could be reached by paddling some 30 miles up the St. Louis River, past two stretches of angry rapids: at that time one young Finn, Matti Rahko, aged 20, had been the first to make that trip, and his tales of the valley he had discovered made other Finns eager to see it for

themselves. One after the other Finns did go there and see this truly fertile valley which apparently nobody before them had found. The Finns began to settle there, and their settlement was named after one of them, Heikki Toivola. All of its inhabitants, with the subsequent exception of two Swedish sawmill owners, were Finns. The Township of Toivola was organized and incorporated in 1911. Its first officers were Jacob Vuori (Rajavuori), Jacob Kero and Matt Steinbach, supervisors; Jacob Jussila, secretary, and Frans Lahti, treasurer.

In summer, the river formed the only 'road,' and in winter, also, the only easy way to travel was by horse over the river's



Frank Lahde's new home in Toivola.

ice. The transportation situation began to improve in 1905, when a railroad came through, while the first country road, between Toivola and Floodwood, came somewhat later. Another road, the Arkola road, soon led from the railroad station to the river, but it was not until 1915 that work was begun to bridge the stream. By this time a road had been built to Elmer, and a little later came a road to Hibbing. Even in 1917, however, when the first automobiles drove from Hibbing to Toivola, they had to be pushed and lifted by manpower over the worst places on the road.

Mail was originally brought in by boat and left at Markkanen's store. When the railroad came a post office was opened in Elmer, and John Saralampi used to ride the train to Elmer to pick up the mail, which he would then distribute at his store. Later still,

in 1913, Toivola got its own post office and Saralampi became the first postmaster.

The forests provided the first livelihood for the settlers in Toivola, and it was not until the forests had been cut down that farming really began in earnest. But when the turn came for farming, it developed into what the *History of St. Louis County* has called one of the most prosperous of farming regions, and an exclusively Finnish farming community.

The first child born in Toivola was Violet Mannila. The first couple to get married there were Fiina Holma and Frans Lahti.



First new home in Toivola, 1901. Mrs. Victor Lahti stands at the left in front of the house.

John Heikkilä's infant son was the first Finn to die and be buried there. The first school, for the children of Sand Creek, was held in the home of Herman Larva from 1904 to 1906, with Olga Huotari as the teacher for the dozen child-

ren. But the number of children was increasing, so a separate schoolhouse was built on Larva's farm in 1906. For the children living along the river that was too far away, so another school was opened in Tuomas Arkola's house. Arkola, by the way, was the first shopkeeper in Toivola.

The local cooperative, the Toivola Mercantile Association, was begun in 1914. Its first board of directors was made up of Frans Lahti (chairman), Matt Rahko (vice-chairman), John Mäkitalo (secretary), Gust Lahti (treasurer), Erick Mannila, Jacob Rahnasto and Alfred Taipale. (These men were all born in Finland; after World War II, not a single one was left on the board, now made up of 6 second-generation Finns and 3 non-Finns.) When the first business manager, Constant Nyman, took charge there was \$143.25 in cash on hand. Nyman was succeeded by Aaro Ruuska, and the latter by S. O. Muuttonen in 1919. In 1923 the cooperative built itself a new store. Ten years later, annual sales figures had reached \$23,000 but in 1944 were \$163,000 and in 1954 over \$216,000. (In fact, total sales in the first 40 years of operations were \$3,349,906 — a big figure for a small town.)

The first Finnish organization in Toivola was the church: in 1905 there was already in existence a small congregation, which joined the Suomi Synod at that time. Membership then was close to 100, but in the mid-1950s it was only about 20. A small church had been built in 1909, to be replaced by a larger and more modern building in 1921. Pastors from Eveleth and



First Finnish church in Toivola.

Hibbing have taken care of the congregation. The first Sunday school sessions were held in 1909, with Victor Lahti, Gust Mäki, John Saralampi and Alex Sorvari as teachers.

A temperance society was started in 1908, a workers' society at about the same time. Both were small, limited in the possibilities of their activity, and lacking sufficient support, both disappeared from the scene.

On one occasion, however, Toivola activities were the object of nationwide interest. On the initiative of Arthur Lampe, the St. Louis County director of schools, and of his assistant, Matthew Lahti, a Shrovetide festival in Finnish style was sponsored in Toivola. The local committee making arrangements had Ero Rajavuori as chairman, Martha Lammi as secretary-treasurer, and Jack Rajavuori in charge of publicity. The festival itself, with sledding, tobogganning, games, evening programs, was an unique one and successful beyond expectation. Spectators, Finns and others, arrived from everywhere, from Duluth, from as far



Toivola's first school. Pupils and parents.

afield as Minneapolis, while newspapermen and photographers came from as far away as Chicago. LIFE (26 February 1940) devoted considerable space to the event.

Finnish youth, of course, played the major role in this festival, as they have done and continue to do in Toivola's schools. The local 4-H programs are extensive; interest, high. The many prizes brought home from the township and county fairs every year indicate, perhaps, that Toivola will not soon be one of those communities that sees its farms abandoned once the older generation is gone.

Little Swan

North of Toivola lies Little Swan, which the early Finns who lived there used to call 'wolf country.' Finns began to move there soon after the settlement of Toivola began. According to William Mannila, the first homesteaders, arriving in the early years of this century, were Herman and Justiina Lammi, Otto and Olga Lindfors, Andrew Salimäki, John Lehto, John Ranta, Jack Helström, Jack Hill, John J. Hill, Jack Anttila, Eljas Harjulin, Matt Korpi. In 1956, Justiina Lammi, Olga Lindfors and Andrew Salimäki were still among the living.

The first, and for many years the only Finnish organization here was a workers' society, which got its start at a meeting held

at the Lindfors farm, with 18 persons present. Business and program meetings were held at members' homes, but they served merely to bring the wish for a hall of their own. An acre of land was purchased from Lizzie Koski for \$25, and a building fund was started. When a sawmill was opened in the community, farmers each took their quota of logs to be milled and brought their share of lumber to the building site. In 1912 the hall was built, but even before it was finished, activity was started there and the first play (of some 50 plays in all) was produced that summer. The hall housed a small lending library, now and then a chorus (Laura Wuopio used to come from Hibbing at one time to direct) and a band (Hemming Hautala came from Hibbing to hold rehearsals.) Later, the hall was enlarged, and as the only sizeable meeting place in the community it has served for the most varied of functions, for dances and program evenings, weddings and funerals, welcoming parties and farewell parties, events sponsored by the younger Finns' Booster Club, etc. All this activity, actually, was not under the sponsorship of the workers' society itself, for that came to an end in 1914, and the hall since that time was maintained by the Valo Hall Society, incorporated for that purpose. This society remained intact until 1950, when it proved impossible to continue any longer. Actually, the hall had already been sold for \$1.00 to the local cooperative in 1947, and what assets were left in 1950 — \$10.85 — were given to the *Industrialisti*.

During the time Johannes Väänänen was Congregational minister in Hibbing, he established a group in Little Swan, the Saarikoski congregation. A small church was even built, and still stands: the congregation no longer exists, but the building is used by others, for religious services and other kinds of meetings as well.

The Little Swan Cooperative Society, incorporated in 1923, grew out of an informal consumers' club which had been set up ten years earlier. First business manager of the informal venture was Otto J. Mattson, succeeded in 1914 by Evert Kilkkinen, from Canada, who remained in charge for three years and managed to put the enterprise on a sound basis. Kilkkinen recalls that when he took charge the shelves were almost bare, and that a loan of \$500 from Lizzie Koski, who frequently helped the society in time of need, made it possible for him to take a trip to Duluth to stock those shelves.

Kilkkinen was appointed business manager a second time, in 1920, and this time he remained with the business for a

decade, through the period which saw formal organization and a sound start for the cooperative. In 1957, the business manager was Arvid Järvis, serving at a time when a good financial status had been achieved, an annual sales figure of \$100,000 plus had been reached.

The board of directors no longer has any of its original members of 1923: John Turkula, John Backa, Ivari Jalonen, Frank Seppä, Herman Lammi, Felix Turkula and Jacob Harju. The second generation has taken over completely, and the 1957 board included Arvid Huotari, Eino Erikson, Kenneth Liukkonen, Reino Kylven, Eino Friholm, Joel Tuominen and Robert Nynnes.

William Mannila, who has furnished most of this information about Little Swan, came there himself in 1915 and has been involved in all the organization discussed above. He has been on the board of directors of the cooperative and has been its delegate on the Range Cooperative Federation and Cooperative Central boards.

Kelsey - Cotton - Elmer - Payne - Meadowlands

There has been considerable Finnish settlement east of Little Swan, in the townships of Kelsey (organized 1895), Cotton (1903) and Ellsburg (1914), as well as south of it in the townships of Elmer (1920) where Fred L. Mattson and Eino J. Metsälä were postmasters, Northland (1904), Meadowlands (1903) and Payne (1904). Since this region is large and its population relatively sparse, there have been but few Finnish organizations. Of churches, only the tiny Suomi Synod group in Elmer and the Congregational church in Kelsey are listed; of temperance societies there were none, but at least one workers' society, which had 24 members, tried to remain alive, in Northland. The story of the Finns in Payne may be taken as typical of their story in the other communities.

Payne is located on the Duluth and Mesaba Railroad, and the distance to Kelsey is four miles, to Meadowlands, five. All the land was owned originally by the railroad, which began to sell acreage to settlers in 1914. The first Finn to move here was Väinö Tainio, who came from Eveleth; he was soon followed by William Toivonen. Clearing the land began early in the spring; by autumn, everything was ready enough to say that life could begin. The cleared land grew good hay, so dairy farming seemed in order as the means of livelihood. A relatively good road was opened to Meadowlands, so an outlet for the dairy

production seemed assured. The *Päivälehti* was already writing about Payne in April 1914 and pointing out the desirability of having Finnish businesses 'in a region which is going to develop into a Finnish settlement.' Apparently there were no candidates, for later articles returned to this theme and pointed out that whoever opened a store here would also have the right to open the local post office and serve as postmaster. Gusti Päivärinta eventually accepted the offer. "Ordinary Finnish farmers" seemed to arrive in sufficient numbers; in September 1914 alone six families came. That autumn the population had grown to such an extent that it was necessary to open the first school, and the children of six Finnish families were among the first pupils.

Brookston - Perch Lake

Scattered in approximately equal numbers through eight townships — Alborn, Arrowhead, Brevator, Culver, Industrial, Ness, New Independence and Stoney Brook — Finnish settlement along the southern edges of St. Louis County began toward the end of the 1890s. Before the big fires in Minnesota, Arrowhead, for example, had 87 Finns, Stoney Brook 104, etc. In addition to permanent residents, there were considerable numbers of workers moving casually from community to community.

Workers' societies apparently were the first Finnish organizations within this area, and the first and most flourishing one was at Brookston, followed by Perch Lake and Twin Lakes. The Brookston society had 38 members in 1912, and more than 60 at its peak membership, which did not come until after the schism. Of its auxiliary activities, its outstanding one was the dramatics group, directed in 1928-30 ja Jallu Nukala. At the same time a mixed chorus was also begun, directed by Mayme Nukala. Also present were gymnastics and track teams, and a lending library. The hall which has housed these activities has been more or less abandoned for many years. The Perch Lake society became IWW and continued as such, with its limited membership. The Twin Lakes Finnish Workers Independent Association was the official name of that community's workers' society, incorporated in 1914, which proclaimed its purpose to be "the procurement of scientific literature and social education." The first chairman was John Vertanen, the vice-chairman Victor Vehka, the secretary John Helimäki, and the treasurer William Korpi. The life span of this society was quite limited. That even more radical philosophies gained ground here, too, is evident in

the fact that the Brookston area saw at least the following of its Finns emigrate to Russia: Jack Anttila, Evert Honkala, Arhur R. Kettunen, John Koivisto, Wäinö Mattson, Andrew and Ida Mäki, and John Sundstrom.

The only temperance society was established in Brookston, but it had no more than 15 active members, and its existence was limited to a few years. The society's hall burned in the 1918 fire which destroyed the whole town. The Twin Lake Farmers Educational Club, of later birth, can be considered a successor to both the temperance and workers' society activities in the area.

Brookston was also the site of a Lutheran church, affiliated with the Suomi Synod. In the 1920s it had about 50 members, but in 1945 only 12 were left and the church closed its doors. Small as the congregation had been, it had owned a church of its own, with its adjacent cemetery. The Congregational church established in Stoney Brook in 1924 still had about 20 members in 1947, when its Sunday school could be called flourishing, for that still had 18 pupils.

The Brookston cooperative was established in 1914, although it did not join the Cooperative Central until ten years later. Its first board of directors was made up of seven men, all born in Finland; three decades later, five of the older generation were still left, with two second-generation Finns added to them. For a time, the Finnish farmers in the community also had their own cooperative enterprise.

Chairmen of the board of selectmen in Brookston have included several Finns: Gust F. Tuura, Lydia W. Tuura, D. Johnson.

Conclusion

In the year 1900, the total population of St. Louis County was 82,932. Of these, 5,617 were persons born in Finland. Ten years later, these figures stood at 163,274 and 16,381 respectively, revealing that the percentage of Finns had increased substantially. In 1920, the figures were 206,391 and 17,342. For the number of Finns included, this was the peak, to be followed by a steady decline — as far as the first generation was concerned. It was soon to be overtaken by the second generation: in 1930, the number of Finns of the first generation was 14,309, but the number of second generation Finns (that is, born in the United States of Finnish parents) was already 18,276. The scales have continued to show an increasing preponderance of the second and third generation Finns.

In 1940, there were more Finns in St. Louis County than members of any other nationality group. Taken on a first generation basis, the important groups were: Finns, 11,990; Swedes, 7,937; Yugoslavs, 5,567; Norwegians 4,767. The same relationship existed a decade later, when the figures showed: Finns, 8,853; Swedes, 5,581; Yugoslavs, 4,181; Norwegians, 3,542. Of Minnesota's counties, St. Louis County has been the one where the majority of Minnesota's Finns have lived. In fact, 61% of them lived there in 1950.⁵ It will remain for future historians to assess the importance of the total Finnish contribution to that county.

5. 1900-1950 U. S. Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population. Table 24: 1940 and 1950 General Characteristics of Minnesota. Volume II, Part 23, Chapter B.

Chapter XI

The Finns of Northeast Minnesota

Lake and Cook Counties

Where the northern shore of Lake Superior bends gently to the northeast, the tip of Minnesota is surrounded by the lake, by St. Louis County, and by the Canadian border. This area is divided into two counties, Lake and Cook. Geographically, there is nothing to distinguish the two from their western neighbor, St. Louis County. The only difference seems to be that these counties got a later start, but in the 1920s Ilmonen was already able to write, "Finns are clearing vast areas of the Lake County wilderness for settlement, and there is no doubt but that in a decade or two fields and meadows will bear crops where now stretch primeval forests or wildernesses of stumps."¹ Before becoming involved in this pioneering undertaking, the first stop for the Finns was usually Two Harbors.

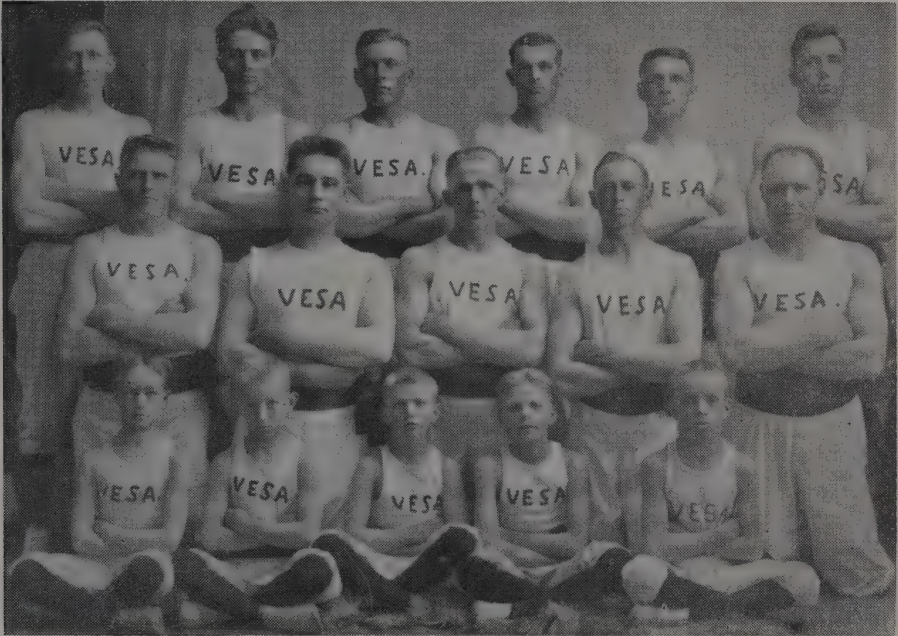
Two Harbors

Some 27 miles north of Duluth is Two Harbors, a port on Lake Superior and the county seat for Lake County. The main activity at the harbor was the loading of iron ore, brought here by rail from the mines farther west. The Finns found work as stevedores, in the railroad repair shops, and so forth. That the Finns were more or less permanently settled in Two Harbors was shown by the fact that they had their own organizations there.

A workers' society was established in July 1907. Its central figure, indeed its founder, was Ida Pasanen, who had already been involved in the socialist movement in Finland; she was a

1. Ilmonen, *S. Amerikan Suomalaisen Historia III*. Hancock, Michigan, 1926. p. 184.

brilliant speaker, and one of the founders and organizers of the Finnish American labor movement. In the first phases of this particular society's activities, the Iron Dock Hall was rented for program events, while other meetings were held at Hilma Lager's home. In its first calendar year of existence, 23 meetings were held, 17 program evenings were sponsored. When the schism came in 1914, this society, too, declared its support for industrial unionism and was read out of the socialist party. The society, however, continued to flourish, and its dramatics program, in



"Vesa" gymnastic society in Two Harbors. In front: Uno Joki, Toivo Niemi, Walter Jäppinen, Walter O'Jay (Oja), Arne Erickson. Second row: Eino Laurila, Axel Stenberg, Kalle Jäppinen, Tobias Rinne, John Hagner. Back row: Simo Simoner, Toivo Laukkanen, Jack Häkkinen, Matti Niemi, Theodor Webster, Nick Nurmi.

particular, was so successful that the funds it brought in made it possible to build a hall in 1917. Plays were directed by members of the society, by Ida Pasanen, Helga Elmgren, Topias Rinne, Hilma Virta and Ilmi Jäppinen. A gymnastics group, the Vesa, had been set up even earlier, and this was coached by John Kivioja and after him by Theodore Webster. A sewing circle was started in 1924 and remained for decades as the last, faithful financial support of the society. In the 1950s the society was still alive, but its membership was very limited.

The Two Harbors Cooperative Company was established in 1917, but it did not join the Cooperative Central until 1930. In addition, there has also been the Trico Cooperative Oil Association, as a local fuel oils distributor, and a cooperative boarding house, existing as such until the World War II period.

There have been but few Finnish businessmen in Two Harbors, but Anna and Matti Tenkanen did have a grocery store plus a sauna. Before the Tenkanen sauna, Matti operated one, in addition to keeping a boarding house. The Tenkanen grocery was later purchased by Richard Aho, who sold it in turn to a non-Finnish buyer. Incidentally, Aho's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Aho, as well as Nick Nauha, were among the earliest Finnish residents of Two Harbors.

The number of Swedish speaking Finns here was relatively large, and in 1912 they established a temperance society, the Hemmets Blomman. It was begun with 23 members and failed to attract many more, so its existence was terminated within a few years.

The population of Two Harbors has remained fairly constant over the decades, at some 4,000 persons. Of these, about 170 were Finns in 1910; in 1950, according to the U. S. Census figures, there were about 125 first-generation Finns still living there.

Clark

Twelve miles north of Two Harbors is Clark, a farming community, where Finns first came to live in 1918 — Mr. and Mrs. John Koski, Mr. and Mrs. Emel Virta, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lampi — although one John Lehtola also owned land here but did not live here except seasonally. In 1919, the John Huhtala family came, and since that time numerous other Finnish families. However, their farming activities have been mostly on a part-time basis, with the men working on jobs in Two Harbors during the day.

Larsmont-Knife River-Little Marais

Two miles out of Two Harbors on the road to Duluth is Larsmont, a fishing port and the home of many Swedish speaking Finns. At one time, during World War I, there were enough of them to support a Baptist church of their own. Knife River, on the edge of the county, has been the home of a few Finns. Also, Little Marais, near the Cook County border, had enough Finns at one time to support its own small workers' society.

Finland

The first 'inland' settlement of the Finns in Lake County was in Finland, about 40 miles northeast of Two Harbors. The first Finns settled here, in what was then a fairly isolated wilderness, in 1903. The story is a repetition of events familiar to reader: the isolation, the slow conquest of the forest, the gradual increase in the size and number of fields, more and more homes, finally a railroad laying down its tracks, building a station near the center of the settlement. It was not until the station was being painted, so the story goes, that the painters realized no one had told them what name to put on its gables, and calling down to Emma Leskinen, who just happened to be walking by, they asked her what the name of the town was, and she called out, "Finland!" and that was the name they painted on.²

The *Geographical Review* (July 1935) devoted an article to Finland and revealed that there 179 Finnish farmers there, with a sum total of 329 acres for hay and 165 acres for crops cleared out of the forest. Chief crops were barley, oats and potatoes, although some farmers raised berries, particularly strawberries. Most farmers also kept cows, and their dairy products were shipped to Two Harbors and Duluth. Production of beef and pork was small, but every farm had a span of horses. To help out in their marketing, the farmers had in 1913 set up the Finland Cooperative Company, which had joined the Cooperative Central in 1925. Finns regularly filled local administrative offices, and the postmaster at the time of writing was G. W. Lehto.

Isabella

One of the loneliest outposts of Finnish settlement in Lake County is that of Isabella, Finland's neighbor — 16 miles removed. The Finns, a group of 5 men, first came here in winter, setting up their shelter of fir and pine boughs, tepee-style, with a fire day and night in the middle of the shelter to cook by and to keep warm. It was from this start that homes in this wilderness were gradually built, a few families settled down, a population of 20 'not counting the children' achieved within a few years' time. Perhaps more would have come if the place had not been so difficult to reach. There were no roads, but the Finns had been told somewhere, so they claimed, that the county would build roads for all pioneer settlements, no matter where. The 20

2. *Minnesotan Uutiset*, 24 March 1955. Also, Interview with Matti Salo, preserved in MFAHS files.

Finns in Isabella asked for a road, but they did not get one. Some were prepared to quit the place in despair, but finally a few hundred dollars were forthcoming from Beaver Bay Township. It was enough to pay for filling in a few of the more impassable stretches, making it possible at least to travel by horse in winter, while in summer it still took Matti Ruuska and his span of oxen two days to get to Finland and back with needed supplies. The Finns then pitched in themselves to clear a few miles at a time for several summers, but it was not until 1920, when the then candidate for governor, J.A.O. Preus drove up in his car, as far as he could get, and promised a road if he were elected. He was, and State Highway No. 1, running through Isabella, was the result.



Parents and pupils in front of first school in Isabella.

The first school was almost as slow in coming. Classes were begun at Herman Davidson's farmhouse, with Emil Sjodin as teacher, until a schoolhouse was opened in 1913.

In its series of articles on the pioneering efforts of the Finns, the *Industrialisti* had written that "a place to meet and get together for recreation is an essential building in every community; if it does not exist, then even the most modest of communities is like a chicken without a head." Even in a settlement as small as Isabella the two dozen adults banded together as an organization — as a workers' society, which brought them together for the modest little events they planned, allowed them to participate in games and races for practical prizes like flashlights, candy, coffee cups, a pipe, a pocket knife. They collected

a little money, too, and built themselves a little hall for their meetings and entertainments and to house their modest lending library. But that is all a part of the past, as the Finnish farms of Isabella are also apt to be a part of the past.

Toimi

Previous mention has been made of Finnish settlement in the vicinity of Brimson, on the eastern edge of St. Louis County. Essentially a part of that settlement, but requiring consideration here because the boundary puts it in Lake County, is the settlement called Toimi.

Most of the recorded story of Toimi, however, seems to involve merely its identity as an independent postal district and the Finns who have served as its mail carriers and postmasters.

The post office was first opened in 1910, in Kalle Ranta's sauna; Ranta was postmaster and had M. J. Beck as assistant under him. K. Huttunen was the first carrier, but he was succeeded by Vic Harju. Later postmasters have been William Ahola, Sulo Härkönen, and Victor Taipale.



The Hilda Kotilainen homestead in Isabella.

The Finns of Toimi participated in the Finnish organizations at Brimson, but they also had a few of their own. One of these, a temperance society, was started (1934) after the repeal of Prohibition; it was affiliated with the Minnesota Temperance League and was still active during World War II years. There was also a workers' society, with about 20 members, enough to sponsor dramatics as its main cultural activity. A local cooperative was established in 1932, the Toimi Cooperative Company, which joined the Cooperative Central that same year.

Silver Bay and Taconite Harbor

About 30 miles northeast of Two Harbors, on the shores of Lake Superior, is the new, bustling community of Silver Bay.

There the Reserve Mining Company finished building in 1956 huge installations costing hundreds of millions of dollars; a taconite processing plant and harbor facilities from which the finished taconite pellets are shipped to the steel mills. The taconite is brought to Silver Bay by rail from the company's mines in Babbitt, located in St. Louis County, some 20 miles south of Ely. Silver Bay and Babbitt were both incorporated as villages in 1956, and both places employ many Finns.

Taconite Harbor is in Cook County and lies about 20 miles north of Silver Bay. It, too, is on the shore of Lake Superior. It is a property of the Pickand-Mather Company, which owns the taconite mines at Hoyt Lake (St. Louis County). No processed taconite was shipped out of here before the end of 1956, but the facilities in construction were similar to those of Silver Bay. Here, too, many Finns are employed.

— Lake County population stood at 4,654 in the year 1900, then doubled within the next two decades, only to decrease somewhat subsequent to 1920. In 1900, there were only 77 first generation Finns in the entire county, but in 1910 the figure was 661, and in 1920 it stood at 761. After this date, the number of Finns has declined steadily: 467 in 1930; 378 in 1940; 310 in 1950. In Cook County, the Finnish population has been as follows: 7 persons in 1900; 46 in 1910; 55 in 1920; 94 in 1930; 48 in 1940; 37 in 1950.

Itasca, The County of a Thousand Lakes

In the same way that Lake and Cook counties to the east of St. Louis County, so Itasca to the west of it closely resembles 'the biggest Finnish county in America.' In Itasca, too, vast stretches of wilderness awaited the Finnish pioneer. More than 1200 lakes reminded the Finns of home. Finally, even the Mesabi Iron Range extended into the county for some distance and gave the history of the Finns here the same kind of mining flavor and background encountered in St. Louis County.

Nashwauk

About 10 miles west of Hibbing lies the mining village of Nashwauk, the first stopping place of the Finns into Itasca County. The name Nashwauk apparently comes from the Algonquin tribe and means 'the land between.' Logging operations in the extensive forests brought the first, temporary influx of population in the 1880s. There was enough timber to extend operations up

to about 1900, but by 1910 the last of those enterprises had completely disappeared. No permanent settlement would have been born in a region so isolated if new sources of wealth had not been discovered in the earth: various trial drillings at the turn of the century and the opening of the Hawkins Mines in 1902 changed the course of developments. There were 220 inhabitants at that time, but the figure was to rise to 2,778 in 1920.

The first Finn in Nashwauk was apparently Charles Tamminen, a miner, who settled here in the latter half of 1901 and who



"Finn Hall" in Nashwauk in 1910..

bought himself a house lot the following year and proceeded to build himself a one-room log cabin, replaced a few years later by a house.

In 1902, several more Finns made their way to Nashwauk. At least four of them came from Sparta, where two of them had already been miners: John Lake and Leander Rokola. Lake's first task in Nashwauk was to build himself a house, so that in November he was able to fetch his wife from Sparta. Their son, Emil, was the first child born in Nashwauk. Rokola's wife did not join him until the following year; the husband lost his life in an accident in the mines in 1912. Matt Rantala, also from Sparta,

was a carpenter in Nashwauk to begin with, then worked in the mines, later was a smith and a lumberjack. John Koski came from Sparta with his wife, and they owned the first farm in Nashwauk and sold milk from door to door. Their home was also a boarding house. In later years, Koski became a policeman.

Charles W. Latvala also came to Nashwauk in 1902. He built himself a house that same year and in it opened the first grocery store in the community, which prospered as Nashwauk grew. He married, in 1904, Lydia Aho. He later served on the board of directors of the First National Bank, served in the local government in various positions, including 19 years as a member of the school board.

The year 1903 saw Tuomas and Hilma Hedman and Fred Törmä arrive. The Hedmans settled down to farming, while Törmä and his wife (he married Hilda Lempeä in 1909) are well-known for their participation in various local Finnish activities. Also to be counted among the early Finns in Nashwauk are A. J. Riipinen, who bought a homestead here in 1907 (later farmed by his son, John) and David Koski, who came from Michigan. He worked first in the mine, then built himself a house and started operating a boarding house in it. In 1907, he married Katri Pirttimaa.

Finnish Organizations: The first and the biggest Finnish organizations in Nashwauk were in terms of the labor movement. A local workers' society was started in 1905, with Ade Wilson becoming chairman, Frank Selin secretary, Alex Vatanen treasurer and August Kokko 'organizer.' Two years later the society was able to purchase itself a hall, to house the varied activities so typical of these Finnish societies.

There was a band, with John Colander as the first bandmaster, to be followed by August Miettinen, later still by Victor Taipale. This band formed the core of the municipal band, which came later. There was a chorus, for several years, directed by A. Siiteri, Mayme Nukala, J. Vainionpää. There was, above all, a dramatics group and the important money earner for the society, with the 60 or so plays produced over the years being directed by N. Terho, H. Päätaalo, J. Stark, H. Smith, K. Kautto and J. and Liina Vainionpää. There was a gymnastics team, with 25 members, coached by John Härkönen and Armas Sahlman, and a women's team for a time, coached by Lillian Ruuska.

Within the framework of the society the women started a sewing circle in 1908. Continuing its existence through several changes of name and focus, it ended up as a cooperative guild

in 1929 but lost most of its members in 1936 to another, English-speaking guild of the same name. Activity has been varied and has included dissemination of information and literature, sponsorship of program evenings, support of a children's summer camp.

Membership in the workers' society before the schism was somewhere between 50 and 90, and although the confusion resulted in a curtailment of activities, they were started up again in such measure that the two decades following were the years



Nashwauk town band in 1910. Seated: Louis Saccoman, Raymond De Petro, Peter Larro. Second Row: George Kokko, Arvo Lindevall, August Miettinen, director, B. De Petro, unknown. Third row: Charles Sulonen, Frank Lindfors, Elmer Lindevall, David Korhonen, Hemming Varonen. Back row: Hugo Lilja, John Rokala, Chas. Kaminen, John Toivola, Eero Matara.

of most splendid achievement. Unlike most societies in the Range region, the Nashwauk society did not become an IWW group but continued under its socialist label until 1931, when it changed its name to the Workers' Educational Society. This society terminated its existence in 1952, giving its hall as a gift to the local cooperative, Elanto, and its small remaining cash on hand to the Perch Lake Cooperative summer camp committee.

The local importance of the workers' movement was so great that other activities — the temperance movement and religious activity — tended to remain of subordinate interest. The tem-

perance society Salon Kannel (Wilderness Harp) saw its birth at the same period the workers' society was starting, but it was not able to experience the same growth, chiefly because it was unable to get itself a hall of its own, which meant it could not attract a growing membership — a vicious circle of circumstances. Meetings were held at members' homes, but this limited the scope of possible programs, particularly dramatics, and the society was forced to try to proceed as a Mutual Aid Society, which also failed, forcing the majority who wanted to participate in Finnish activities to join the workers' society. There were attempts later to keep temperance ideals alive through 'home study group,' but interest there quickly died out and the results achieved remained minimal.

Religious aspirations suffered similarly. A few families tried to start an Evangelical Lutheran church, but without any positive results. The Methodists fared somewhat better, due to the visit to Nashwauk of Pastor M. Lehtonen, who was known for his socialist leanings: he was able to arouse enough local interest to start a Methodist church in 1908. The following year, membership was 30 persons, and progress seemed assured. A church was even built, but by 1925 it was found necessary to relinquish this to the American Methodist church, which had 250 members. The Finns continued to use the facilities for services of their own, but in the end most joined the now 'mother' church, while the Lutherans, who had gotten nowhere with their own plans, were able to join the English-speaking Nashwauk Lutheran church which had been established in 1925.

Nashwauk did see relatively strong Kaleva activity, thanks to Knights' and Ladies' chapters it was able to inherit from other communities. The Knights, organized in Hibbing and then transferred to Chisholm, moved to Nashwauk in 1928, while the Ladies got their start somewhat earlier, being able to carry on the work started in Chisholm, where it soon failed, by taking up its charter in Nashwauk in 1924. Both have been able to proceed successfully in Nashwauk and to continue into the present time, with varied individual and joint activities, choral work and dramatics, program evenings, participating in fund-raising drives, and playing a leading role in Finnish relief activities.

The organized Finnish relief program was made a community-wide project of the Finnish Americans early in December 1939, when a mass meeting was held and a committee organized. J. P. Raattama was elected chairman, Hilda Törmä secretary, and Jalmar Levola treasurer. Before the end of the first phase in 1941,

the committee had met in session 25 times and had managed to raise about \$2,000, in addition to which the Finnish societies individually raised an additional \$1,000. Reactivated in 1944, the committee continued its work until 1949, raising a further \$5,000, in addition to sending some 8 tons of clothing for distribution in Finland.

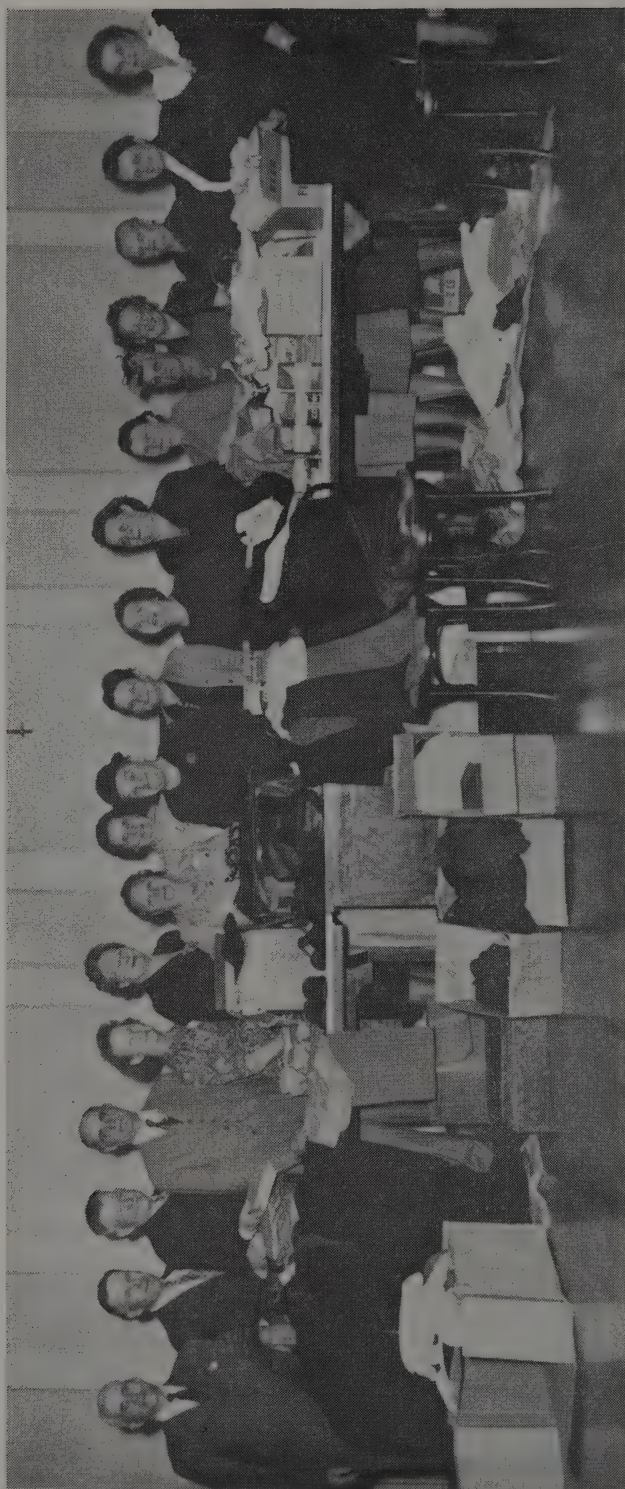
Before this joint effort had come to an end, the Finns of Nashwauk had already gotten together in another joint enterprise: their chapter of the MFAHS was established in January 1948, with 147 members. The first elected officers were Charles Latvala, chairman; Fred Törmä, vice-chairman; Vienna Borg, secretary; Hilda Törmä, membership secretary; Enoch Beckman, archivist; and Jalmar Levola, treasurer. Charter members were Hilda Lake, Lempi Rokala, Kalle Tamminen, Helmi McCollar, Lempi Lampi, Hilma Hedman, Ida Heino, Nestor Heino, Aili Lanto, Maria Niemi, John Lanto, Aino Tuomala, Ida Salonen,



Nashwauk Cooperative.

Leonard Salonen, Matti Salo and Lydia Salo. Two years later membership had climbed to 254, indicating strong local interest in this historical project. Primary emphasis, of course, was on the collection and preservation of historical data, and use was made of the materials collected: when a county administration building was started in Grand Rapids, the Nashwauk MFAHS commissioned Matti Erkkilä to write a history of the Nashwauk Finns; this was microfilmed and was included among the other documents sealed in the cornerstone.

In speaking of the joint efforts of Nashwauk's Finns, it should be mentioned that they were hosts for the first time in 1910 for the Finns' joint midsummer festival; Governor Eberhart of Minnesota addressed the audience at that time. Nashwauk again sponsored the joint festival in 1919. In 1956, under the auspices of the MFAHS chapter, together with sponsorship of



A part of Nashwauk's Help Finland committee. Charles Latvala, John Rokala, chairman, Fred Törmä, Jalmar Levola, treasurer, Maria Erikson, Vienna Borg, Hilda Nuorala, Katri Koski, Fanny Sandell, Lydia Latvala, Lempi Rokala, Hilda Törmä, secretary, Liisa Eskola, Hilma Lake, Laimi Sippola, Eliina Savolainen, Lempi Hill, Ida Salonen.

other local organizations, a successful midsummer festival of the Finns of Northern Minnesota was held.

Cooperative Activity: The first business undertakings in Nashwauk were the numerous boarding houses. Some have already been mentioned; others were those of John Korpela, William Kumpula, Victor Lund, J. Wilson and Anna and William Wirtanen. In all of them lived many Finns, in some as many as 80 to 90 under one roof. In a house with so many men living together, there was apt to be keen and noisy discussion about politics and about socialism, and if the landlord occasionally had to hush up a group, what more natural than to start accusing him



Directors of Nashwauk's MFAHS in 1949. In front: Enoch A. Beckman, vice secretary and archivist, Charles Latvala, chairman, Fred Törmä, vice chairman. In back: Vienna Borg, secretary, Jalmar Levola, treasurer, Hilma Törmä, membership secretary.

of being a reactionary bourgeois and then to start thinking that as a bourgeois he was profiteering at his borders' expense? This led, in 1908, to a group of young men — Peter Huttunen, Matti Mulari, and John Ruoho (all from Iisalmi in Finland) and Fred Törmä (from Parkano) — starting a cooperative eating house. It did not last more than a few months, but it did inspire a larger group — the preceding plus David Korhonen, Kalle Salo, August Mankinen, Kusti Aira, Mikko Mukari, Kalle Mankinen and Jalmari Laakso — to start an even more ambitious venture, a cooperative boarding house which they named the Elanto. They hired a



Members of the Nashwauk Finnish American Historical Society. Front row: Kalle Latvala, chairman, Hanna Oja, Aili Hill, Miina Aho, Hulda Heino, Fred Törmä, vice chairman, Hilma Ruoho, Frances Biltonen, Maria Tamminen, Lillian Kleimola, Hilma Lake, Mrs. Hakamäki, Mrs. Vaara, Eli Tuomala, Bruce Laine, Aina Tuomala. Second row: Eino Beckman, archivist, Matti Erkkilä, Frank Biltonen, Hilma Hedman, Hilda Törmä, membership secretary, Laura Ruoho, Syne Alanko, Laimi Sippola, Katri Koski, Lempi Hill, unknown, Hilda Nuorala, Hilda Rantala, Lempi Lampi, Selma Koski, Eino Oja. Back row: William Borg, Kia Ruoho, John Ruoho, Victor Aho, Frank Beckman, Jalmar Levola, treasurer, Emil Hill, Donald Wirtanen, Oiva Alanko, Gust Nuorala, Emil Sippola, Oscar Tenhunen, John Kleimola, Erland Rustari, Henry Ruuhela, Eli Rantala, Edwin Hupila, Mr. Eskeli.

cook, Ida Wickström, and a dishwasher, Eva Heikkilä, and rented William Kumpula's boarding house, complete with furnishings, and even including a cow tethered in the yard to supply milk and cream for the table. All the men had to take turns handling the affairs of the cooperative and doing household chores, and if somebody neglected his turn he was fined 50c, which was paid to the person who had to perform the neglected assignment.

Fifteen more men soon joined the society, and it became necessary to seek larger quarters: in 1909 a bigger house was rented, on the corner of Second Street and Deering Avenue, owned by Isaac Korpela. In time that, too, proved too small, and this time the house of Jalmari Laakso, on the corner of First Street and Dearing Avenue, was purchased. Become property owners



Nashwauk boardinghouse Elanto in 1910.

now, the Elanto was incorporated in 1913, with John A. Koski as president; Nestori Jalonon, vice-president; Venni Kari, secretary; Charles Halme, treasurer; John Härmä, John Lampi and Isak Viklund as members of the board. The charter authorized considerable latitude in activities, a welcome feature inasmuch as it did foster Elanto's development into a broader cooperative enterprise, serving a larger public. This developed in logical stages. One of the first steps taken was to set up a purchasing unit, to

enable purchases at a discount, and later contact with a similar venture in Duluth, to make possible purchases at wholesale prices. The next step was to open a store.

In 1917 Elanto was re-organized legally to cover the store venture, and the new board consisted of Henry Varonen, chairman; Kalle Laakso, secretary; Fred Törmä, treasurer; and Ilmari Lindewall, Peter Huttunen, Isak Viklund and John Härmä. In 1927 the boarding house was separated from Elanto into an independent unit, legalized as the Home Coop Club, still active as such in its own premises even in the 1950s. It was a truly cooperative venture, managed by a board of directors: membership in the cooperative was automatic to those (there were about 150 at peak times; in the 1950s still some 30 or so) who ate there regularly for a minimum of three months.

The Elanto Cooperative Company, meanwhile, separated from the boarding house venture as it was, moved to new quarters across the street and operated its food store with increasing success. In 1917, sales totalled \$38,604, leaving a net profit of about \$1,500; in 1923, corresponding figures were \$63,000 and \$2,300. Expansion of facilities and diversification proceeded apace, although branch stores in Bovey and Keewatin were not successful and had to be terminated. Sales in 1933 totalled \$69,000; in 1953 they were \$364,085.

Elanto joined the Cooperative Central in 1917; it also joined the Range Cooperative Federation. The first business manager of Elanto was Filus Anderson, and he has been followed by Jalmer Levola, Joseph Mäkelä, Jack Stark, Jack Vainionpää, Lauri Passi, Jack Järvi, Frank Saari, Arvid Salo, Albert Lanto, Frank Biltonen, William Niemi, Henry Staudinger and Julian Stokke. In 1957, business manager was Richard Kinnunen, and the board of directors was made up of Lauri Laakso, chairman; Harry Larson, vice-chairman; Elmer Salmi, secretary; Lauri Morti, treasurer; and Frank Dergantz, John Sejnoha, John Stish, Fred Törmä, Charles Lahti, Nestor Lampi and Enoch Beckman. In 1957, the cooperative had 11 employees and 1,413 members.

Local Business Enterprises: One of Nashwauk's first businessmen was Oscar Johnson, who opened a grocery store in 1905; later, he was an automobile dealer. He has also been Nashwauk's postmaster, and a selectman. Other grocers have been Charles Sulonen (from 1914) and John Rostedt. Kalle Ollila was the first Finnish saloon keeper; in 1909 he built a three-story brick hotel with 50 rooms. This hotel was owned later by John Lanto,

who has also been Nashwauk's postmaster, a selectman, and a member of the board of the First National Bank.

Frank and John Lepistö, and John Turunen, were the first local bakers. Frank Lepistö later had a soda fountain and operated a sauna as well. William Kumpula also owned a sauna, 1913-1943. The first local shoemaker was Gust Nurkka. John Peter Raattama opened his own clothing store in 1909; he was also an important personality in many civic posts, including that of chairman of the board of selectmen and in charge of the local unit of the national Census in 1910. Another clothier was Jalmari Heino. A furniture store was opened in 1916 by Arvid Mattila, who also added a hardware department later; he, too, was active in civic affairs and in banking. Herman Stierna was a jeweler in Nashwauk for 26 years. Hemming Varonen was a building contractor; he also belonged to the board of selectmen for several years.



Nashwauk's Elanto Cooperative Store board, employees and members in 1950. In front: Arthur Kiiskinen, Frank Biltonen, Victor Aho, Emil Backlund, Eli Tuomala, Miina Aho, Lempi Lampi, Aina Tuomala, Hilda Törmä, young Perälä, Mr. Mäki. Front center: Bruce Laine. Back row: Arne Perälä, Walter Niemi, Leonard Anderson, Armas Juhala, Syyne Alanko, Oiva Alanko, Kalle Lahti, Donald Wirtanen, Lauri Laakso, Sanna Mäki, Fred Törmä.

The office of selectman has also been held by Mikko Hendrickson (also as chairman of the board) and Ray Johnston, Wäinö Kumpula, Arne Perälä, Eli Tuomala and Ade Wilson. Postmasters, in addition to those previously cited, have been Ernest Johnston and Minnie Taipale. Village treasurer has been Impi Puolakka; secretary, John Hyvärinen. Eino M. Kinnunen has been Itasca County Commissioner for the Nashwauk district. The post of municipal secretary has been filled by John Hyvärinen and William Sumi and, in 1953, by Ray Ross.

Indicative of the large Finnish population in Nashwauk even in recent years was the fact that 83 of its young men of Finnish

descent and one young woman served in the armed forces of the United States during World War II.

Cloverdale

A part of the Town of Nashwauk is made up of a Finnish farming community, Cloverdale, where Finns began to settle down in 1910 and the years following. Among the very first were Isaac Korpela, Matti Rantala and Thomas Hedman, while a little later came Mike Laakso, Andrew Pääkkönen, Charles Erikson, William Wirtanen and Oscar Lehti, and still later, scores more. With the exception of Erick Hietala's and E. Michelson's properties, the lands were not homestead grants. The early residents here had to get along with their farm income, for it was both too distant and too expensive to go out to work elsewhere; the younger generation, on the other hand, has for the most part left farming aside and gone to work in industry.

The Cloverdale Finns have not had halls or organizations of their own, with the exception of one so-called 'cattle club.' They have, however, held meetings and program evenings together at the township's Community Hall. Religious services have been held there also, or in private homes. Lacking fixed congregations, some of the residents are members of Nashwauk churches.

John and Walter Rantala kept a dairy business for a time at their father's (Eino's) farm; Ray Nurkka owns a store; Charles Latvala was a building contractor.

Township supervisors have been Mike Laakso, Charles Erikson, Dan Lehti and Harry Kannas; treasurers, Frank Beckman, Andrew Pääkkönen, Lillian Nurkka, Mrs. Dan Lehti, Jr., and Thomas Hedman; assessors, Aaro Lehti, Oscar Johnston, Reino Gyllander, Ina Wallin, Tauno Salonen and Elli Tuomala, while Eben Henderson served for 20 years as both township secretary and coroner.

Crooked Lake

Located partly in Nashwauk Township and partly in Lawrence and Balsam townships is Crooked Lake, once an area of primeval forest, left desolate by timber operations, restored to beauty with its newer deciduous tree growth, woods rich with game surrounding a lake rich with fish, it has grown into a popular summer colony with some 40 cottages, owned largely by Finns. Alex Mäki was the first to locate here, buying farmland on the north shore of the lake. Others followed, including so many from Hibbing that the north shore is still called 'Little Hibbing.' Some have already

made their cottages year-round dwellings, and many others plan to do so. One local resident, Veikko Elmer Dale (Alanko) died during World War II in a German PW camp.

Keewatin

Between Nashwauk and Hibbing lies a mining town, Keewatin, which was still largely forest in 1905 and 1906, when 'streets' for a new community were hacked through the woods: one mine had already been opened there, the St. Paul, and Finns were beginning to move in. One of the first of them was Manu Järvi, from Kuru, Finland; he kept a boarding house and steered fresh Finnish immigrants to work in the mines. In later years, the young men who had lived in Järvi's house set up their own, cooperative venture, Toijala, which remained active until the 1920s.

The Finnish settlement of Keewatin grew rapidly, for the Finns found jobs readily in the mines. This growth made Finnish organizations inevitable, and the first was a workers' society, established in 1910, with some 30 members at that time. A hall was built the following year, and the society continued to grow, even after it had become an IWW supporter after the schism. Especially successful here, too, were the dramatics sponsored by the society. In 1957 the hall was still there but, with members grown old, activity had practically come to a halt.

The only other organized activity in the early years was a Finnish orchestra, started by Victor Taipale. Then, during World War II, and in connection with Finnish relief activities, a bowling club, under the enthusiastic leadership of Jack and Louis Kleimola and Hjalmar Nuorala, developed into a more permanent and formal organization attracting second and third generation Finnish Americans. After the war this was transferred to Virginia as the Finnish Bowling Association.

There was no congregation in Keewatin, but Methodist pastor Matti Lehtonen came occasionally from Chisholm to hold services, perform marriages, etc.

The number of Finns in Keewatin was somewhere between 200 and 300 at the peak. The younger generation has, by and large, moved away to other communities altogether, and there are but a few of the old guard left. The oldest of them, Kalle Tolvanen, was 84 in 1956.

Turning to Finnish businessmen, an outstanding career was that of Frank V. Wakkinen, the son of a New York Mills farmer. He worked for 46 years in the First National Bank, beginning as

a cashier and ending up as its president. In 1956 he sold his stock to Herbert Latvala, of Nashwauk, who took over the presidency of the bank, with his wife becoming vice-president.

In conclusion, if the statement has been made that few Finns are left in Keewatin, it should be mentioned that they did send 21 of their young men to fight in World War II, and that in 1956 several Keewatin Finns were certainly on hand to participate with two impressive floats in the centenary parade in Duluth. Representing the pioneer generation were Amanda Järvi, Miina Manson and Kalle Tolvanen. The floats showed, respectively, the domestic chores and household duties of Finnish men and women of an earlier time. On the women's floats were posed Hanna Oja, Irene Oja, Julia Filppo, Ida Hätönen, Sanni Kettunen, Eini Airisto, Wilma Waara, Edla Salo, plus John Hätönen and Armas Riipinen; on the men's, Johan Pulkka, Arthur Wiljamaa, Alvar Airisto, Eino Oja, Arvid Filppo, Fred Hämäläinen, Mathias Kajander, Rudolf Oja, Wäinö Pääkkönen, Harvi Latvala and Robert Pulkka.

Bovey - Trout Lake - Calumet - Coleraine - Marble - Taconite

In the year 1900, Bovey, Calumet, Coleraine, Marble and Taconite were still wilderness; however, a few settlers had already arrived at Trout Lake. At this time, also, the Itasca Lumber Company started major operations here, to amount to 100,000,000 feet of timber eventually. When this was accomplished, this area (some 90 miles west of Duluth, about the same distance south of Canada) would well have reverted to wilderness again, except that when ore was discovered in the Mesabi Range, prospectors came to Bovey, too, and they did gradually locate resources at various points in the area. The population increased then, tents were replaced by houses, and a community was being formed and being rushed to legal organization in 1904, when it had the bare minimum required but was anxious to act, to claim as much area for itself as possible, to be able to have as much taxable property as possible. Disappointment followed in 1905, when far richer resources were located in Coleraine, and when mines were opened elsewhere as well: the Holman mine in Taconite, the Hill mine in Marble, with 400 men employed right at the start, etc.

In all of these mines mushrooming so suddenly there were many Finns employed. Colonies of them collected in each of these villages, and Finnish organizations were not far behind. The

first was the congregation established by Trout Lake farmers in 1901 as the National church group. For a quarter of a century meetings were held at the home of photographer C. J. Frant, but in 1926 the group got together with the local Suomi Synod congregation which had been established in 1911. Actual union came in 1940, and the church became the Trout Lake-Bovey Evangelical Lutheran Suomi Synod Congregation. On the Bovey side of the picture, religious life had begun in 1906, but was soon given up in favor of working with the more flourishing group in Trout Lake, where there was also an Apostolic Lutheran congregation with its own church. Divided as they were then, into Apostolic and Evangelical Lutherans, the Apostolics invited the others to share use of their church — and their cemetery. A new church for these two denominations was built in 1941.

There was, however, another side to life in this region. Bovey, for example, had 26 saloons and 28 'houses,' to which the lumberjacks and miners from the region used to flock. To combat this seamier side of life, the temperance society Lehti (Leaf) came into being, some time before 1908, when it joined the Temperance Brotherhood. It was not a large society but was able to build its own hall (the 1910 annual convention of the Brotherhood was held here) and thus to attract more members. However, by that time there was also a local workers' society, which took away a part of the Lehti's support, but not before the Lehti had exerted some influence in effecting measures to keep prostitution within bounds and to create an atmosphere conducive to family life.³



New church at Trout Lake.

The Bovey workers' society was started in 1906, a hall was soon built, giving impetus to auxiliary activities; by 1910 there were 74 members, 16 of them active on the gymnastics team and 15 in dramatics. Calumet also started a workers' society of its

3. The Bovey Press. November 1949.

own, but Trout Lake was slower: it originally supported the Bovey society and did not start on its own until 1914, but even so, it was slow work before a hall was built. However, following the big mining strikes, the area got many more Finnish farmers and thereby increased membership and support of the society: in 1920 land was purchased from Jack Pauttila by a hall association and a hall was built in 1922, with Edward Pokela in charge of building. Dramatics activity was begun promptly, gymnastics followed later. However, failing to attract sufficient younger members brought a swift end to the society. When the young people attempted a society of their own, it also failed quickly, and the hall was unused most of the time and was finally sold in 1943. As it was, this was a longer life than that of the hall in Bovey, which was already sold in the 1920s.

There have been no other Finnish organizations in this region, with the exception of a Townsend Club in Trout Lake for a time and a Finnish relief committee in Calumet, which managed to raise \$460 during 1940. A band, started in 1935 and directed by Hemming Hautala, managed to survive for a time, and in 1939 Bovey was host to the midsummer festival of the Finns of Northern Minnesota.

Local businessmen have included grocers Muotka, Matti Harju, Ben Mandy and Sulo Ylitalo; restaurant owners Kalle Kuukas, Matti Mattila, R. J. Liukkonen and Maunu Räsänen; clothers John Frantti, S. Komulainen, John P. Raattama and Hugo Ruuhela. A cooperative was established in 1917 but was in bankruptcy after three years, and later, when the Nashwauk cooperative opened a branch store in Bovey in 1931 it was forced to close within a year. Local postmasters have been G. F. Frantti and Matti Abell Mattila.

Wawina

South of the Bovey-Nashwauk region there have been Finns residing in smaller Itasca County communities, including Blackberry, Goodland, Cedar Valley and Wawina. Some degree of organizational activity has existed, with workers' societies in Blackberry and Wawina and a National church congregation in Cedar Valley. In addition, there was in Wawina a Cooperative Society, established in 1920, which joined the Cooperative Central four years later. A Finn, August Merikanto, was postmaster of Wawina for many years, keeping the office in his store.

Grand Rapids

Located just below a series of rapids in the Mississippi, the town which got its name from them was for some time an out-

post which only a few lumberjacks had reached. A few Finns, also, have always lived there, and in 1950 there were still 22 Finnish-born residents. For them, and for the Finns round about, radio station KBZY used to send out a daily program in the Finnish language. The listeners were, perhaps, the Finns who lived along the road which was built out of Grand Rapids in 1907 toward Deer River and to a settlement called Suomi.

Suomi

In Finnish, the word for the name of their country is Suomi; it is also a place name in Minnesota. Its history begins with a Finnish land agent in Duluth, one A. W. Havela, owner of a real estate company called Pellervo. Havela succeeded in getting the sales rights to lands near a small body of water, Bowestring Lake. He advertised this land in all the Finnish-language newspapers, and he attracted buyers: in 1930, for example, there were 164 Finns in Suomi, and only one 'foreigner.'

The first to come here was Jaffet Heikkinen, who built his log cabin a scant 3 miles from a railroad stop called Elbow. Later, when all the forests had been felled, the railroad was removed, and the colony was left without communications. The railroad roadbed was taken over and used for a road, and later it was widened and improved and is still being used for a road. The first child born here was Mildred Juntunen, in 1919, while Ida Maria Heikkinen and the only bachelor in the colony, Otto Salo, were the first couple to be wed here, in 1920. The inhabitants were given permission to name their community as they chose, and since the landscape was similar to their native one, and since these colonists still had strong affection toward what had been their home, they chose Suomi.

The postal authorities protested: the name, according to one inspector, was too foreign. The same gentleman went on to blame the Finns for being so clannish, so thoroughly Finnish in their colony, that it was impossible to even find a non-Finn for postmaster. This attack was countered in the Finnish-language press, and attention was called to the fact that this very clannishness was what had cleared the wilderness of Northern Minnesota: "Criss-cross through this northeastern corner of Minnesota's forests and moors, its swamps and endless bogs, and say how many real farmers you will find who are not Finns," urged the *Päivälehti*. In the end the place was named Suomi, and the name did lead to considerable confusion, for much mail, accord-

ing to its postmaster, Gust Saari, was sent there from everywhere in the United States, even from Asia and Africa, which was really destined for the country of Finland.

The first organization effort in Suomi was the establishment of a congregation in 1918. At that time Pastor Heikki Sarvela came a few times to hold services, but after him, there followed two years when the church had no pastor. Then, when Pastor Antti Lepistö had been invited privately to Suomi to officiate at a wedding, he discovered the situation and agreed to take charge of this isolated congregation. A church was erected in 1941, but a cemetery had been on hand from the very beginning. The first persons to be buried there were Jaffet Heikkinen and his two children, aged 5 and 12, all victims of the 1918 influenza epidemic.

Other organizations also made their appearance: a workers' society, which built its own hall, had active gymnastics and dramatics groups; a 'toilers club'; a temperance society, the Iltatähti (Evening Star) begun after the repeal of Prohibition and a member of the Minnesota Temperance League; committees set up to collect funds for the Delaware Tercentenary and then for Finnish war relief, with Alva Baker and Andrew Niemelä serving as chairmen for the latter; finally, a chapter of the MFAHS. The Farmers Cooperative Exchange was started in 1934; it joined the Cooperative Central two years later.

Balsam

Considerable numbers of Finns have lived in Balsam Township, refugees, as it were, from the Iron Range following the mining strikes. The first pioneer settler here was Isaac Mäkinen, who came with his wife Katri in 1905. Other Finns and Swedes followed soon after. The Finns included the Tuominen, Lindholm and Kinnunen families.

There was a workers' society here, with its own, spacious hall, very active in the earlier decades with dramatics, with singing and dancing. A lending library was also on hand.

In 1957, there were two Finnish stores in Balsam: the Balsam Store, owned by Toivo Aho, and the Scenic Store, owned by Emil Mäkinen. Otto Kinnunen was township secretary.

A state highway now runs through Balsam to Scenic Park. The shores of the idyllic lakes in the area are dotted with summer cottages. A few score Finns still live in Balsam; they are the members of the older generation, whose offspring have by and large left for bigger communities and more varied possibilities.

Squaw Lake

Finnish pioneering played a considerable role on the western edge of Itasca County, in the Squaw Lake region. The first to come here, in 1903, were John Hämäläinen and Matt Martin. Four years later, a post office was established at Max, and Hämäläinen became its postmaster. The first local school was held in Martin's log cabin.

In 1910, a workers' society was already in existence, with a hall built for itself that same year and another a dozen years later. The usual activities were fostered, but obviously within a limited framework, for in 1912, for example, the society had but 20 members. These same people were largely responsible for the cooperative started in 1918; it joined the Cooperative Central, and even after World War II was still flourishing, and modern to the point of opening a self-service store. The advent of the cooperative had, on the other hand, forced the closing of the only general store in town, which had been started in 1918 by Emil Kananen.

— Just as the Finns in St. Louis County have been in the majority among the foreign-born groups, so the Finns have had similar status in Itasca County. In the year 1900, there were 61 persons born in Finland out of a total population of 5,000. In 1910 these figures stood at 1,436 and 17,208 respectively, and a decade later at 1,607 and 24,000. Although the total population continued to climb, the number of Finns fell to 1,333 by 1940, and by 1950 had fallen to 953. Using the 1940 figures for foreign-born nationality groups, the Swedes trailed the Finns with 699, while the number of Yugoslavs stood at 678 and the Norwegians at 451. Ten years later, the number of Yugoslavs had climbed higher than that of the Swedes (534 and 492) but the Finns were still in first place. At that time, about 6% of all Minnesota's Finns were residents of Itasca County.

Aitkin County

The landscape of Aitkin County, directly south of Itasca, resembles that of its northern neighbor in the portions adjoining that county, while its southeastern parts resemble the county to the east of it, Carlton County.

Jacobson - Rabey

Anderson, Jacobson, Leipold, Mississippi and Rabey are farming villages populated chiefly by Finns. Their numbers have been small, however, with 40 families in Jacobson in 1926, 25

in Leipold, etc. The course of developments in each followed a similar pattern.

"Suomi Siirtola" — Finnish settlement — was the name of the land agency which existed briefly but managed to sell land in Jacobson to four Finnish families before it went out of business. The first to arrive on the scene were Alex Huhtala and Emil Siukola, who both came in 1903, Huhtala to the eastern shore of the Mississippi, Siukola across the river. Henry Huhtala was the first child born here.

In the summer a river steamer used to sail twice a week to Aitkin, the county seat, and there were no other communications except for a few paths and trails. The river boat was also a travelling store, selling all kinds of supplies. In 1921, however, the local Finns started their own cooperative store, and a jointly owned thresh-er helped them on their farms. When the settlement gradually became stabilized, the farmers of the region built a hall, and later the Finns alone built one of their own, a Farmers Hall. Another such hall was in Rabey, while Leipold even had its own workers' society, with 20 members in 1910. In 1950, a local chapter of the MFAHS was started in Jacobson, but it proved relatively ineffectual.



Emil Siukola's saw mill at Jacobson in 1910.

East Lake - Balsam - Beaver - Rice Lake - Salo - Tamarack - Lawler - Arthyde - Palisade

Closely related with the Finnish settlements to the east in Carlton County, the communities of Balsam, Beaver, Rice Lake and Savo were among those which saw Finnish settlement within their borders in the 1890s. Some Finns managed to procure homestead lands for themselves; the majority purchased lands, the earliest ones being able to buy relatively large tracts at low prices, with a decrease in the value of the dollar, prices of land went up: in 1919, for example, Frans Ilomäki bought 10 acres

of field plus some woodland, paying \$2,295 for his purchase, a sum ten times as great as a lumberjack would have received for a year's work at the time the first Finns came here. A cow at the same time (1919) cost about \$10, and some Finns owned 20-30 milch cows. Other farmers grew grain, and a few increased their holdings to considerable size: John Orjala had 1,400 acres at one time. Some of these communities were almost exclusively Finnish, like Palisade; a few were Swedish-Finnish, like Lawler; most of them, however, had more mixed population.

There where the Finns lived in greatest numbers, they had their customary organizations — not a full range of them, of course, in any one community, but always started at an early period in Finnish settlement. So Beaver, for example, already had its Evangelical Lutheran congregation in 1896. The first church was built of logs, later replaced by a frame structure. A Christian youth organization was started in 1904 and was a factor in Beaver for decades. The congregation, which was affiliated for some time with the National church, had 115 members in 1922.

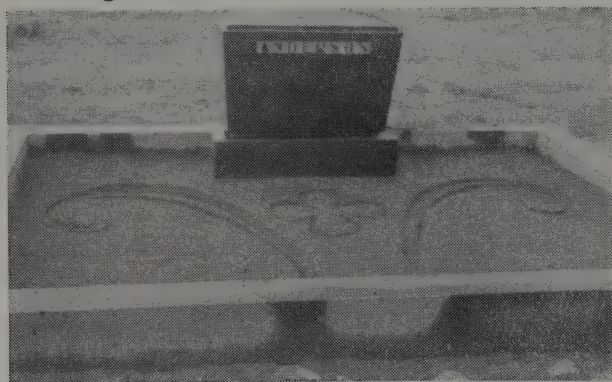


Jacobson bear hunters: unknown, Grant Kivelä, Eino Oja, Reuben Niemi, Lauri Punkka, Ben Koski, unknown.

In East Lake and Lawler, the Salon Kukka (Wilderness Flower) started in 1911, while East Lake Salon Ruusu (Wilderness Rose) did not get started until 1933. There were workers' societies in Arthyde, Balsam, East Lake, Lawler and Palisade. But if Arthyde did have its workers' group, its history could also include a footnote of a different destiny: in 1950, the Countess Sylvia de Flogny caused a memorial of black Finnish granite to be erected over the grave of her father, Abram Anderson. The Finnish sculptor, Kalervo Kallio, designed the monument and accompanied his work to Arthyde to see it put up.

In other activities, Rice River had a band, started in 1908 by Leander Mäki, which played for two years, and uniquely, since

all the instruments were made out of birch bark. Decades later, East Lake had a Finnish relief committee, with John Orjala as chairman: more than \$2,000 in funds and about 600 lbs. of clothing, etc., was collected. East Lake also celebrated the 50th



Abraham Anderson memorial in the Arthyde cemetery.

anniversary of its pioneers in 1942, under Finnish initiative, and held an 'Old Timers' festival in 1956. The pioneer anniversary marked the incorporation of Beaver Township in 1892 and the arrival of the first Finns to Rice River town that same year. Historical interest has also been

fostered by the East Lake chapter of the MFAHS, started in 1949, with John Orjala as chairman, Joe Hemmilä as secretary and Elsi Pottila as treasurer.



Committee for East Lake's fiftieth year anniversary pioneer festival: Tyyne Hemmilä, Joel Hemmilä, William Tervo, Victor Kangas, Kalle Seppänen, Anna Kangas, John Orjala, Hannes Wiita, Aino Wiita, Maria Orjala, E. A. Whitney, Lydia Wiita.

In this region of relatively sparse settlement the Finns have participated from time to time in local government and civic life. Names to be mentioned include those of H. M. Ruonala as postmaster of Ronald and Matti Ranuva as postmaster of Salo. M. Kari served for years on the board of directors of the Lawler

bank. In local administration, posts were frequently in Finnish hands: Oscar Anderson, John Beckman, Jacob Joltanen, Erkki Kangas, Isak Kanninen, Matti Ranta and Matti Tohmola were all members of Rice River's first administration, with Tohmola serving as chairman of the board of selectmen. John Orjala served in a similar position in more recent, post-World War II years.

The region has seen three cooperatives come to life: the East Lake Farmers Cooperative Trading Company, established in 1916 and joining the Cooperative Central in 1928; the Lawler Farmers Cooperative Association, started in 1919 and joining the Central immediately; the Palisade Cooperative Society, started in 1918 and joining the Central in 1936. All three had exclusively



Gust Saari and son ready for plowing at Tamarack in 1914.

Finnish boards of directors to begin with; all three have changed but are still ruled with Finnish majorities, including members of the second generation of Finns.

— The population of Aitkin County in the year 1900 was approximately 7,000 and since that time has risen to about 14,000. In the year 1900, there were 273 Aitkin residents who were Finnish-born; in 1910 that figure stood at 609. The peak was in 1920 with 885 Finns, and then the decline set in: 699 in 1930; 584 in 1940; 373 in 1950.

Pine County

East of Aitkin lies Pine County which, with few exceptions, has been only a passageway for the Finns. The railroads and highways between Duluth and Minneapolis-St. Paul go through Pine, and for a century newcomers and their families have travelled through here, on their way both south and north. Only two places, Finlayson and Sandstone, saw permanent Finnish settlement.

Finlayson

The Oldenburg-Jasberg land agency was given big land holdings to sell in 1894 in the area where the settlement of Finlayson later grew. This occurred a few months after disastrous fires had ravaged through the central parts of Pine County. Up to this time, Finns had lived in the county only in Sandstone, working in the quarries there, but the lands now being offered for sale seemed to them to be suitable for farming, and so many of them became prospective buyers. The enticing advertisements in the Finnish papers added to the demand, and a new settlement, which the Finns called 'Nurmijärvi' (there is a town of that name in



Finlayson's S. S. Church at Nurmijärvi.

Finland) began and saw rapid growth. In fact, the expression, 'it grows like Nurmijärvi' became a way the Finnish Americans for decades used to describe anything which expanded or developed with great speed.

The first organization in Finlayson was the church, established in 1896, affiliated with the Suomi Synod. Eight years later, however, there was some dissension, and a splinter group started another congregation, affiliated with the National church. In addition to these two Evangelical Lutheran groups, there has also been a strong Apostolic Lutheran group. All three have possessed their own church buildings.

In 1904 a temperance society, the Taiston Alku (Beginning of the Struggle) was started. Later, dramatics activity played an important role in the Farmers Club, 1915-16, while an independent gymnastics society, coached by Emil Kuitunen, was popular at the same time. Musical activity came under varied sponsorship: the local choral groups were affiliated with the churches, while a local brass band was independent, being started in 1913 by Hjalmar Bordlund and active for about three years. Finally, there has been a unique lending library of considerable scope, kept for years at the Kallio farm.

The stores in Finlayson have been almost exclusively Finnish enterprises, and there was also started by the local farmers the

Finlayson Cooperative Society. (Denham, on the northern edge of the county, has a cooperative, started in 1932, affiliated that same year with the Cooperative Central.) Emil Kukkonen was postmaster in Finlayson for about two decades.

Sandstone

Two smaller Finnish organizations existed in Sandstone. One of them, the temperance society Hyvä Toivo (Good Hope) was started in 1902, with its first chairman being J. E. Karjala. That it had a modest beginning is suggested in the inventory of its possessions that first year, which included items such as 1 table-lectern, 3 oil lamps, 3 tables, 27 cups and saucers, 25 chairs, 23 song books, 1 table cloth, 1 cake knife, 2 serving trays, 1 bucket,



Finnish quarry workers at Sandstone.

35 pieces of assorted studding and siding left over in building materials. Temperance Brotherhood records indicate a temperance society Santakiven Kukka (Sandstone Flower) having joined the Brotherhood in 1904; perhaps such a society also existed, but no other information is available. It is certain, however, that there was an Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Sandstone, and

also a workers' society, both of which had some 30 to 50 members each.

— The population of Pine County in 1900 was some 11,000 persons. Of these, 237 were Finns. Further statistics on the Finns indicate their increase to a peak of 399 in 1910, a decline to 270 in 1920, to 241 in 1930, to 191 in 1940, to 86 in 1950.

Carlton County

The area covered by Carlton County is not large, but its role in the history of the Finns in Minnesota has been significant. Located on the western end of Lake Superior, in the immediate vicinity of Duluth, the county has been one of the first counties to be established in Northern Minnesota. In 1847 one Reuben B. Carlton, a soldier, arrived in the Fond du Lac region, where he remained for the rest of his life; the county established a decade later was named after him. The first county seat was at Twin Lakes, about 6 miles south of the village which later became Carlton. In 1870 the county seat was transferred to Thomson and in 1890, finally, to Carlton.

Thomson

The Township of Thomson embraces some 41 square miles of land west of Duluth and extends to the eastern boundary of Cloquet. With the exception of the southeastern corner, the land is relatively level. The western boundary follows the St. Louis River, into which empties the Midway, flowing from the northeast, through the township area. The valley of the Midway was the land favored by the earliest settlers. Even though their farming methods were primitive, they were able to build their homes there and to assure themselves a certain income from the barren earth. They also knew what had to be done with the wilderness to transform it into waving grainfields and lush meadows.

The first Finns came to Thomson in 1873. Among them was Antti Karjala, who took himself a homestead site, which he sold six years later to Charles Johnson — who died under mysterious circumstances, lost deep in the woods, in 1892. John Kajander was another who came to Thomson in 1873 but who sold his land, a decade later, to Tuomas Hongisto. John Alatalo was another who did not have long to live in the community, to which he had come from Hancock, Michigan: he died in 1876, the first Finn to die in Thomson: he left his homestead to Peter Alatalo. Another

of the original pioneers, Simeon Palkki, born in Finland in 1812, managed to work his farm in Thomson for seven years before his death in 1880. Lassi Moilanen was still another of the 1873 arrivals, but a decade later he sold his land. Of the two Nelsons who came, Henry stayed, but Jacob sold out and left the state altogether. All in all, however, more came than left, and in 1885 there were in Thomson 25 men, 21 women, 27 young girls and 24 boys. Together, they owned 420 acres of land at that time and possessed 55 cows, 14 oxen and 11 horses.

The order in which progress was made called for building a cabin first, of course, clearing a bit of forest, then clearing land for crops. Hayfields were relatively easy to establish here, and haying could begin promptly. Up to 1895, the hay was cut with scythes, but then John Juntti bought a mower and soon others followed suit. Getting potatoes, a Finnish staple, was more difficult, but that was solved when Isaac Raattamaa managed



Thomson's first school, now a garage. The school was built in 1887, it was also used as a church and Rev. Abram Mallinen conducted his first confirmation class in this building.

to introduce 'early rose,' a good variety, which was promptly planted on every farm. It was not until some time after hay and potatoes were standard that the growing of grain was introduced. The first harvesting was done by hand, with sickles for reaping, and it was not until 1893 that the farm-

ers banded together to buy the first thresher for the community. Abraham Mällinen owned the first reaper-thresher combine.

Although the harvests were incredibly good in those early years in this virgin soil — sometimes three barrels of rye from one bushel of seed — there was still the problem of having the grain ground. There was no mill anywhere near, and the roads were so poor that it was impossible, at least in spring and fall, to drive tens of miles to a mill and back. Again the solution was cooperative effort to build a mill on Erick Palkki's farm, at the river's edge, and again the work was completed with all the proper facilities for building it far from available but successfully improvised, forging done without a forge, suitable rock found

some miles away for the millstones, etc. The 1878 harvest was the first to be ground at the mill, which was in operation for more than three decades, up to the period when a changing world and a more accessible world made it unnecessary. But as a museum piece the Palkki mill still reminds a later time of the life of the Thomson pioneers.⁴

The first local post office (named Harney) was on the farm of Mike Sullivan, the first Irishman in this otherwise purely Finnish settlement. After his death the office was moved to Nels Olson's farm on the Midway River. When an RFD route was established in 1904 the Harney office was closed, but when the Canadian Pacific railroad came through here in 1912 and named its local stop Harney, a post office was subsequently (1921) opened here again, in Edward and Emil Juntti's general store, with Edward serving as the postmaster. Later, the Juntti brothers moved their store to Esko, and the post office was closed, 1955.

Finnish Organizations: The first Finnish groupings were apparent in religion, and the first Finns in Thomson were members of the Laestadian faith. Their organized religious activity began in 1877, which saw the start of regular prayer and Bible reading meetings held at various homes in turn. The fact that Isaac Raattamaa settled in this community was of decisive influence, and he was helped by his assistants, especially Peter Esko, who was entrusted with the practical religious functions in the community. Baptisms and burials were carried out by these lay preachers, but they were not given permission to officiate at weddings until 1883, at which time Abraham Mällinen became the official pastor. The presence of this faith, according to Mattinen, was significant in reforming many old drunkards and reprobates and keeping them reformed to the end of their lives.

In 1892 land was procured for a church and cemetery, and the first person to be buried there, that same year, was Fanni Juntti. The church building was completed the following year; it was often remodeled and enlarged and was finally replaced in 1936 with an entirely new building. As an Apostolic Lutheran stronghold, the community has been privileged to be hosts in 1927 and in 1941 for the general conventions of this faith. Other pastors besides Mällinen have included Oscar Sandell, Emil

4. Mattinen, J. A. *Thomsonin Maanviljelysseudun Historia*. New York Mills, Minn., 1935. pp 58-60. Cf also, Pelkonen, Matt, *Cloquet on Parade. Historical Sketch No. 5*, given on Radio Station WKLK, Cloquet, Minnesota.

Juola, Andrew Mickelsen, Emil Kulla and Arnold B. Anderson. Dissension within the Apostolic Lutheran ranks led to the start of a second congregation in 1925, which also built its own church, the important pastor here has been Alex Puotinen.

An Evangelical Lutheran congregation was established in 1901; it remained independent up to 1935, when it joined the National church. The church building was put up in 1904 on land given for this purpose by Kalle Pyykkönen. This church, also, had its own cemetery, where the first to be interred was Henry Niemi, brother of Pastor E. V. Niemi. The latter, incidentally served this congregation which he had founded for more than half a century. He was succeeded by E. P. Lampela, then J. E. Nopola. In the 1930s the congregation had almost 400 members and in 1947 there were still more than 200. Thomson was host, in 1936, to the National church annual convention.

Other Finnish organizations in Thomson included, for a short time, a workers' society established in 1909, with about 20 members, and in the 1930s, a Townsend Club.

Business Undertakings: At about the same time the Thomson farmers bought a thresher jointly and built a mill for themselves, they also purchased jointly the machinery and equipment needed for cheese making. It was delivered to them in 1892, and lacking suitable quarters for the project at the time, the machinery was stored in the empty local jail. They never were able to start their manufacturing project, however, because the machinery was stolen, piece by piece, from its supposedly safe storage place.

Another enterprise had a more promising beginning: in 1911 was established the Finnish Local Farmers Mutual Fire Insurance Company, which carried 262 policies in 1918, covering more than \$300,000 in values. The first board of directors was comprised of John E. Sunnarborg, chairman; Albert Olson, secretary; Matti Johnson, treasurer; and Henry Hiukka, John C. Johnson, Nels Johnson, Joseph Juntunen, J. Alfred Kusicko and Charles Pantsari. The holocaust in October 1918 could have spelled disaster for the company, for there were 114 claims submitted simultaneously, but about 150 other Minnesota insurance companies came to the rescue, as did the State of Minnesota itself. Later, the company was able to expand operations to a point where its policies were sold in more than 50 Minnesota townships, but Thomson remained its headquarters as its constitution called for. In 1952 its name was changed to Esko Mutual Fire Insurance Company; at that time the company had 1,350 policies, covering property valued at more than \$6,000,000.

The Finnish farmers of Thomson have also had their own telephone company, started in 1917.

Finns in Civic Life: Since the first Finns came to Thomson after the community had already been incorporated, they had no role in civic life or in elective office at the beginning. Alex Esko became the first Finnish candidate for office, for that of supervisor, in 1892, and successful in his campaign, other Finns were encouraged and briefed in procedure. In the next election, Henry Sunnarborg was elected supervisor, and from then on, year after year, more and more Finns held office, until in 1898 the whole administration was in their hands. There it remained for decades to follow.

Esko

Another significant Finnish settlement, that of Esko, developed within Thomson Township. The village was never incorporated, so its administrative affairs were a part of the township's. The first business in Esko was a small general store opened by Alex Esko's oldest son, Fritz. The store became known after its location — Esko's Corner, and the name commemorates pioneer Peter



Esko Cooperative store (Cloquet branch store).

Esko, whose descendants in the sixth generation now live here. In 1919 there was a one-room school at the Corner, an old dance hall across the road. When the Thomson school system was updated after the 1918 fire, the one-room school at Esko's Corner was replaced with a splendid, large high school.

From that time on, the Corner gradually grew, with new homes and businesses being built side by side. In 1926, the farmers in the vicinity set up the Arrowhead Cooperative Dairy, which has since grown to huge size, with branch outlets in Duluth, Kettle River, Floodwood, Two Harbors, Cook, Virginia, Grand

Marais and International Falls. The value of this enterprise was estimated to be \$2,000,000 in 1957.

Also at the Corner appeared a garage and service station, owned by Herman Skarp and Edmund Maunu respectively. Skarp later sold his business to Moses Liupakka, and Ray Lindholm built a new filling station and garage on the site of Maunu's building, which was lost in the 1918 fire; this business is operated by Howard Sunnarborg.

The Esko post office was opened in 1935, with Hjalmar Mattinen as the first postmaster; he was the son of pioneer Erick Mattinen. At the same time the name of the village was changed from Esko's Corner to plain Esko. After Hjalmar Mattinen's death, his wife Celia became postmistress. She had already lost a son earlier — Harvey, killed in Europe in World War II.

Esko has three food stores: one owned by Emil E. Juntti, another by Charles Mannila, the third a branch store of the Cloquet Cooperative Society. In addition, there are E. Kinnunen's building supply store; S. R. Bergsted, Inc., agricultural machinery; Otto Juntunen, Jr., poultry wholesaler and supplier of "Eskomo Brand" eggs; Eleanor Särkelä (daughter of Alex Esko), owning the Dairy Delight ice-cream store; Esko's Coffee Shop, owned by Emil Hill; Mary's Cafe, owned by Charles Winqvist. The Esko Locker Plant is a cooperative enterprise, started by the vicinity farmers, for processing and storage of meats.

In September 1956 a monument to Thomson's Finnish pioneers was dedicated. It is located in Esko, on U.S. Highway No. 61. The bronze plaque attached to the memorial declares its purpose: a memorial to the Thomson Town pioneers who came here in 1873 and later, and who laid the groundwork for the community. The bas-relief of seven trees on the upper part of the monument symbolizes the seven Finnish pioneers who came to the area in 1873: Henry Nelson (Laakso), John Alatalo, Simeon Palkki, Antti Karjala, John Kajander, Lassi Moilanen and Jack Nelson. The memorial was designed by a Finnish artist, Edgar Olson.

Cloquet

In the St. Louis River, which flows along the western boundary of Thomson, is a small island, near which C. D. Harwood and Shell Olds in 1879 built a sawmill. The area, uninhabited up to that time, now got a few houses, and in 1880 there were 25 persons signing the petition to request formation of a community to be named Carlton. The request was approved but not the name, for

instead it was to be called Knife Falls, after the small falls in the river at that point. Six years later that name was changed to Cloquet. The original sawmill was joined by another, and a third, until Cloquet had soon become one of the most important sawmill centers in the country. In one decade alone so much lumber was processed in its mills that it would have sufficed to build a board fence, 50 feet high, completely encircling the United States.

These sawmills meant much for the rapid development of the community, and they also brought the Finns to Cloquet. The first of them was Johan Westerberg, who arrived in 1880. Many Swedish Finns, in particular, came to the town. The working day at that time was long, 10 to 11 hours, and the pay was low, \$1.50 to \$2.00 the day. At the turn of the century there were already 3,072 inhabitants in Cloquet, in 1910 as many as 7,031. In 1920, however, the figure was down to 5,127, but the chief reason for this decline was the fire of 1918, which burned down



Wilhelmiina and Alex Granholm's boarding house in 1904.

all of Cloquet, together with many other Finnish communities.

The autumn of 1918 was unusually beautiful, sunny, and the leaves were beginning to fall from the trees, covering the earth with a tinder dry yellow and russet carpet. The soil was as dry as powder, cracking for lack of moisture. On October 12,

piles of old railroad ties and rubbish were being burned near Brookston on a rail maintenance job, and it was from this, or from sparks from a locomotive there, that a bigger fire broke out and spread rapidly, blown along by high winds. People began to flee, but soon the flames seemed swifter than any means of flight. On one curve in the road between Moose Lake and Kettle River, nine automobiles with their 45 victims were found in a ditch, having skidded off the road in their haste. Some sought shelter in their potato cellars, or house cellars, but in most instances the flames reached them anyway.

Early in the afternoon, a train of evacuees from Brookston arrived at the Cloquet station, and many went to see it come — unaware that they, too, would be threatened by this disaster. Later in the afternoon the sky became blood red, and smoke began to penetrate everywhere. The wind increased, to over 70



Ruins of Cloquet after the fire in 1918.

miles per hour — later, papers from a lumber company office were found some 30 miles away, in Wisconsin; the same wind is said to have overturned automobiles. Duluth was covered with a half-inch thick layer of ashes. Toward evening, burning branches and parts of burning buildings began to rain over Cloquet. The whole city was reduced to ashes.

The following cities, towns and villages, all of which had many Finns living in them, were either totally or partially destroyed: Adolph, Aitkin, Arnold, Automba, Cromwell, Exeter Farms, Five Corners, Floodwood, Fond du Lac Reservation, Grand Lake,

Harney, Hermantown, Kettle River, Lakewood, Lawler, McGregor, Maple Grove, Moose Lake, Munger, Pike Lake, Saginaw, Sturgeon Lake and Tamarack, plus Duluth suburbs Woodland, Calvary Road, Lakeside and Lester Park. More than 2,000 square miles were swept over by the fire; 559 persons lost their lives, thousands were injured; 11,000 families were left homeless, with more than \$30,000,000 worth of property burned, before the fire was under control.

The *Siirtokansan Kalenteri*, even then being prepared for press, noted that 80% of those who suffered loss in the fire, or lost their lives in that holocaust, were Finns.

On the day after the fire the Governor of Minnesota ordered out the National Guard. Emergency assistance was rushed to the area; many organizations gave invaluable assistance to those in need. The Finns joined in this effort, starting an organization of their own, the Finnish Relief Society, for which O. J. Larson became chairman, Carl H. Salminen secretary and, and J. S. Saari treasurer. The fund drive was nationwide, and the collection brought in \$36,000. Of that sum, \$15,000 was turned over to the Red Cross, and the rest was distributed directly. In any case, however, it was long before the scars were completely healed. In Cloquet, for example, the loss of every-



Cloquet workers' hall. Burned in 1918.

thing they had possessed, and the delays in receiving compensation for their losses, had a disastrous effect on Finnish organizations and what activities they were able to offer, more vital now than ever. The matter dragged out for years, and it finally took Federal action for adequate results to be achieved: in 1926 Congress passed legislation proposed by O. J. Larson, granting 40% compensation for property losses suffered and in 1935 an additional 35% to those who had suffered injuries.

Finnish Organizations in Cloquet: This was another of those communities in which the temperance movement was the first to appear on the scene: the Ilmarinen society joined the Tem-

perance Brotherhood in 1890. After a brief lapse of interest there was renewed activity: a library was started (it had 300 volumes in 1911) as well as a band, a chorus, and a dramatics group. All these activities were housed in the society's hall, which was built circa 1895.

When a workers' society, named the Edistys (Progress) was started in 1903, it did not take long for that society to overtake the temperance society: the entire brass band of the Ilmarinen, for example, put itself under the aegis of the new society. However, the Ilmarinen continued to exist as an active society, even after the fire.

The workers' society, meanwhile, had to build itself a hall in 1905, because the temperance society no longer allowed them use of their hall. At this time the workers' society already had more than 100 members (there had been but 18 when the society was founded) and there were to be 252 in 1912. After the schism, with a strong IWW faction resulting, and eventually even a small communist group developing (with the following Cloquet Finns leaving for Russia: Karl Rudolf Kallinen, Thomas Kuittinen with family, Arvid Nyysti and John Seppänen,) the workers' society continued to be active, even after the fire which destroyed all its property. Rebuilding began, and the new structure afforded space for the local cooperative store on the ground floor, a hall on the floor above, with a big stage, for dramatics activity which was continued at a brisk pace. One of its amateur directors was Nestor Petman, and the caretaker of the hall for many years was Väinö Kajander.

With the gradual slowing down of activity, the building was sold in the 1930s to the cooperative, with the stipulation that the hall itself was to remain available to the workers' society for another ten years, free of charge. At the same time, the society bought some shore land on Little Grand Lake for summer quarters.

Against this background of such diversity among the Finns, it was in Cloquet that an attempt was made to start a new Finnish organization which would unite them all into one, non-political grouping. About 150 persons gathered in Cloquet for this purpose in January 1939, and its importance may be judged by the fact that six Finnish-language newspapers sent reporters to cover the meetings. The result was an organization which called itself the Farmers' and Workers' League, and although its platform was supposed to attract other secular groups as well, particularly the temperance people and the cooperative movement supporters, there was some scepticism apparent among these

others. This, plus the coming of war in Europe, brought the new organization swiftly into oblivion.

Meanwhile, the Kaleva Knights had started a chapter in Cloquet in 1908, with John E. Johnson, John A. Mattinen and Henry Saarela as its founding members. The same year saw the birth of a local Ladies' chapter, with its founding members being Minnie Michaelson, Hilda Rautio, Sanna Biiberg, Helga Ekholm, Liisa Hella, Agda Hyttinen, Anna Johnson, Ida Jolma, Ida Juola, Emma Koski, Helga Lumppio, Ida Pöyhtäri, Lydia Pähtilä, Lottie Rautio and Hilma Tuura. At its peak, membership in 1925 was 34 ladies. They had incidentally suffered the ravages of fire twice: in 1918 of course, and before that a fire in 1911 which wiped out everything they had.

Religious activity began in 1889, when two pastors visited Cloquet to hold prayer meetings and services, but even so, the first Finnish congregation, an independent one, was not established until 1898.

It was four years later still that land was bought for a church, for with the temperance hall available for the congregation's use there was no hurry to build. In fact, the plot of land was sold again, then a new one purchased the following year, before a church was eventually built. This congregation, which later joined



Finnish church in Cloquet.

the Suomi Synod, whose pastors had served it from the very start, has had a membership of about 200; the pastor, in 1957, was Carl Tamminen. Meanwhile, another congregation, affiliated with the National church, got its start in 1902, during the time W. A. Mandellöf was in Cloquet. Membership was about 100, and services were held at the local Swedish church. A third denomination, the Congregational, was established in 1924: August Lappala was its first permanent pastor, and subsequent ones have been Victor Holopainen, J. E. Tuomisto and Mr. Saario.

Finnish relief activities united the local Finns in December 1939, when a committee headed by J. A. Mattinen was set up to carry out this work. The first action taken was a solicitation of funds, door to door, with 60 volunteers doing the work and

collecting about \$2,500 within a week's time. Then came a series of program evenings and bazaars, and the starting of a women's sewing circle, with Saima Niemi as chairman and Impi Tuura as secretary. When activities were officially ended in 1947, the community had collected almost \$9,500 in cash and over 9 tons of goods, shipped to Finland, and even after the official termination the proceeds of the 1948 midsummer festival were still sent to the Help Finland organization. Prior to this event, Cloquet had been host for the 1926 and the 1941 midsummer festivals.

It was in the spirit of such community-wide effort that a local chapter of the MFAHS was also established, with J. A. Mattinen as chairman and Oscar Juntunen as secretary.

Finnish Businesses and Professional Men: The earliest local business enterprises were the Buskala jewelry shop, the Kuitu and Mattinen grocery store, the Sahlman and Ranta clothing store, the Alaspa jewelry store, the candy stores of Matti Perä and Tario, the boarding houses of John Luomala, Swan Ahlgren and Matti Tuisku, and varied other business activities carried on by Andrew Parpala, Charles Forssi, Henry Kauppi, Henry Oja and Victor J. Strom. To move toward the present, Lars Strom and Väinö Filby are in insurance, Sulo Aastedt is an electrical contractor, and Arne Heino an official in the engineering department of the Cloquet Wood Conversion Company. Finnish attorneys are Rudolph Rautio and Hugo A. Laine. Dr. Reino Puumala has a modern clinic in town. Vilho Niemi is a local radio announcer; Matti Pelkonen, a newspaperman and writer of popular songs. Prominent in local Finnish activities are Heino Hurme, Martin Kotiranta, Laina Alatalo, Impi Tuura and Saima Niemi. Also, resident of Cloquet up to his death in 1945 was a leading figure in the Finnish American temperance movement, John Lauttamus, author of several books published in Finland.

Cooperative Activity: The first cooperative enterprise was started in 1910 as the Cloquet Stock Mercantile, founded in the course of a regular business meeting of the workers' society, which elected the following of its members to be the board of directors: John Partanen, Peter Hyttinen, John Hassi, August Ahonen, Charles Wuorio, Heikki Karjalainen and Adam Lindholm. About \$1,000 worth of shares were sold, and with that money modest business quarters were made ready, but that also ate up all the capital, making it necessary to borrow money from the shareholders in order to stock the cooperative's shelves.

Business was started on a cash basis, but soon credit was extended, and due to that, within two years the enterprise was

in grave difficulties. A special meeting was called to authorize termination of the business altogether, but instead it was decided to sell more shares and borrow more money to meet immediate needs. With the added funds and its bookkeeper John Niemi promoted to business manager, conditions improved considerably. When Niemi joined the Army in 1917 and was succeeded by Ahti Tuohino, sales were already \$72,483 per year.

The 1918 fire destroyed the cooperative completely, although Tuohino had managed to put records and papers away in the safe, where they miraculously survived. Insurance covered half the loss suffered, and a week after the fire most of the members of the cooperative, who had taken refuge in Duluth or in Superior, held a special meeting at the Cooperative Central offices in Superior and decided to start operations afresh. Ahti Tuohino and Herman Koski were appointed to see this through, and within a short time the cooperative was again serving its customers.

The workers' society also assisted in this rebirth, for it built its new hall with store space designed specifically for the cooperative on its ground floor. Later, when the cooperative owned the building and the workers' society no longer even used the hall above, it all became a part of the business premises. Long before this expansion, however, reorganization had taken place in 1923 in accordance with state law and the enterprise had been given a new name, Cloquet Cooperative Society.

Another cooperative, the Knife Falls Farmers' Cooperative, also had carried on business in Cloquet. Originally a farmers' purchasing unit for procurement of feed for livestock, etc., it later opened a store on Dunlop Island. This store did not burn in the fire; it was purchased by the Cloquet Cooperative Society and became its second store. Others followed: number three was built in 1927 at Esko's Corner to serve the cooperative's members in Thomson Town, and in 1930 another branch store was opened in Mahtowa, on U.S. Highway No. 61, to serve that area's farmers.

In 1930 other kinds of expansion were also planned, the supply of petroleum products, with a service station on Cloquet's main street. The Trico Cooperative Oil Association started service at the same time, and the Cloquet Cooperative gave it valuable assistance at the start, and when the service station was expanded in 1934 and another building erected for it, Trico's headquarters found space there. In 1936 further expansion brought an automobile repair shop and a salesroom for Plymouth, DeSoto and Chevrolet cars. It was a severe blow when General Motors

cancelled their sales agreement for unknown reasons in 1953, for considerable money was invested: later sales of Kaiser, Willys and Hudson cars did not prove profitable, and automobile sales were ended for good in 1956.

Cloquet's cooperative activities extended, finally, to an enterprise called the Northland Cooperative Mortuary, an undertaking service, managed by Rudolph M. Beltt.

On the eve of World War II, the Cloquet Cooperative was not only one of Minnesota's largest, but also one of the largest undertakings of its kind in America. Whereas its sales in 1910 had amounted to \$11,464, in 1920 the figure was up to \$183,115; in 1930, to \$579,505; in 1940, to \$1,239,609; in 1950, already \$1,881,800. In place of the original board of 9 directors, all Finnish-born, the board in 1950 was made up of 3 Finnish-born men, 7 second generation Finns and one American.⁵

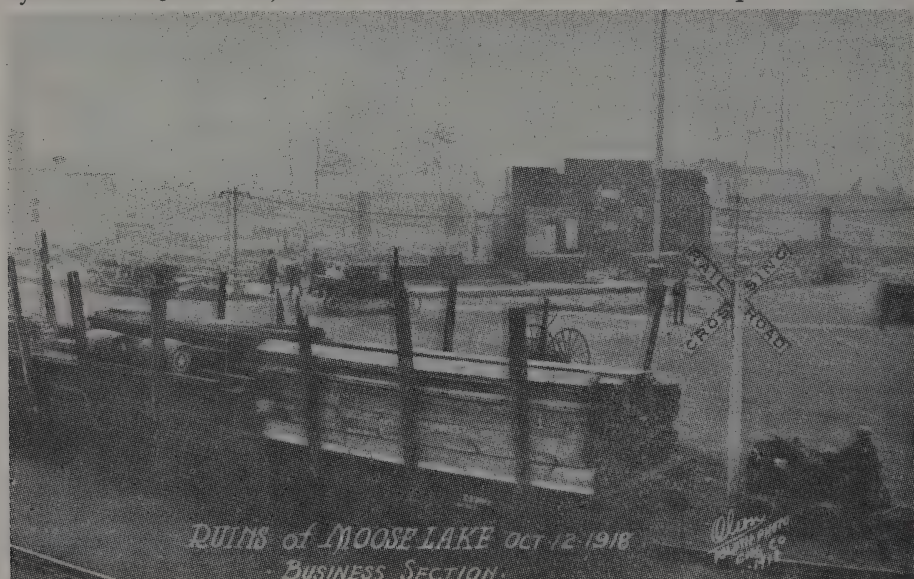
Of some historical interest is another cooperative venture in Cloquet, a boarding house cooperative started in 1910 and incorporated in 1911 as the Toivola Company. Its first members in 1910-11 were Fred Stohl, Ivar Mäki, Alex Hoffren, Arvid and Eero Koski, Ivar Lähteenmäki, Toivo Hovi, Axel and Emil Korpi, Martin Anttila, Isaac Kiviharju, Kristo Utriainen, Axel Laine, Herman Vasanoja, Frank Anderson and Väinö Palo.

The Toivola built its own residence, with Frank Dahlquist supervising the construction. Among its early domestics, cooks and dishwashers, were Senja Utriainen, who became Mrs. Frank Mäki, Emma Sunnarborg (Mrs. Einar Teittinen), Fanny Nummela (Mrs. Frank Wolanen), Hilda Juusola (Mrs. Rautanen), Suoma Sulin (Mrs. Pirho), Elma Hongisto (Mrs. Frank Hongisto, in Esko), and Aili Räihä (Mrs. Charles Beltt). In the early phases, business managers were chosen from among members and served a month at a time. The first was Gust Teittinen, and among those who followed him were Herman Koski, Victor Klemolin, Everett Similä, Alex Salo, Gust Kesti, Nick Koivisto, Antti Wolanen, John Lahti, William Koski, Axel Simula, Emil Koivisto, Arthur Sampson, Axel Laine and Osmo Becko. Of the original 25 members at the time of incorporation, the following were still alive in 1957: Victor Klemolin, its secretary for many years, Everett Similä, Herman Koski, Erick Heinonen, Mike Kinkki, Matt Johnson, Hjalmar Sillanpää and Frank Korpela.

5. Kendall, Erick. Document on cooperative activity in Cloquet. Also, Financial Statement of December 31, 1954.

Moose Lake - Kettle River - Kalevala - Eagle Town - Cromwell

In the western part of Carlton County, the Kettle River, flowing from north to south, divides the county, leaving a part of it, a 10 to 20 mile wide strip of land between the river and Aitkin County to the west of it. This strip of land is again more or less divided into two, with Moose Lake, Kettle River and Kalevala at the southern end, and Eagle Town, Cromwell and Wright strung out along the northern end. In 1952 the Cromwell chapter of MFAHS, its membership embracing all of this western part of the county, erected a monument in front of the Kalevala school, on State Highway No. 73. This grey granite monument, designed by Edward Johnson, was dedicated to those "Finnish pioneers who



Moose Lake business section after the fire. New building material is being brought in by rail.

arrived here in the western part of Carlton County in 1872 and thereafter made their homes with courage and perseverance."

Actually, the major wave of Finnish pioneer settlement began later: around 1888, westward out of Moose Lake toward Kettle River and beyond; in 1891, around Eagle Town and what became Cromwell; in 1894, in the northwestern corner of the county, at Wright. Once the Finns arrived in these parts, moreover, the area has remained so obstinately Finnish that it has even become a source of irritation for those who are not Finnish or cannot understand their language. This irritation broke into print, as a

result of an incident in 1946, when an American found only Finnish being spoken at the Kalevala switchboard. The incident resulted in a 'letter to the Editor' which the *Star Gazette* published, and then a flood of letters pro and con, some of them vehement, and one perhaps ironic: "Where is Kettle River? I had thought mass immigration to the United States had been ended. Where are these people from? Are they war refugees? In that case, let them speak Finnish. I had intended to take up missionary work in China or Mesopotamia, but I have changed my mind. How can one get to Kettle River? Are there any kind of trails into the area? Are guides available? Are the aborigines warlike? Does one need an interpreter? It is amazing to hear that there is a spot in the United States where the local people do not speak or understand English, in this Year of Our Lord 1946."

This was a wilderness region in the 1880s, with a swiftly running Kettle River draining endless swamps, thick forests filled with wolves and bears and mosquitoes, and a beginning of timber operations, with a few logs being hauled to the river's edge, waiting to be floated downstream. It was this possibility of work to be had that sent a few exploring into this wilderness, who liked what they saw and marked out homestead sites for themselves. Soon there were small homesteads being lived on, each with its clearing, its cabin, surrounded by its forests filled with game.

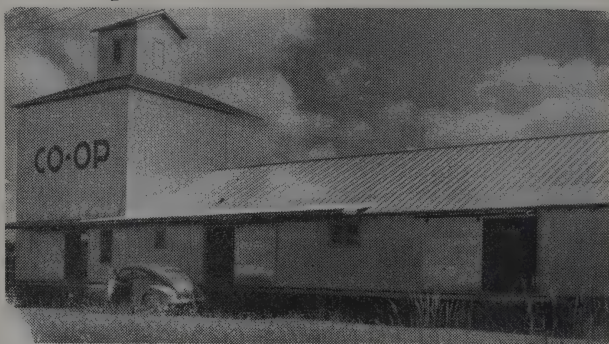
Indeed, the hard times, the depression years in the 1890s brought many Finns to these homestead lands, for at least there no one faced starvation. In Eagle Township, for example, Joseph Larson (Seppänen) came with his wife Eeva and their four children in 1891. The following year it was Matti Heikkilä and his wife Sophia; their oldest daughter, Ada, was the first white child born in Eagle Town. In 1893 there were several more: Kalle Saarela and his family, widower Antti Ainala, Isak Mäki and his family, and Mrs. Mäki's sister Maria Helström, who also took a homestead site for herself, Daniel Sangala and his wife, William Saarela, who later married the widow Kristiina Granlund, Peter Kärkkäinen, who married widow Erika Muilu from Kalevala, Arvid T. Niemi, who married Henna Hiltunen, Gust Jussila and his wife, William Peterson (Pulkkinen) and his wife, Abraham Klaavo and his wife, Abraham's brother Louis Larson, who became Cromwell's first Finnish shopkeeper and married a girl newly arrived from Finland, Lydia Pollari.

Albert Johnson (Hietala) had come to Eagle Town in 1890; he built a cabin on Kreeta Peura's homestead land and eventually married her. Bertha Lehto and Cornelia Olson were two more

young, unmarried women who came and signed for homesteads in Eagle Town in 1892. Cornelia built herself a house, but as soon as she owned her homestead she sold it to Bertha Lehto, who then married Mikko Mastola.

Henry Knuutila (from Kalajoki) came with his wife in 1894, and he became one of Eagle Town's important persons, for he spoke English and was able to help his neighbors who had trouble making themselves understood; he was also a surveyor, important in drawing up boundary lines for all these new homesteads. A lay preacher, Johan Daniel Oberg, arrived with his family in 1895. He was a skilled mason and the local chimney maker, but he was also a gifted speaker, the propagator of the Laestadian faith in the community. (He was later a preacher in the Dakotas and in Upper Michigan.)

Elias Laasanen and his wife took a homestead in 1894; Jacob Pohto and his family arrived in 1898; John Hakamäki came in 1895 and later married Sophia Holm. Other newcomers were John Salmi and his family, 1894; John Iru and wife, 1896; Erick Keskitalo, 1895; Uriel Markkula and wife, 1896. Abraham Saari (Peurasaari) arrived as a bachelor in 1893, took a homestead and married Isak Mäki's daughter Sophia; Henry Saukko, another bachelor, took out his homestead in 1890, and he later married Katri Hautala.



Kettle River's Co-op feed mill.

After the turn of the century, dozens of Finnish families continued to arrive, so that by 1910 Eagle Town was a purely Finnish community. Long before this, in 1896, it had its first school, and Matti Heikkilä, Henry Knuutila and Gust Jussila were on the first school board, while among the first pupils in the school were Ada Heikkilä, Jacob Mäki, William Knuutila and Tilda Klavo.

In Wright, the Finns began to arrive in 1894; in the Town of Finlakes, in 1902; in Sawyer, in 1907.

Finnish Organizations: Everywhere throughout this farming region, the Finns set up their own, small congregations. The earliest of them were generally Apostolic Lutheran, and among their preachers were Matti Reed in Automba, John K. Ylen in

Wright, Johan Oberg in Cromwell. Other denominations, however, were not far behind, and the National church congregation in Moose Lake, which later became the Kalevala church, was established in 1892, its church building erected in 1900. This building was struck by lightning in 1914 and was burned to the ground; a new one which replaced it came through the 1918 fire unscathed. If smaller communities could not support formal congregations, at least in Wright the National church worshippers could assemble in the small log chapel which Nikolai Luoma built in his yard



Cromwell Plowman's hall in 1913.

for this purpose. Another Evangelical Lutheran church, on the other hand, that in Kettle River, was affiliated with the Suomi Synod: this, the Kettle River Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, was established in 1904, with J. H. Korhonen as its first chairman. Its church, built in 1907, also survived the Great Fire. A Congregational church was established in Sawyer in 1931, with 26 members. Finally, the first Finnish American Methodist congregation had been started by John H. Michaelson in Moose Lake in 1891.

Temperance societies have been two in number, the first, the Pohjan Valo (Northern Light) was active in the Kettle River-Moose Lake area. The newer one, the Uusi Opas (New Guide) in Cromwell, was not established until after the repeal of Prohibition. It was born after Heikki Moilanen, sent out as a speaker by

the Minnesota Temperance League, visited Cromwell on his trip, spoke and collected pledges. Twelve persons were the founders of the Uusi Opas, and its first officers were Charles Kalli, chairman, and Siiri Oberg, secretary. During the years which followed, the membership was tripled, and the society managed to survive through the World War II years.

Workers' societies appeared in almost every community, certainly in Cromwell, Kettle River, Mahtowa, Sawyer and Wright. Several of them later became IWW affiliated, but a few communist cells also developed and a few persons even left for



A. A. Parviainen's saw mill at Cromwell in 1916.

Russia: Felix and Wäinö Järvinen and Uno E. Tiili from Cromwell and Oscar Friman, Alex Hakala, Henry Juutilainen and family, Jalmar Luotonen and Henry Tuomala from Mahtowa.

The history of the workers' society in Cromwell begins in 1906, when the Kyntäjä (Plowman) society was born in a meeting held at A. A. Parviainen's farm, attended by Matti Heikkilä, Albert Johnson, Arvid T. Niemi and Matti Saarela, in addition to their host. Meetings were held at first wherever possible, but in 1910 a hall association was started, the Eagle Cooperative Agricultural Association, and Parviainen, who owned a sawmill, offered to saw without charge the lumber for a hall if logs for this were delivered to his mill. In 1912 an acre of land was purchased from William Mäki for the hall, and by the following year's midsummer it was ready for dedication. On this festival occasion a Minna Canth play was performed, and soon after the dramatics program thus started, a chorus was begun, directed by

William Paananen, and a brass band, for which the society purchased the instruments, and with Arvid Kastel as first bandmaster, succeeded by Johan Aho and later still by William Paananen's son, John W. Paananen. (Another Paananen son, Ernest, became a well-known concert violinist.)

When the schism came a very short time later and a period of uncertainty followed, the Cromwell hall eventually fell into communist hands. They were willing enough, though, to rent the hall for others to use, but later they began to demand that potential users indicate in advance to the owners the nature of the program they intended to give. This led, naturally, to the organization of another hall association, the Farmers Cooperative Hall Association, made up of 66 shareholders, who purchased land from Nestor Tamminen and built thereon another hall. Later the communists lost their hall to an athletic society, Raju, which tried to keep activity going on in the hall for a time but then grew tired and gave up; in 1953, Carlton County took possession of the property for non-payment of taxes and then sold it to the Aho brothers, who tore down the hall. All that was left was the stone foundation, 'a symbol of the communist revolution,' was what the townsfolk called it.

The new, Farmers Hall, was ready for use in 1928, and it was dedicated at midsummer. For the decades which followed, it served as the cultural center of Cromwell's Finns, until old age, fatigue, and lessened numbers overtook them. The hall was sold in 1952 to John Laine and Elmer Holm, at which time the association was also terminated. A few years later Laine and Holm sold the property to a Duluth businessman.

Two young people's groups existed for a time in this region, the Touko society in Automba and the Vellamo society, an athletic club, in Moose Lake. Also, for a time there were Townsend clubs at least in Cromwell and Kettle River, and during World War II, a Finnish relief committee in Moose Lake, with Stanford Dodge as its chairman. For a number of years, also, the Kaleva Ladies had a chapter in Kettle River. And finally, the newest organization is the MFAHS chapter, begun in Cromwell in 1946, whose activity has received previous mention.

Cooperative Activity: Cooperative enterprises in the region number several. Of them, the Barnum Farmers Cooperative Company was established in 1919; it joined the Cooperative Central in 1926. The Denham store was a branch of the Kettle River cooperative; that in Mahtowa, a branch of Cloquet's. The Moose Lake Cooperative Association was founded in 1920 and joined the

Central eight years later, while the Wright Cooperative Company was started in 1919 and joined the Central in 1926. The bigger enterprises, eventually, were the cooperatives at Kettle River and in Cromwell.

The Kettle River beginnings go back to a consumers' circle started in 1912, which did not manage to open its store, however, until 1914, only to suffer a severe blow in the 1918 fire, from



Raju Athletic Club band in 1926.

which recovery was very slow. In 1919, it joined the Cooperative Central, but within a few months it was still threatened with bankruptcy, chiefly because of too liberal credit policies, and disaster did follow in 1921 in

spite of all efforts to prevent it. However, in the hands of receivers, and guided by Severi Alanne, a firm basis was finally established.

At the period of this recovery, another cooperative in Kettle River, a cooperative dairy, was begun on the initiative of local farmers. And because the first board of directors included not only Finns but also a Swede and a Pole, the cooperation of all farmers was assured. This meant later that, with the Finns less active in farming, other nationalities became more strongly represented in the dairy, and its board in the 1950s had but one Finn left.

Further, there was in Kettle River the C-A-P Cooperative Oil Association, started in 1929 and joining the Central in 1931. There was, finally, the Carlton County Cooperative Power Association (originally called the Northern Cooperative Power Association) which got its start in Kettle River and is basically a rural electrification project — begun under REA auspices, a Federal program authorized by Congress in 1935. The start was made at a meeting in 1935, with 82 interested persons present, at which Johan Manni appeared with a township map marked with the Finnish farmers who wanted electricity. With planning carried out farther, it was discovered that there were 1,541 farmers interested, and that 452 miles of power lines were needed to include them all. Washington approved the project and advanced \$105,000 to help finance it. Actual work was begun in 1937, and

in spite of competition from private power companies, in 1954 there were 4,082 members and a property worth \$2,824,775.

In Cromwell the beginnings of cooperation were even more tentative than in Kettle River and go back to the frustration of farmers in marketing their dairy products. One specific incident is supposed to have been crucial in Peter Kärkkäinen's urging his fellow farmers to see the importance of cooperative action for themselves, although it took him several years to do so. It was in 1906, in the days when butter was churned at home, carried in a knapsack on one's back to a marketing center, to be sold to local grocers for 10 or 12c the pound. When Kärkkäinen took some to Cromwell as usual one warm July day he found the shopkeepers all refusing to take the butter to hold over, because it was so warm and because the stores were to be closed the next day which was the Fourth. And because the butter was rapidly melting, there was nothing left for him but to throw it away in disgust. It was not until several years later, however, that a farmers' dairy materialized, in 1913, with 4 Finnish farmers and 3 Swedes signing the incorporation papers. About ten years later still, a more modern, up-to-date building was put up, and the cooperative dairy, backed by its farming areas, has remained in business successfully.

Cromwell's more general cooperative was established in 1917, and this consumers' venture joined the Cooperative Central in 1922. For the first two decades this was a purely Finnish-directed enterprise, and even in more recent years there have still been Finns on its board of directors and serving as its business managers.

This part of Carlton County has also seen individual Finnish businessmen in numbers, and they have, also, played leading roles in the various local governments and administrative functions. The listing of a few Finnish postmasters follows: in Automba, Matti Reed (Riiti), J. A. Kerttu, Robert Kreteri, Jack Niemi and Gust Tikka; in Kettle River, Otto and Joseph Winqvist; in Sawyer, Oskar Johnson. County officials have been sheriffs Emil Luukkonen and Oscar Juntunen.

— The population of Carlton County in the year 1900 was 10,017, and of these 882 were Finnish-born. While the population of the county has subsequently more than doubled, the statistics on the Finns alone indicate their numbers to be 2,135 in 1910; up to their peak of 2,140 in 1920; then a downward trend, to 1,828 in 1930; to 1,615 in 1940; only 1,161 in 1950. Approximately 9% of Minnesota's Finns have lived in Carlton County, and they have been the leading foreign nationality element in

both the 1940 and 1950 census statistics. In the latter year, for example, in addition to the 1,161 Finns, there were 687 Swedes, 296 Norwegians and 194 Canadians.

The Centenary of Carlton County was celebrated in 1957, in Carlton. In connection with this celebration, a large strongbox full of documents, souvenirs, etc., was buried, not to be opened for another hundred years. Among the papers enclosed were a centenary song, written by Matt Pelkonen, and a history of the Finns in Cloquet.

— Among the official documents preserved in St. Paul, there are some which show census information collected by the state in 1870 from numerous areas of proven Finnish pioneer settlement. In perusing these documents, if all the even slightly doubtful names are dropped from consideration, there still remains a listing of 46 families, representing, it is safe to assume, about half of the land holdings of Finns in Minnesota at that time. The cleared land that these 46 families possessed varied from 20 to 200 acres in amount. The total was 4,386 acres, or an average holding of 95.3 acres per family. Only one of these landowners, incidentally, was not farming his land himself.

For tax purposes, estimates of the farm values were also given. The total came to \$29,765 or an average of \$675 per family. Four pioneer families had no cattle, but the rest had a total of 237 head between them. Also, 18 oxen and 16 horses were listed. Such was one aspect of the life of the Finnish immigrant farmers, a few years after their pioneering efforts had begun. What the situation was 70 years later becomes clear from the study A. A. Parviainen made of 1940 Census information, "that the Finns own 11,176 farms in Minnesota, and that these include 1,117,600 acres of cleared land, or an area twice the size of Carlton County."

— Nevins and Commager make the following statement in their history of the United States:

"What did the immigrants contribute? Most of all, themselves — their strength, their work, their faith. They owed much to their adopted country, but that country owed much to them. They did the hard, grueling work that had to be done if the resources of the nation were to be developed rapidly and cheaply. They broke the prairie sod; they laid down the tracks for the trans-continental; they dug the iron ore, coal, copper; they felled the lumber of the Northwest forests. But their contribution was not only that of unskilled labor. They gave richness and color to American life and in some fields added greatly to her cultural heritage." (6)

6. Nevins, Alland and Commager, Henry Steele. *A Short History of the United States*. (New enlarged edition.) New York, 1956. P. 306.

The pertinent question has been asked if these men and women who for decades continued to leave their homes and travelled thousands of miles to carry out this 'hard, grueling work,' might not have achieved the same results in their own homeland, in the provinces of their birth. But one may also ask, how many of them would have been able there to carve out a given region's biggest and most prosperous farm? How many of them would have been able to educate themselves to become speakers, or singers, or actors, or musicians, in addition to earning their daily bread? Very few. They would have lacked the opportunity for independent action, for in Finland the majority of these men and women who became the immigrants would have followed well-trodden paths, with the traditions of their fathers and mothers being their ideals, against a background of a slowly developing rural setting in which their particular heritage was membership in a fixed social class. In a big, free America these strong but silent and unassuming men and women of Finland did not stop at the street corners of the big cities and seek an easy and convenient life; they were eager to make their way to the places, not where the streets were paved with gold but, where they were in contact with the land, the forest, the wilderness. There they faced the task of hewing the forest, clearing the boulders out of their way, before the earth was ready to receive the touch of the hoe. And they struck their hoes into that earth, worked tirelessly, ceaselessly, until they had created their own measure of happiness with their own strength and were able to give healthy and strong progeny to this new land they called their own.

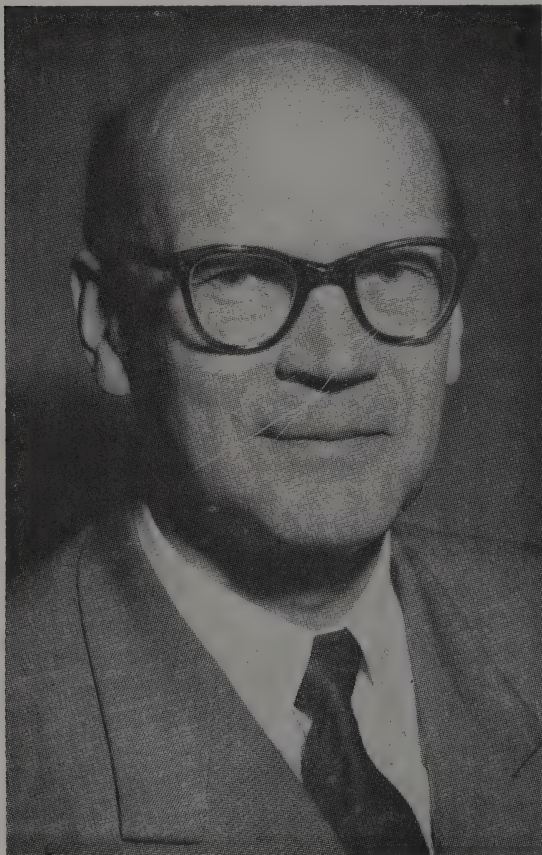
The years which have passed have brought about vast changes. The pioneers themselves have had to suffer the ravages of time. Many already rest in their graves, from which one can barely make out that the name carved on the stone is a Finnish name. Those who are still alive no longer remind one of the persevering pioneer. Their hands, which once held the plow so firmly, have lost their strength. The busy fingers of the pioneer mother are folded quietly over the open pages of the old family Bible.

This history of the Finns in Minnesota is not intended to be a monument to them, another to rank besides so many already erected. The Finns of Minnesota were pioneers, tenacious of purpose, and miners of the wealth hidden deep in the earth, and that they were successful in what they undertook their work most amply proves. Let their monument be the Northern Minnesota which they have created.

Chapter XII

President Kekkonen Visits Minnesota

The highest ranking chief executive of Europe ever to visit Minnesota was the President of Finland, who, with his Presidential party, visited in Duluth and the Iron Range. The presidential



President Urho K. Kekkonen

special plane arrived at the Duluth Airport at 11:00 a.m. on October 24, 1961, from where the Presidential party was escorted to the Hotel Duluth, where a reception was arranged in his honor. The Presidential party consisted of the following.

His Excellency Ahti Karjalainen, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland;

His Excellency the Ambassador of Finland and Mrs. Richard R. Seppälä;

Mr. Max Jacobson, Chief of the Press Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland;

Mr. Matti Tuovinen, Press Secretary, Embassy of Finland;

Lieutenant - Colonel Urpo Levo, Military Aide to the President;

Professor Pauli Soisalo, personal physician to the President.

Also traveling with the Presidential party were Mr. Heikki Hannikainen, Consul General of Finland and Mr. Ake Wihtol, First Secretary, Embassy of Finland.

A banquet in his honor was had at Kirby Student Center Ballroom, U.M.D., on the same day at 6:00 p.m., where a welcome greeting and toast to the President was offered by Dr. Raymond W. Darland, Provost, UMD, and an address and greeting was given by Hon. John A. Blatnik, Minnesota Congressman. Follow-



Madame Kekkonen

ing the banquet, a program with an address by President Kekkonen was held in the physical education building, UMD. The Presidential party was escorted there by Consul General Heikki Hannikainen and Consul Alex Kyyhkynen. Master of ceremonies was Mr. Edward W. Peterson. The invocation was offered by the Rev. Raymond Wargelin, D.D., and the introduction of the distinguished guests and a greeting in the Finnish language was made by Consul Alex Kyyhkynen. A memento book of the occasion was presented to President and Madame Kekkonen. Address: Hon. Elmer L. Anderson, Governor of Minnesota. "Fin-

landia" by Sibelius, Central High School Band. Address by His Excellency Urho K. Kekkonen, President of Finland. The program came to a close with the singing of the Finnish national anthem "Maamme."

On Wednesday, October 25th the Presidential party toured the Iron Range. The group visited the Finnish Pioneer Monument at the Hendrickson farm in Midway township; a brief stop was made in front of the Esko Pioneer Monument, which was followed

by a stop in front of the First National Bank Building in Cloquet, where greetings were offered by Mayor Roy W. Ranum, Arne Heino and a delegation of Chippewa Indians. Then the party traveled to Eveleth and Virginia, where a luncheon was had in the Coates Hotel. Greetings were given there by Mr. Richard Silvola and Mayor Arthur Stock.

They then drove through the Sherman and Hull Rust mines. Hull Rust is the largest man-made pit or cave in the world.

At a ceremony at the Finnish Pioneer Monument in Hibbing, greetings were given by Dr. Kenneth Ahola and Mayor J. J. Taveggia. The final stop of the tour was in Floodwood, where the townspeople gathered to greet the party, with whom the President visited and had a luncheon. The caravan returned to the Duluth Hotel at 6:00 o'clock p.m.

President John F. Kennedy's invitation to President Kekkonen to visit the United States opened the way for the first visit of a President of Finland to visit the U.S.A. The Presi-

dent of Finland Urho Kekkonen and his party visited with President John F. Kennedy and toured Washington, D.C. President Kekkonen also visited our newest state, Hawaii, from where he returned home.

The Presidential visit brought these two countries still much closer together than ever before. The visit of President Kekkonen and his party to the United States will long live in the minds of our people!



Mr. Ahti Karjalainen

**Consul Alex Kyyhkynen
Awarded White Rose of Finland**

(EMBLEM)

Isänmaan Hyväksi

FOR THE FATHERLAND

The President of Finland, Great Master of the Knighthood of
the White Rose of Finland

Has, on this 13th Day of September, 1965, seen fit to grant You,

CONSUL ALEX KYYPHKYKEN

an Insignia as First Class Knight of the White Rose Knighthood
of Finland

(Insignia)

Sigillvm Capitvli-Ordinis-Alba-Rose-Finland

Mr. Alex Kyyhkynen was born in Kemijärvi, Finland, on the
28th day of July, 1888. He emigrated to the United States in



1910. Soon after his arrival in the United States he settled in Duluth, Minnesota, and entered the business world. He has been successfully engaged in the haberdashery business for the past 55 years. He is married and has raised a family.

Mr. Pentti Uusivirta (right), attache of the Finnish Embassy in Washington, D.C., presents Consul Alex Kyyhkynen the White Rose of Finland medal.

Mr. Kyyhkynen has been active in civic life and in compiling historical data of his people and has had concern about the welfare of his homeland. During the tercentenary observance of the "Delaware Finns" Mr. Kyyhkynen was chairman of the Minnesota committee and

under his direction this committee did the best of all our then
48 states in financing the affair. Already at that time he

was keenly interested in historical facts and data of the Finns and of their share in building the United States. He became very active in the historical work of the background of Finnish people and early pioneers in Minnesota. This interest brought about the beginning of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society which was organized under his direction and, to a great extent, by his financing. He became the first president of the Society, which post he has held since. The Society was the first to publish a notable history book of the Finns in Minnesota. The first issue is in the Finnish language and this English version is a translation of the original. Several other states are also working on this type of project.

For this meritorious work for his people, the Republic of Finland chose to honor Alex Kyyhkynen by appointing him a Consul of Finland on August 20, 1949, and in September 1965, the President of Finland honored him with the insignia of the White Rose Knighthood of Finland, in the first degree.

Governor Luther W. Youngdahl Proclaims Finnish Pioneer Day

When Minnesota was celebrating its Centennial festival, the Finnish-American Historical Society took an active part in the festivities, arranging an all-day festival at Como Park in St. Paul, Minnesota. They invited the government of Finland to be present at the observation and Finland was very well represented.

The day of this observance, Sunday, August 21st, was declared by Governor Luther W. Youngdahl as "Finnish Pioneer Day," which is the origin of the pioneer day which is annually observed by the Finnish people of Minnesota under the sponsorship of the Minnesota Finnish-American Historical Society.

It is very fitting to pause for a day in each year to remember our pioneers, our forefathers in this land of ours.

Bibliography

1. PRINTED SOURCES

a) Published works:

- Aaltio, E. A.: Minnesotan suomalaisia. Vammala 1953.
- Aarteen etsijät. New York Mills, Minn.
- Aavikon morsian. New York Mills, Minn.
- Adamic, Louis: From Many Lands.
- American Finnish Delaware Tercentenary Committee. Financial Statement. New York, N. Y. September 15, 1938.
- Adams, James T.: Amerikan eepos. Helsinki 1947.
- Alfred Södergrenin apteekin Lääke-Luettelo selityksineen. Minneapolis, Minn.
- Ajan ratoksi. New York Mills, Minn.
- Alango-Fieldin Ev. Lut. Seurakunnan 40:s Vuosijuhla. Cook, Minn. 1947.
- Amerikan Siionin laulut ja virret sekä Kirkkokäsikirja. Calumet, Mich. 1930.
- Amerikan Suomalaisen Musiikkiyhdistyksen Ohjelmajulkaisu. Duluth, Minn. 1912.
- Amerikan Työväenliikkeen Historiaa. Helsinki 1955.
- Anderson, Elma K.: Translation of Finnish Songs. Minneapolis, Minn. 1939.
- Arkiv för svenska österbotten I. Vaasa 1922.
- Bercovici, Konrad: On New Shores. New York, N. Y. 1925.
- Biblian historiaa kansakouluille. New York Mills, Minn. 1887.
- Blegen, Theodore C.: Building Minnesota. Boston 1938.
- Brown, Francis J.—Roucek, J. S.: One America. New York, N. Y. 1952.
- Central Co-operative Wholesale. Financial Statements. 1938.
- Central Co-operative Wholesale Yearbook. 1919-54, Superior, Wis.
- Christmas and New Year Program 1935-36. Finnish Congregational Church. Hibbing and Saarikoski Parish.
- Curtiss-Wedge: History of Renville County. Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Det svenska Finland I-II. Helsinki 1919-23.
- Duluth and St. Louis County, Minnesota. Their Story and People. By American Historical Society. Volume I-II. Chicago, Ill. and New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Engelberg, Rafael: Suomi ja Amerikan suomalaiset. Helsinki. 1944.
- Esiraivaajien Muisto. New York Millsin, Sebekan, Menahgan ja Susijärven seudun uranuurtasuomalaisten ja Minnesotan ensimmäisten suomalaisten siirtolaisten muistolle New York Millsissä, elok. 20 pñä vietetyn juhlan julkaisu. New York Mills, Minn. 1939.
- Evankelis-Luterilainen Kansalliskirkko. Ensimmäiset 50 vuotta. Ironwood, Mich. 1948.
- Fairchild, P. H.: Immigration Faith of Our Fathers. Virginia, Minn. 1954.
- Fifty Years of Service, State Bank of Cokato. Cokato, Minn. 1942.
- Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the Suomi Synod of America. Duluth, Minn. 1945.
- Finnish Pioneer Day. Duluth, Minn. 1949.
- Folwell, William W.: A History of Minnesota. St. Paul 1921.
- Fowler, Bertram B.: Consumers Co-operative in America.
- Forty Years of Community Building with Farmer's Co-op. Sampo. Menahga, Minn., Superior, Wis. 1943.
- Gambbs, John S.: The Decline of the IWW. New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Hacher, L. M.: The United States since 1865.
- Halonen, Arne: Minnesota's help to Finland. Minneapolis, Minn. 1940.
- Halonen, George: Taistelu osuustoimintarintamalla. Superior, Wis. 1932.
- Harju, Andrew A.: Rikkaudet. Duluth, Minn. 1938.
- Hendrickson, Martin: Muistelmia kymmenvuotisesta raivaustyöstäni. Fitchburg, Mass. 1909.
- Hiljaisesta nurkasta. New York Mills, Minn.
- History of the Sixty Years of Valontuote Temperance Society. Virginia, Minn. 1953.
- History of Wright County. Chicago, Ill. 1915.
- Huberman, L.: We, The People.
- Ilmonen, Salomon: Amerikan Suomalaisen Raittiusliikkeen Historia, Hancock, Mich. 1912; Amerikan Suomalaisten Historia II. Jyväskylä 1923; Amerikan Suomalaisten Historia III. Hancock, Mich. 1926; Amerikan Suomalaisten Sivistyshistoria. Edellinen osa. Hancock, Mich. 1930; Amerikan Suomalaisten Sivistyshistoria. Jälkimäinen osa. Hancock, Mich. 1931.
- Jasberg, H. H.: Maalaiselämän edut. Hancock, Mich. 1913.
- Juhlajulkaisu 25 v. SKR-Veljeysseura. Ishpeming, Mich. 1912.
- Järnefelt, Akseli: Suomalaiset Amerikassa. Helsinki 1899.
- Järnefelt-Rauanheimo, Akseli: Melkäläisiä merten takana. Porvoo 1921.
- Järnefelt-Rauanheimo, Betty: A Mother's Farewell Letters: Minneapolis, Minn. 1923.
- Kalevaisten 50-vuotis-Juhlajulkaisu. Hancock, Mich. 1948.
- Kalevan Naisten Historian ääriviivoja 1904-1954. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1954.

- Kansalliskirkon 25-vuotisjulkaisu 1398-1923. Ironwood, Mich. 1923.
- Kautsky, K.: Vermehrung und Entwicklung in Natur und Gesellschaft.
- Kendall, Erick: And Into the Future: A Brief Story of Central Co-operative Wholesale's 25 Years of Building towards a Better Tomorrow. Superior, Wis. 1944.
- Kilpi, O. H.: Siirtolaisuus ja Suomen talouselämä 19 vuosisadalla.
- Kolehmainen, John I.: Suomalaisten siirtolaisuus Norjasta Amerikkaan. Fitchburg, Mass. 1946.
- Kolehmainen, John I.: The Finns in America. A Bibliographical Guide to Their History. Hancock, Mich. 1947.
- Kolehmainen, John I. and Hill, George W.: Haven in the Woods, The Story of the Finns in Wisconsin. Madison. 1951.
- Kolmannen Amerikan Suomalaisen sosialistijärjestön Edustajakokouksen Pöytäkirja. Fitchburg, Mass. 1909.
- Koyri, John: Minnesotan, Wisconsinin ja Michiganin uudisviljelijöille. Hancock, Mich. 1911.
- Krout, John A.: United States since 1865. New York, N. Y. 1953.
- Kuningas Salomonin aarteet. New York Mills, Minn.
- Köyhäinhuoneen prinsessa. New York Mills, Minn.
- Lamson, Frank B.: Cokato, Wright County 1888-1892. Personal Recollections.
- Larson, O. J.: Amerikansuomalaisten velvollisuus tässä kansallisessa kysymyksessä. Duluth, Minn. 1917.
- Laskiainen Year Book 1937. Extension Department. St. Louis County Rural Schools. Moniste.
- Legation of Finland. Huhtik. 1 p:nä 1941. Tiedonantokaavake Suomen Avustustyön Suorittajille. Washington, D. C.
- Lehtipaja. Työmiehen Neljännesvuosisata Julkaisu. Superior, Wis. 1928.
- Lehtonen, M.: Amerikan Suomalainen. Duluth, Minn. 1909; Käytännöllinen suomenkielen Aapinen Amerikan suomalaisten Koteja, Pyhä- Kesäkouluja varten. Minneapolis, Minn. 1910; Toinen, korjattu painos. Chisholm, Minn. 1918.
- Leinberg, K. G.: Biblian historiaa kansakouluille. New York Mills, Minn. 1887.
- Liakka, N.: Isänmaan Historia.
- Liikemiesten ja Laulajien Suomimatka 1921. Hancock, Mich. 1921.
- Lincoln Loyalty Leaguen Sivusäännöt. Duluth, Minn. 1918.
- Lindquist, Maude L.—Clark, James W.: Minnesota. The Story of a Great State. New York, N. Y. 1950.
- Lordin avioliitto. New York Mills, Minn.
- Lukukirja Amerikan Suomalaisille Lapsille I ja II. Hancock, Mich. 1915-16.
- Lähde, J. W.: Aapinen ja Lukukirja lapsille. New York Mills, Minn. 1899.
- Marttila, William: Osuustoiminta ja sen merkitys luokkataistelussa. Superior, Wis. 1930.
- Martyryrien historia. New York Mills, Minn. 1887.
- Maron, John W.: History of Otter Tail County, 1916.
- Mattinen, J. A.: Thomsonin Maanviljelyseudun Historia. New York Mills, Minn. 1935.
- Maunula, Antti: Uusia ja Vanhoja Armon Lasten Lauluja. New York Mills, Minn. 1918.
- Memorial Program. Finnish Pioneer Day. Duluth, Minn. 1949.
- Minneskrift 1902-1917. Svensfinska nykterhetsförbundet av Amerika. Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Minnesota. Siirtolaisviraston St. Paulissa, Minn. julkaisema ja J. W. Lähteen suomeksi kääntämä lentokirjanen. New York Mills, Minn. 1908. p. 3.
- Minnesotan erämetseistä Suomen saloille. Helsinki. 1949.
- Minnesotan Raittiusliiton Juhlajulkaisu 25 vuotisjuhlaan 1932. Duluth, Minn. 1932.
- Minnesotan Suomalais-Amerikkalaisen Historiallisen Seuran Perussäännöt ja Sivusäännöt. Duluth, Minn. 1949.
- Minnesotan suomalaisten Juhla-albumi. Duluth, Minn. 1949.
- Mitä, Missä, Milloin 1955. Helsinki 1954.
- Mooseksen kuudes ja seitsemäs kirja. Calumet, Mich. 1902.
- Musiikkiluettelo. Duluth, Minn.
- Mustasukkaisuuden Uhrit eli Hullujen huoneen salaisuuksia. New York Mills, Minn.
- Myrsky, Eino: Surulauluja Titanicin kamalasta tuhosta. Duluth, Minn. 1912.
- Neljän Liitto. New York Mills, Minn.
- Nelson, Lowry—Clampitt, Hazel: Population Trends in Minnesota. St. Paul, Minn. 1940.
- Nelson, Lowry—Ramsay, Charles E.—Toews, Jacob: A Century of Population Growth in Minnesota. St. Paul, Minn. 1954.
- New York Millsin Pyhän Pietarin Evankelis-luterilaisen Seurakunnan Riemujuh-lajulkaisu. New York Mills 1946.
- Niemi, C.: Americanization of the Finnish People in Houghton County, Mich. Duluth, Minn. 1921.
- Nikander, Werner: Amerikan Suomalaisia I. Hancock, Mich. 1927.
- Nikkari, Matti: Paddockin Evankelis-luterilaisen Kansallisseurakunnan 40-vuotis historia. Moniste. Paddock, Minn. 1938.
- Nute, Grace Lee: Lake Superior. Indianapolis 1944.
- Nute, Grace Lee: The Voyageurs Highway. St. Paul, Minn. 1950.
- Ompelutyttö. New York Mills, Minn.

- Nurmi, Paavo: Muistoalbumi — Minnesalbum. Minneapolis, Minn. 1925.
- Pappien emäntien mietteitä. Duluth, Minn. 1950. Moniste.
- Pietilä, Antti J.: Amerikankävijän havain-
toja ja ajatuksia.
- Pioneer of the Wilderness. Alango-Stur-
geon - Korvenkylä - Field Region Trail
Blazers Souvenir Day. Moniste.
- Pioneer Reunion Souvenir Number. No-
vember 20, 1938 at the Bear River School.
Moniste.
- Pollari, Johan: Apostolis-luterilaisten ha-
jaantumisen syyt Amerikassa. Duluth,
Minn. 1920.
- Pottl, Kalle: Iloinen Harbori I. Duluth,
Minn. 1924.
- Pullil, Eero A.: Minnesotan suomalaisten
Juhla-albumi. Duluth, Minn. 1948.
- Raattiuslaulukirja. Hancock, Mich. 1903.
- Raivaustyössä. Ensimmäisten raattiuskurs-
sien muistojulkaisu. Hancock, Mich.
1905.
- Rauhankokous ja pääpiirteitä Amerikan
suomalaisten raattiuustyön historiasta.
Hancock, Mich. 1908.
- Reima, Vilho: Amerikan mailta. Helsinki
1907.
- Rein, Th.: J. W. Snellman II.
Report of the Proceedings of the First
American Co-operative Convention.
Springfield, Ill. 1918. New York, N. Y.
1919.
- Rissanen, Kalle: Amerikan Suomalaisia.
Superior, Wis. 1924.
- Risto, William: Kaivannosta hautaan. Du-
luth, Minn. 1914.
- Salemin pelkuri. New York Mills, Minn.
- Salonen, K. E.: Pastoraalikirjeitä. Iron-
wood, Mich. 1920.
- Saposs, David J.: Left Wing Unionism.
New York, N. Y. 1926.
- Selkkallijatar, eli rakkaus ja kavaluus.
New York, Mills, Minn.
- Sielaff, Richard O.: Lake Traffic at the
Port of Duluth-Superior. Duluth, Minn.
1955.
- Siirtolaistilasto. Suomen Virallinen Tilas-
to. Sarja No. XXVIII (24 eri vihkosta).
- Silfversten, Carl J.: Finlandsvenkarna i
America. Duluth, Minn. 1931. Johdanto:
Lutherska Bethel Församlingens Historia.
West Duluth, Minn. 1928.
- Snellman, T. M.: Ulkokansalaistoiminta ja
Siirtolaisten Huolto I. Helsinki 1929.
- Sotavanki Santiagon rikos. New York
Mills, Minn.
- State Federal Crop and Livestock Report-
ing Service, Year 1954. MFAHS archives.
- Stevens, John H.: Personal Recollections
of Minnesota and Its People. Minneapo-
lis, Minn. 1890.
- Sulkanen, Elis: Amerikan Suomalaisen
Työväenliikkeen Historia. Fitchburg,
Mass. 1951.
- SKRV Seuran ja Vesi Raattiusseuran
Juhlajulkaisu 1888-1938. Ely, Minn. 1938.
- SKR Veljeysseuran Juhlajulkaisu. Ishpe-
ming, Mich. 1912.
- Suomalaisen Kansallis Raattius-Veljeys
Seuran Perustuslait Amerikassa Siihen
kuuluvain Sivulakien, Järjestys- ja Työ-
ohjeiden kanssa. New York Mills, Minn.
1892.
- Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestön Keskipiirin
Viidennen Edustajakokouksen Pöytäkir-
ja. Superior, Wis. 1916.
- Suomalaisten sosialistiosastojen ja työ-
väenyhdistysten viidennen eli suomalai-
sen sosialistijärjestön kolmannen edus-
tajakokouksen Pöytäkirja. Fitchburg,
Mass. 1912.
- Suomen Tilastollinen Vuosikirja. 1950 ja
1951.
- Svensk-Finska Nykterhets-Förbundet af
America i Ord och Bild. Chicago, Ill.
1908.
- Syrjälä, F. J.: Historia-Aiheita Amerikan
Suomalaisesta Työväenliikkeestä. Fitch-
burg, Mass. 1925.
- Taistelu vildestä miljoonasta. New York
Mills, Minn.
- Tarkkanen, M.: Siirtolaisuus, sen syyt ja
seuraukset.
- Tervehdys Suomelle—Louhi. Brooklyn, N.
Y. 1920.
- The Legislative Manual of the State of
Minnesota. St. Paul, Minn. 1905-1909,
1935-1955.
- The St. Louis County Historical Society.
Newsletter.
- The Story of Nashwauk. Nashwauk, Minn.
1953.
- The Story of the Virginia Co-operative So-
ciety Through 30 Years of Progress. Min-
neapolis, Minn. 1939.
- The Virginia Story. Virginia, Minn. 1949.
- Toimintaopas. Minnesotan Suomalainen
Historiallinen Seura. Duluth, Minn. 1947.
- Totuuden Etsijä. Juhlajulkaisu SKRV-Seu-
ran Yleisen Vuosijuhlaan 1904. Hancock,
Mich. 1904.
- Toverila Yhtiön Säännöt. Duluth, Minn.
1922.
- Townsend Suunnitelma. Väitteitä ja vas-
taväitteitä. Duluth, Minn. 1936.
- Tuomenoksa, Niilo: Amerikkaa pitkin ja
poikin. Tampere 1955.
- Työmieks Kymmenvuotias. 1903-13. Han-
cock, Mich.
- U. S. Department of Commerce. Official
Copy on March 29, 1954, Series PC-14.
No. 20.
- U. S. Census of Population 1860-90, 1900,
1910., 1920, 1930, 1940 and 1950.
- Valon Sirpaleita. New York Mills, Minn.
1935.
- Vannoutuneet. New York Mills, Minn.
- Wargelin, John: Americanization of the
Finns. Hancock, Mich. 1924.

- Westerback, M. N.: *Am. Suomal. Ev. Luth. Kansalliskirkon Alku ja Ensimmäiset Vuodet*. Ironwood, Mich. 1933.
- Virginia in Minnesota's Arrowhead Country. Tourist guide. MFAHS Archives.
- Workers Partyn säännöt. Superior, Wis.
- Väsyneen haudalla. New York Mills, Minn.
- Yhdysvaltain Suomalaisen Sosialistijärjestöjen Neljännen Edustajakokouksen Pöytäkirja. Fitchburg, Mass. 1914.
- Yleiskatsaus Amerikan suomalaisiin sosialistiosastoihin vv. 1909-1910. Työmiehen arkisto. Superior, Wis.
- Zilliacus, Konni: *Käsikirja Pohjois-Amerikasta*. Porvoo 1893.
- Young, Ernest: *Finland, the Land of a Thousand Lakes*. London 1912.
- Arsbok for Finska Baptist 1916. Duluth, Minn. 1916 ja 1917.
- Wisconsin Agriculturist 1915.
- b) Newspapers and magazines:**
- Aamulehti 1954.
- Aamu Rusko 1884-85.
- Aamu Rusko—Uusi Sarja 1887-88.
- Aatteita 1903.
- Agricultural History 1937.
- Airut 1917.
- Almanakka. Hancock, Mich. 1939-45.
- American Journal of Sociology 1936.
- Amerikan Farmari 1938, 1939.
- Amerikan Kaiku 1903-04, 1906.
- Amerikan Sanomat 1902.
- Amerikan Suomalainen 1927.
- Amerikan Suomalainen Työmies 1903-04.
- Amerikan Suomalaisen Kansanvalistus-Seuran Kalenteri 1887-1890.
- Amerikan Suometar 1889-1903, 1922.
- Amerikan Työmies 1900.
- Amerikan Uutiset 1901-14.
- Aura 1919.
- Auttaja (Meldän Ilomme) 1907.
- Bureau of Labor Bulletin 1909.
- Canadan Uutiset 1939.
- Century 1914.
- Christian Monthly 1944.
- Cooperative (Pyramid) Bulder 1926-27.
- Columbia Press 1954.
- Crow Bar (Automotive Journal) 1895.
- Detroit Free Press 1906.
- Duluth Daily News 1892.
- Duluth Daily Tribune 1889.
- Duluth Herald 1937-54.
- Duluth Labor World 1907.
- Duluth News-Tribune 1932-55.
- Edistys 1898-99.
- Erämaan Oras 1938.
- Etsijä 1929.
- Ev. Lut. Kansalliskirkon Vuosikirja ja Kalenteri 1935-55.
- Finnish-American Weekly 1937.
- Finska Amerikanaren 1894.
- Finska Mission Posten 1906.
- Fremad 1882.
- Greetings of Peace 1934.
- Idän Uutiset 1897-99.
- Industrialisti 1921-55.
- Ironwood Daily Globe 1955.
- Jouluviesti 1931.
- Journal (Minneapolis) 1921.
- Journal of American Folk-Lore 1934.
- Juhannuslehti 1939.
- Kalenteri Amerikan Suomalaiselle työvälle 1921.
- Kaleva 1894-95.
- Kalevainen 1927-55.
- Kalevan Kansa 1930-33.
- Kansan Henki 1921.
- Kansan Lehti 1903-34.
- Kansan Toveri 1898.
- Kansanvalistusseuran Kalenteri. New York Mills, Minn. 1893.
- Keskilämmen Sanomat 1949-56.
- Keski-Länsi 1932.
- Kirkollinen Kalenteri 1903-40.
- Kirkonkello 1934-50.
- Koti-Home 1922.
- Kristillinen Kuukausilehti 1915.
- Kristitty 1926.
- Kuuluttaja 1939.
- Köyhälistön Nuija 1906.
- Lasten Ystävä 1902.
- Lehtinen 1876.
- Life 1940.
- Lännen Suometar 1939-46.
- Lännen Uutiset, Rock Springs, Wyo. 1896.
- Lännen Uutiset. Astoria, Ore. 1905-13.
- Lännetär 1900.
- Mesabi Daily News 1952-54.
- Minnesota History 1949.
- Minnesotan Uutiset 1932-55.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Review 1950.
- New Yorkin Uutiset 1942-46.
- New York Mills Herald 1915.
- New York Mills Journal 1900.
- New York Times 1936-55.
- Normanna Banner 1880.
- Northland Farmer and Dairyman 1917.
- Opas 1931-1949.
- Palmen Sanomia 1890-91.
- Palvelija 1920.
- Pelto ja Koti 1914.
- Pohjalainen 1902-03.
- Pohjan Tähti 1902-18.
- Pohjois-Minnesotan Suomalaisen Juhannusjuhla-julkaisu 1904-56.
- Päivälehdien Sotaextra 1914.
- Päivälehti 1901-48.
- Rainy Lake Journal 1894.
- Raittiuskansan Kalenteri 1899-1954.
- Raittiislehti 1892-99 and 1913-14.
- Rauhan Tervehdys 1922.
- Rodhuggeren 1882.
- Rural Michigan 1922.
- St. Paul Dispatch 1918.
- Siirtokansan Kalenteri 1919-57.
- Siirtolainen 1896-38.
- Sisu 1952.
- Soihtu 1906.
- Sosiaalipoliittinen Aikakausikirja 1907.
- Sosialisti 1915.

Star Gazette 1946.
 Suomalainen 1903.
 Suomen Kuvalehti 1955.
 Suomen Sosialidemokraatti 1947-53.
 Suomen Urheilulehti 1923.
 Swen Tuuva 1878.
 Terveystemme 1918.
 The Bovey Press 1949.
 The Chautauquan Monthly 1908.
 The Chisholm Tribune-Herald 1956.
 The Daily Journal 1949.
 The Duluth Herald 1917-39.
 The Evening Herald 1892.
 The Gilbert Herald 1920.
 The Gopher 1926.
 The Literary Digest 1916-35.
 The Mesaba Range 1892.
 The Minneapolis Daily Tribune 1920.
 The Outlook 1908.
 The Park Region 1955.
 The Saturday Evening Post 1949.
 The Survey 1912-13.

The Virginian 1907.
 Todistusten Joukko 1901.
 Totuus 1898-1925.
 Toveri 1922-28.
 Työmies 1904-39.
 Työväen Osuustoimintalehti 1930-53.
 Ugeblad 1881.
 Urheiluviesti 1909.
 U. S. News and World Report 1955.
 Uusi Aika 1914.
 Uusi Kotimaa 1881-1931.
 Uusi Sarja 1887-88.
 Uusi Suomi 1956.
 Valoa Kansalle 1894.
 Walvoja 1884-86 and 1931.
 Vappu 1936-52.
 Washington Post 1939.
 Velikulta 1891.
 Veljeysviesti 1924-54.
 Vermillion Iron Journal 1892.
 Virallinen Lehti 1920.
 Virginia Daily Enterprise 1904-37.

II. UNPRINTED SOURCES

a) Research and writings:

Gust Aakula: Study of Crosby, MFAHS archives.
 E. A. Aaltio: Study of the Midway Finns. MFAHS archives.
 E. Ahonen: Remembrances of Chisholm Finns joint undertakings. MFAHS archives.
 Ralph K. Andrist: Finnish Study. WPA archives, St. Paul, Minn.
 "Apilanlehti" temperance society minutes. Alango, Minn.
 Isak Barberg: Census of Finns in Cokato, 1879. MFAHS archives.
 Hazel and Vernon Barberg: The Pioneers of Cokato. Voice of America radio broadcast to Finland. 1951. MFAHS archives.
 Vernon G. Barberg: Typewritten study. I'll Take This Land by the Lake. Cokato, Minn.
 Cokato Apostolic Lutheran Church records. Cokato, Minn.
 Cokato Finnish-American Historical Society documents. Cokato, Minn.
 Matti Erkkila: Gathering of recollections from Wolf Lake. MFAHS archives.
 Matti Erkkila: Writings on the temperance movement, "Raittiusseura." MFAHS archives.
 Ev. Luth. Church, National, records. Ironwood, Mich.
 J. Frederickson: Records of the number of Finns in Holmes City in 1883. MFAHS archives.
 Helsingin Yliopiston Kirjaston, Turun Yliopiston, Jyväskylän Kasvatusopillisen Korkeakoulun ja Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran yhteinen luettelo amerikansuomalaisesta kirjallisuudesta. HYK, Helsinki.

Arne Halonen: The Finnish-American Labor Movement. Its Growth and Decline. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Minnesota.
 A. W. Havela: Explanation of the Red River Valley banks. MFAHS archives.
 A. L. Heideman: Speech in Helsinki "Seurahuone" on Sept. 17, 1908. HYK.
 Henry S. Heimonen: Finnish Rural Culture in South Ostrobothnia (Finland) and the Lake Superior Region (U. S.) A Comparative Study. Unpublished dissertation. University of Wisconsin 1941.
 John Hilton: Study of Menahga history. MFAHS archives.
 Isabella, Minn. Community records, 1917. MFAHS archives.
 J. H. Jasberg: Presentation at Denver, Colo., in 1922, to the annual meeting of the American Railway Development Ass'n. Suomi Synod archives, Hancock, Mich.
 Walfrid J. Jokinen: The Finns in Minnesota: A sociological survey. Unpublished Master's thesis. Louisiana State University 1953.
 Rev. A. M. Karjala: History of Chisholm Bethany Church. MFAHS archives.
 Records of the Finnish Senate during the time of the Tsar in 1881. State archives, Helsinki.
 Erick Kendall: Study of the beginnings of the Co-op Central. MFAHS archives.
 Erick Kendall: Central Co-operative Ass'n. MFAHS archives.
 E. J. Koljonen: Collection of historical data. MFAHS archives.

- John Kolu: Letter to E. Sulkanen in 1950. Raivaaja archives, Fitchburg, Mass.
- Samuel Koskela: Recollections of sports. MFAHS archives.
- Konstant Kykyrin kirje MSAHS:lle. MFAHS archives.
- Alex Kyyhkynen: Letter to Adolph Lundquist in July 1943. MFAHS archives.
- Lauri Lemberg: Recollections of Lake-wood. MFAHS archives.
- Lauri Lemberg: Study of cultural life in Minnesota. MFAHS archives.
- Lauri Lembergin tutkielma Minnesotan suomalaisten näytelmätoiminnasta. MFAHS archives.
- Adolph Lundquist: Letters to Alex Kyyhkynen on July 16, 1943 and Nov. 18, 1956. MFAHS archives.
- Adolph Lundquist: Letter to Juho Rissanen Nov. 20, 1943. MFAHS archives.
- Toivo Merisalo: Study of cooperative businesses. MFAHS archives.
- MFAHS: Ely chapter minutes. MFAHS archives.
- MFAHS: Material from Hibbing chapter No. 14. MFAHS archives.
- MFAHS: Minneapolis chapter minutes. MFAHS archives.
- MFAHS: St. Paul unit minutes. St. Paul, Minn.
- MFAHS: Minutes of the annual meetings, directors and committee meetings.
- Walter Mursu: Letter to E. J. Koljonen. MFAHS archives.
- Fabian Maenpää: Presentation on the Finns of the Vermilion Range. MFAHS archives.
- Erick Nelimark: Letter to L. B. Arnold Jan. 7, 1913. Land Commissioner's office. Duluth and Iron Range R.R.
- Onnen Toivo Temperance Society minutes. MFAHS archives.
- Waino Palm: Article on musical activity in Minnesota. MFAHS archives.
- Alex Palo: Letter to L. B. Arnold Jan. 13, 1913. Commissioner's office. D&IRR.
- A. A. Parviainen: Explanation of Finns in Eagle township. MFAHS archives.
- Matt Pelkonen: Radio broadcast Cloquet on Parade. Radio Station WKLK, Cloquet, Minn.
- Johan Piippo: Letter to John Mattson. V. Barberg collection. Cokato, Minn.
- E. A. Pulli: Record of information. MFAHS archives.
- Temperance Society "Kyntäjä": By-Laws, minutes and financial record. MFAHS archives.
- Temperance Society "Uusi Kyntäjä": Constitution and minutes. MFAHS archives.
- "Rauhan Koti" Temperance Society minutes. Mt. Iron, Minn.
- Josephine Rauma: Presentation on Virginia's Help to Finland. MFAHS archives.
- V. Rautanen. Amerikan suomalainen kirkko II. Hancock, Mich. 1950. Unpublished manuscript. Helsinki University Library.
- Hans R. Renfors: Study of the Mt. Iron Finns. MFAHS archives.
- George Sheppard: Letter to Karl Mollersvard July 18, 1873. Como Record Room. Foreign Immigration. St. Paul, Minn.
- R. H. Smith. A Sociological Survey of the Finnish Settlement of New York Mills, Minn. and its Adjacent Territory. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Southern California. 1933.
- Soini church records. The Rev. Waino V. Kurkkinen.
- Suomi Synod records. Hancock, Mich.
- Bruno O. Tellin: Collected recollections. MFAHS archives.
- 1860 U.S. Census of Population. MFAHS, St. Paul, Minn.
- "Valon Tuote" Temperance Society minutes. Virginia, Minn.
- "Vesi" Temperance Society minutes. Ely, Minn.
- O. H. Wessman: Explanation of the Minnesota Federation of Finnish Civic Clubs. MFAHS archives.
- Official mailing list. Superior, Wis., 1911-1945.
- Virginia Finnish Knitting Club minutes. MFAHS archives.
- "Toivo" athletic club minutes. MFAHS archives.
- Workers Progress Administration (WPA) Unpublished manuscript on the Finns in Minnesota. St. Paul, Minn.
- Zim Socialist society minutes. MFAHS archives.

Index of Pictures

Map of Southern Minnesota Counties	86
Map of Central Minnesota Counties	92
Old Church at Cokato	105
Pioneer Memorial at Cokato	108
Wording on Cokato Memorial	109
Old home at French Lake	110
Kingston's Ev.-Luth. Church	112
A. Haapala home in Dassel	113
Finnish workers at Minneapolis brick factory	118
Minneapolis drama group	122
Minneapolis mixed chorus	125
St. Paul Finns at Festival of Nations	130
Minneapolis exhibit at Festival of Nations	132
Map of Northwestern Minnesota counties	137
Crosby's independent band	141
Apostolic Lutheran Church in New York Mills	148
Concert program in 1887	156
Road construction at Heinola about 1910	165
Cloverleaf creamery in Heinola	166
Feldt and Kauppi Store in Heinola	166
"Väli-Jaakko's Bay" on Leaf Lake	168
Siffert Kauppi's farm at Leaf Lake	168
Leaf River school in 1910	169
Blowers township baseball team	172
The Benjamin Pantsari family	174
Finnish Church at Sebekä	177
Sebekä Cooperative store in 1920	182
Officers of Sebekä Historical Society	185
Sebekä Pioneer memorial	186
Sebekä Historical Society's museum	186
Home of John Erick Luukkonen near Menahga	188
Sampo Cooperative store in Menahga	189
Sampo garage in Menahga	190
New home of Peter and Kaisa Jokela	193
New home of John Niiles Ylitalo	195
Cooperative store in Wolf Lake	195
Wolf Lake Apostolic Lutheran Church	196
Pioneer monument at Wolf Lake	197
Minnesota lumber camp	203
Map of Northeast Minnesota counties	207
Kauppi family in Duluth	211
Ore carrier in Duluth harbor	212
First Finnish church in Duluth	215
Members of "Toivon Tähti" Temperance Society	216

Messiah Lutheran Church in Duluth	213
Duluth's S.S.O. band in 1913	243
Duluth's S. S. O. drama group in 1908	244
Duluth's S. S. O. mixed chorus in 1916	246
Duluth and Superior combined chorus	247
Duluth's F. A. A. C. basketball team	249
Duluth F. A. A. C. gymnastic group	250
Drilling team at Hibbing mine	262
Duluth Knights of Kaleva	272
Knights and Ladies of Kaleva convention	274
Ladies of Kaleva, Duluth, 1913	275
Duluth Kaleva choir in 1954	277
Finnish relief clothing	279
MFAHS board of directors in 1955	287
Duluth's independent mixed chorus in 1922	294
Duluth's independent mixed chorus	295
Hibbing Workers' club dramatic group	302
Juho Rissanen	308
Finnish newspapers published in 1956	314
Alex Kyyhkynen receives Finnish medal	330
Speakers at Cooperative formation	341
Timber cutting at Midway	346
Midway pioneer memorial	347
Alfred Erickson plowing at Palmer	351
Brimson's first home	351
Brimson postoffice	352
Soudan's Finnish band	366
Church in Soudan	367
Kaleva Island and camp at Soudan	368
Church in Ely	371
Ely Knights of Kaleva	385
Ely Ladies of Kaleva	386
Ely Luther League Choir	389
Temperance Society gymnastic group	392
Dr. Tanner's hospital in Ely	400
Air view of Winton	404
Church in Mt. Iron	410
Missabe Mountain open pit mine	414
Temperance Society hall in Virginia	418
Suomi choir	420
Virginia workers' band in 1910	421
Virginia's first confirmation class	424
Virginia's socialist opera hall	427
Auditorium in socialist opera	428
Virginia workers' dramatic group in 1910	429
Virginia workers' gymnastic group in 1908	430
Jukola	434

Työmies news office in Virginia	435
Cooperative store in Virginia	444
Temperance hall	450
Church in Sparta	451
Church in Gilbert	454
Minnesota district board	463
Ladies of Kaleva in Eveleth	468
Ilmiö Society hall in Biwabik	480
Aurora workers' society hall	483
Aurora band	484
Aurora gymnastic society	485
Manner's boarding house in Chisholm	492
Church in Chisholm	496
Chisholm independent choir in 1908	497
Chisholm women's gymnastic group in 1908	498
Chisholm Ladies of Kaleva	499
Workers in Hibbing's underground mine in 1914	508
"Kaiku" band in 1913	512
Sampo temperance building	514
Hibbing's independent mixed choir in 1940	515
Tapio Temperance Society	516
Hibbing Finnish workers' club hall	519
Workers' club band in 1912	521
1916 summer festival parade in old Hibbing	522
Mixed chorus, "Sorretun Ääni," in 1940	523
Hibbing pioneer monument	527
Cooperative store in Hibbing	530
Cooperative board in Hibbing	531
Hibbing Co-op club women's chorus	533
Fourth of July festival in Stevenson	536
Church in Pike	549
Pike farmers' summer festival in 1912	552
Kultamäki's store in Pike	553
Finnish mixed choir at Sandy	555
Church in Idington	557
Church in Alango-Field	561
Tepo home in Zim in 1912	570
Emil Johnson's lumber camp in 1914	571
Finn hall in Zim	572
Women's choir in Zim	573
Zim Temperance Society in 1908	574
Arkkola school at St. Louis River	578
Church in Palo	580
Riento temperance hall in Palo	581
Finnish pioneers building road near Floodwood	584
Church in Floodwood	585
Temperance group in Floodwood	586

Frank Lahde's new home in Toivola	589
First new home in Toivola	590
First Finnish church in Toivola	591
Toivola's first school	592
Two Harbors gymnastic society	599
First school in Isabella	602
Kotilainen homestead in Isabella	603
Finn hall in Nashwauk in 1910	605
Nashwauk town band in 1910	607
Nashwauk Cooperative	609
Nashwauk's Help Finland committee	610
Directors of Nashwauk's MFAHS	611
Nashwauk Finnish American Historical Society	612
Nashwauk boarding house Elanto in 1910	613
Nashwauk cooperative store board and employees	615
New church in Trout Lake	619
Emil Siukkola's saw mill in Jacobson	624
Bear hunters in Jacobson	625
Abraham Anderson memorial	626
East Lake pioneer festival committee	626
Gust Saari farm in 1914 at Tamarack	627
Finlayson church	628
Finnish quarry workers in Sandstone	629
Thompson's first school	631
Esko cooperative store	634
Granholm's boarding house in 1904	636
Ruins of Cloquet after 1918 fire	637
Cloquet workers' hall	638
Church in Cloquet	640
Moose Lake business district after 1918 fire	644
Kettle River Cooperative feed mill	646
Cromwell plowman's hall in 1913	647
Parviainen's saw mill in Cromwell in 1916	648
Raju band in 1926	649
President Urho Kekkonen	654
Madame Kekkonen	655
Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahti Karjalainen	656
Wihte Rose Presentation to Alex Kyyhkynen	657

Life Members of the MFAHS

Aitkin, Minnesota

Mr. and Mrs. Otto Jackman
Oscar and Elsa Jacobson
Mrs. Andrew Lake
Calvin and Lillian Mattson
Mrs. Edward Peysar
Selma Hyttinen

Algonquin, Illinois

Axel and Agnes Orndahl
Roger Snickars

Amasa, Michigan

Viitala, Eli
Big Fork Minn.
Ahola, Mr. and Mrs. Jack (Lahja)

Ashland, Wisconsin

Verner and Naima Sandstrom

Atkinson, Nebraska

Martha J. Johnson

Aurora, Minnesota

Elsie Erickson
Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Liimatta

Big Fork, Minnesota

Ivar Rajala
William Rajala
Adeline Rajala
Arthur Rajala
Mabel Rajala

Biwabik, Minnesota

Anna Stone

Bovey, Minnesota

Wälsänen, Mrs. Sophie

Brimson, Minnesota

Hiironen, Mrs. Ellen
Vuorela, Mrs. Sanni
Signe Beckman
Edla Simola

Brule, Wisconsin

Impie Yrjanainen
Anna F. Johnson

Butte, Montana

Laitinen, Mrs. John

Bruce Crossing, Michigan

Leskela, Mr. and Mrs. Sacri (Beda)
Linna, Mr. and Mrs. Nick (Hilda)
Suhonen, Mr. and Mrs. Reino (Saima)
Sofia Ilkainen
Hilda Linna
Carl and Ida Norberg

Carlton, Minnesota

Liimatainen, Elmer
Penttila, Mr. Charles

Chicago, Illinois

Katherine Mäki

Chisholm, Minnesota

Talikka, Rev. Peter and Elli
Talikka, Tarmo
Luomala, John†
Waino and Hilda Suomi
William and Lempi Honkonen
Impi Ketola
Hiro, John† and Lempi
Jääskö, Matti
Jääskö, Aino, nee Stahlhaffar
Luomala, John
Luomala, Mary, nee Perälampi
Piispa, Tobias†
Piispa, Ida, nee Hakala
Puukila, Henry†
Puukila, Aune, nee Helin
Rustari, Erland† and Anna
Wälsänen, Paavo
Wälsänen, Hilja, nee Pihlaja

Cloquet, Minnesota

Autio, Mrs. Roy
Hill, Mr. and Mrs. Frank (Helen)
Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. F. R.
Kainulainen, Mrs. Vivian
Kotiranta, Mr. and Mrs. Martin (Jennie)
Panger, Miss Christel
Randa, Mr. Chas.
Salonen, Mr. William
Salonen, Mrs. Utta
Savi, Mrs. Fiina
Siltanen, Miss Aili
Ulvi, Mr. and Mrs. Eino (Esther)
Wilson, Mathilda
Crystal Panger
Helmo Tanskanen
Astedt, Sulo and Martha
Laine, Hugo A.
Lamminen, Selim and Maria

Cromwell, Minnesota

Kukkola, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin (Nelmi)
Mäki, Swan S.
Matt Hjerpe
Paul Kukkola
Parviainen, A. A.†

Crosby, Minnesota

Ruoko, Mr. and Mrs. Einar (Lempi)
Ukura, Mr. and Mrs. Arvin (Hilma)

Crystal Falls, Michigan

Perämäki, Mr. and Mrs. John

Detroit, Michigan

Mayry, Mrs. Impi
Taipale, Victor

† Deceased

Dollar Bay, Michigan

Eino Paavola
Albin Saari

Duluth, Minnesota

Boberg, Esther
Erickson, Mr. and Mrs. Erling (Lillian)
Feldt, Mrs. Elina
Forss, Mrs. Ellen
Heikkinen, Mrs. Ida
Helsten, Mrs. Edith
Ilander, Gust
Impola, Mrs. Helvi
Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence (Selma O.)
Kinnunen, Mr. and Mrs. Eino E. (Edna)
Keski, Kristo
Koski, Mrs. Saima
Laine, Mrs. Sophie
Laitinen, Mr. Wayne
Lehtinen, Mrs. Aune Maria
Mattson, Mr. and Mrs. Martin (Lois E.)
Mickelson, Mr. and Mrs. Fred (Aina)
Ojala, Mr. and Mrs. W. A. (Tyyne)
Ojala, Wilho
Orlich, Mr. and Mrs. Eli (Margaret)
Panula, Paavo
Peterson, Edw. W.
Pykkonen, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew (Ailie)
Pynttari, Mr. Henry
Rajanen, Mrs. A. E.
Salokoski, John
Stenback, Frank
Stingl, Mr. and Mrs. Ray (Ina Marie)
Sundstrom, Mr. George
Ung, Hjalmar
Asiala, John M.†
Bekkala, Teve
Ellsworth, Mary
Gustafson, Gust and Saima
Havela, A. W.† and Agnes†
Hendrickson, Fred† and Hilja
Hintsa, Violet
Holappa, Frank† and Martha
Kyyhkynen, Alex and Sofia
Laine, August†
Laine, Paul
Lake, Elmer H.
Lemberg, Lauri† and Sigrid
Leppo, Dr. Erkki
Mattila, John ja Hilma
Mäki, Lempi
Niemi, John V.† and Aili†
Ojala, W. A.
Peterson, Mr. ja Mrs. Arvid
Rantanen, A. O.
Rengo, Hjalmar
Saarnio, Hjalmar† and Naimi†
Salmio, Walter† and Selma
Salo, Jack D. and Grace
Sterling, Paul
Tuomisto, John A. and Hilja†
Wall, Matt† and Sylvia (Ronback)
Elis and Edna Lind
Mary Ollila

Carl Enwall
Mrs. Carl Anderson
Edward Hokkanen
Elna Haapanen
Helen Matuschak
Katie Sipila
Arthur Stone
August West
Katri Williams

Ely, Minnesota

Brobin, Mrs. Noble
Morran, Mrs. Alvyna
Schaefer, Mrs. Elizabeth
Wilma Hokkanen
Nels Martin and Hanna Järvi
Hilja Lassila
Mäenpää, Fabian† and Maria
Paakkari, Henry

Embarrass, Minnesota

Lamppa, Mrs. Helen
Mrs. Helmer Marsyla
Palm, Väinö

Esko, Minnesota

Kaikkonen, Mr. and Mrs. L. (Vieno)
Koski, Mrs. Kerttu
Mäki, Mr. Matt
Puline, Mrs. Elvira
Anna Piukkala
Heikkinen, Wäinö and Hulda
Jurvelin, Jacob
Kinnunen, Eino and Bertha
Murto, Isaac and Maria
Wiita, Frank

Eveleth, Minnesota

Wiltamäki, Arthur
Matti Rahkola
Haarala, Matti and Anna
Taipale, Henry

Ewen, Michigan

Mrs. Arnold Pelto
Mrs. Oscar Pelto

Floodwood, Minnesota

Pietilä, Urho
Hokkanen, Antti†
Koskela, Samuel† ja Olga

Fresno, California

Lanne Paup

Grand Rapids, Minnesota

Bubany, Mrs. Alice
Kruger, Mrs. M. C.
Puro, Mrs. Anna

Glendora, California

Peterson, Mr. and Mrs. Arvid

Hancock, Michigan

Maria Ranta

Harlan, Iowa

Mrs. Horatio Paup

Herbster, Wisconsin

Leppala, Matt

Hibbing, Minnesota

Haglund, Arthur A.
Seppala, Edwin E. and Olga
John W. and Martha Hannula
Eino Lehto
Erick and Anna Kangas
Carolyn Seppala-Nisula
Mrs. Sulo Ojakangas
Martha Salo
Lizzie Wuori
Haapala, Isaac
Haapala, Hilma, nee Lastikka†
Jyring, Eino Arthur
Jyring, Linda, nee Cianfichi
Kangas, Frank
Kangas, Hilja, nee Mäki
Koivisto, Arvid E.†
Koivisto, Edith, nee Laine
Lamminmäki, Anton
Lauhala, Hilda, nee Sorila
Lehto, Eino
Linjanen, Frank
Linjanen, Edla, nee Partanen†
Miettunen, Tekla, nee Korpi
Mäki, Wilho
Mäki, Lillian, nee Koivisto
Panula, Emil
Panula, Selma, nee Leppänen
Salo, August
Salo, Wilhelmiina, nee Virtanen
Siekkinen, Hilda, nee Kemppainen†
Werman, Anna, nee Virtanen

Hurley, Wisconsin

Riihimäki, Sofia

Iron, Minnesota

Nikolai and Mayme Niemi

Iron River, Wisconsin

Ekstrom, Edward and Tyne
Edward Jurvelin
Eino Jurvelin

Ironwood, Michigan

Aho, Mrs. Hanna
Karl, Emil
Liljequist, Elmer
Mäki, Mr. and Mrs. Matt V.
Mäki, Selma
Niemi, Andrew
Nyman, Alina
Hanna Aho
Ida M. Korhonen
Katherine Reini

Ishpeming, Michigan

Hamari, Weikko
Karl, Mrs. Amanda
Weikko Hamari
Mr. and Mrs. Matt Kamppinen
Anna Kulju

Jacobson, Minnesota

Malakias Vinamäki
Emil and Sylvia Paakkonen

Keewatin, Minnesota

Johnston, Roy ja Minnie H.
Anselm Hietanen

Kelsey, Minnesota

Niemi, Alex ja Hilda

Kelso, Washington

Hill, Eino
Simukka, Bessie L.

Kettle River, Minnesota

Aho, Mrs. Mary
Pietila, Oscar
Salo, Jacob
Wuori, Matt
Wuori, Richard
Nikolai and Lutra Koivisto
Wayne and Saima Koivisto
Rev. Matt Reed and Edna Reed
David Kivi

LaCrescente, California

Galloway, Mrs. Tyne

Lake Worth, Florida

Marjamaa, Henry
Syrjäniemi, Onni† ja Alli

Mahtowa, Minnesota

Aho, Mrs. Heta

Makinen, Minnesota

Korpela, Arvid
Mannelin, Mrs. Martha
Sadie Mattson
Vieno Walkama

Mandan, North Dakota

Schmitt, Miss Carol Joy

Maple, Wisconsin

Jack and Marie Anttila
Walter A. Lehtinen
Martha Pekkala
Beck, Victor
Kiiski, Eino and Lillian
Kiiski, Miss Bette
Kortesma, John A. and Helen
Soyring, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander
Tyykila, Paavo

Marengo, Wisconsin

Oke and Jennie Jokinen

Markham, Minnesota

Nissila, William and Senia

McGregor, Minnesota

Field, Mrs. Alli
Orjala, John and Hanna
Maurice Lehtinen

Meadowlands, Minnesota

Mattson, Ivar
Laine, Mike and Aili

Menahga, Minnesota

Leinonen, Mr. and Mrs. Lars
Antti Haavisto
Ed Helin

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Koskinen, Mrs. Emma E.
Novak, Mrs. C.
Arvid Gronlund
Lorraine Lassila
Leland and Mabel Zosel
Halonon, Arne and Irene
Tuomi, Veini

Minong, Wis.

Waino Yrjanainen

Mt. Iron, Minnesota

Anderson, Mrs. John M.
Mrs. Emilia Anderson
Mrs. Lydia Jokinen
Antti and Sirkka Otava
Matt Viitala
Mrs. Renros Yokitalo
Mrs. Elsa Jagds

Nashwauk, Minnesota

Niemi, Mrs. Fannie
Otto Ylonen
Alanko, Oiva†
Alanko, Syne, nee Rajala
Anderson, Lempi
Henderson, Eben and Elsie
Johnston, Roy and Mamie
Kinnunen, Eino
Kinnunen, Bertha
Latvala, Charles
Latvala, Lydia,† nee Aho
Latvala, Herbert
Latvala, Sylvia, nee Leino
Lehtinen, Kalle
Lehtinen, Vilma, nee Sundvall
Ievola, Jalmar†
Niemi Alex
Niemi, Hilda
Nuorala, Gust
Nuorala, Hilda
Ollila, Adolf†
Raattama, Dr. J. Webster†
Sandell, Fannie nee Ekholm
Sippola, Emil
Sippola, Laimi, nee Sarberg
Törmä, Fred
Törmä, Hilda,† nee Lempeä
Törmä, Wilho†
Törmä, Hilma, nee Josephson

New York Mills, Minnesota

Aho, Mr. and Mrs. Edw.
Julia Kangas
Helen Maunumaki
Lundquist, Adolph† and Alma
Parta, Russell and June
Parta, Carl† and Lempi†

Oakland, California

Emmi Tiikkoja

Omaha, Nebraska

Sylvia Curtiss

Orafino, Idaho

Joki, Erni

Orr, Minnesota

Lammi, Herman and Selma

Palmer, Minnesota

Pykäri, Matti† and Hilma

Poplar, Wisconsin

Kaarina Mattson

Red Lake Falls, Minnesota

Johnson, Walter

St. Paul, Minnesota

Hakala, Mrs. Hilma
Hakala, Miss Laurel
Lapakko, Mr. and Mrs. Victor E.
Kortesmäki, Mr. ja Mrs. Wainö
Marjamaa, Mr.† ja Mrs. Jafet

Seattle, Washington

Johnson, D. M.

Sebek, Minnesota

Mattie, Arthur
Arlene Putikka
Mikkola, Mrs. John V.
Wirrkala, Mr. ja Mrs. Matt L.

Shell Lake, Wisconsin

Minerva Johnson

Soudan, Minnesota

Saari, Mrs. Elina
Rev. E. E. Torkko and Tyne Torkko

South Gate, California

Ellsworth, Mary

Stambaugh, Michigan

Parvi, Mr. and Mrs. Frank

Stillwater, Minnesota

Schoonover, Mrs. Viola
Mrs. Charles Schoonover

Superior, Wisconsin

Hill, John J. and Hanna
Leppanen, Mrs. Laina
Levo, Herman
Nummi, Nick and Lillian
Ojala, Arvo and Jennie
Salo, August
Tuula Leppanen
Olga Tuomi
John and Wilma Parkkari
Elsa Saalasti
Merisalo, Toivo and Anna†

Tahoe City, California

Hjalmar and Hilma Hakala

Togo, Minnesota

Silta, Matt

Tower, Minnesota

Andrew and Hilda Keinanen

Trout Creek, Michigan

Aune Polkas

Twig, Minnesota

Laine, Jacob and Tilda†

Two Harbors, Minnesota

Kämäräinen, Lauri†

Korkki, Mr. Hugo

Pelto, Mrs. Jennie

Strom, Mrs. Rera

Vilho Vastila

Järvi, Lauri and Johanna

Nauha, Nick

Virginia, Minnesota

Markin, Andrew

Eila Isaacson

Hilma Leino

Hilma Markin

Helen Skarp

Heikkilä, Aaro and Saima

Huhtala, J. William†

Kemppainen, Nels and Elsie

Kemppi, Uno and Alma Josephine

Ketola, John and Hilma

Lager, Dr. Harold E.

Lauri, Herman ja Selma

Laury, Maidie M.

Mähönen, August

Näätänen, Antti

Rauma, Andrew and Josephine

Saranen, Verner and Lilja

Savolainen, Anna

Silvola, Richard and Sylvia

Siren, Mandi

Wadena, Minnesota

Irja Hanson

Wallace, Idaho

Elsie Matarainen

Washburn, Wisconsin

Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Merila

Wentworth, Wisconsin

Mäkelä, Einar

West Allis, Wisconsin

Cheryl Fadum

Winlock, Wash.

George and Rauha Bay

Wright, Minnesota

Kytölä, William and Amalia

Kytölä, William and Amalia

Oja, Albert

Oja, Mrs. Amanda S.

Wälimaa, Emil

Zim, Minnesota

Halkola, Alex and Hilda

Kanerva, August and Hilma†

Linden, Erik ja Emelia

Honorary Life Members

Senator Edward J. Thye

Washington, D.C.

Professori L. A. Puntila,

Helsinki, Finland

Gifts to Publishing Fund

\$25.00 or more

Chisholm Capter No. 21

Chisholm, Minn.

Chisholm Supply, Chisholm, Minn.

Cromwell-Kettle River Chapter No. 2,

Cromwell, Minn.

Duluth Chapter No. 1, Duluth, Minn.

Economy Supplies (Holappa & Winquist),

Duluth, Minn.

Ely Chapter No. 14, Ely, Minn.

Embarrass Commercial Club,

Embarrass, Minn.

Erickson Lumber Co., Hibbing, Minn.

Finnish American Memorial Foundation,

Cloquet, Minn.

Finnish American Society,

Minneapolis, Minn.

Havela, A. W., Duluth, Minn.

Jacobson Chapter No. 19,

Jacobson, Minn.

Jokela, Dr. F. W., Hibbing, Minn.

Jokinen, G. V., Hibbing, Minn.

Jalonen, William, Two Harbors, Minn.

Jussila, John, Chisholm, Minn.

Ketola, John, Virginia, Minn.

Kleimola, Dr. E. J., Hibbing, Minn.

Kyyhkynen, Alex, Duluth, Minn.

Laine, August, Duluth, Minn.

Laine, Onni, Duluth, Minn.

Lake, Albert H., Duluth, Minn.

M. B. Ranta Agency, Chisholm, Minn.

Nashwauk Chapter No. 20,

Nashwauk, Minn.

Niemi, John, Duluth, Minn.

North Star Civic Club, Hibbing, Minn.

Parta, Carl A., New York Mills, Minn.

Pike-Florenton Co-op, Florenton, Minn.

Ojala, W. A., Duluth, Minn.

Salmio, Walter, Duluth, Minn.

Salo, Jack D., Duluth, Minn.

Suomi-Deer River Chapter No. 16,

Deer River, Minn.

Tamminen-Wuopio, Laura,

Nashwauk, Minn.

Toivola Community Club, Toivola, Minn.

Vainio, John, Duluth, Minn.

Virginia Chapter No. 2, Virginia, Minn.

Workers Educational Soc., Superior, Wis.

Wäinön Maja No. 8 (K.R.), Ely, Minn.

Topical Index

Alango	558	Cotton	594
Alavus	574	Cromwell	644
Allen	545	Crooked Lake	616
Americanization	268, 475-479	Crosby	140
Amerikan Kaiku	314	Crow Wing County	136
Amerikan Suometar	378	Cuyuna	138
Angora	556	Dassel	114
Annandale	110	Deer	332-334
Anti-socialist	267	Delaware Tercentenary	284
Apostolic Lutherans	104, 119	Dramatics	122, 301-307,
138, 147, 373-375		427, 428, 485, 498, 523, 606, 639, 648	
Arthyde	624	Duluth	206
Aura	198	Eagle Town	624
Aurora	482	East Lake	624
Baptists	221	Elmer	594
383, 497		Ely	366
Balsam	622	Embarrass	539
Bear River	657	Esko	634
Beatty	566	Eveleth	456
Beaver	624	Farmers	87, 92,
Biwabik	480	94, 143, 146, 147, 159, 161, 163, 165,	
Black list	258, 539	171, 173, 178, 181, 187, 193, 194,	
Boarding houses	212, 320,	200, 346, 539-541, 569, 630	
433, 434, 529, 613, 617, 643		Fenno-American Church	379
Bovey	613	Fine Arts	307
Brainerd	136	Finland	601
Breadlines	271	Finlayson	628
Brimson	350	Finnish-American Business-	
Brookston	595	men's Assn.	325
Buhl	488	Finnish-American Workers'	
Calumet	618	Assn.	223
Carlton County	630	Finnish Cooperative movement	335
Catholicism	384	Finnish relief	123, 278-283,
Cattle Raising	94, 96, 181, 541	397, 438, 501, 525, 508, 640	
Cedar Valley	587	Finnish-Swedes	142, 210,
Central Minnesota	91	221, 309, 324, 360, 461.	
Chisholm	491	Fires	416, 493,
Civic Club	439, 455, 524	636, 644, 647	
Clark	600	First Finnish Child	91
Cloquet	635	Floodwood	583
Cloverdale	616..	Florenton	554
Congregational Church	220, 382	Franklin	93
Communism	235, 343, 535	French	570
Cokato	98	French Lake	110
Cook	565	Gheen	567
Cook County	698	Gilbert	453
Co-operatives	160-164,	Governor Youngdahl	658
182-184, 189-191, 195, 324, 335-344,		Grand Rapids	620
354, 443-447, 474, 482, 487, 529-533,		Hall Activity	122, 127,
542, 568, 473, 576, 586, 590, 593, 600,		233, 243, 418, 427, 483, 519, 639	
609-614, 620, 622, 627, 629, 634, 641-		Heinola	164
643, 649-650			
Coleraine	618		

Heinäjoki (Hay Creek)	171	Larsmont	600
Hibbing	505	Laskiainen	443, 591
Historical Societies	108, 124, 132, 157, 158, 186, 197, 283, 286-293, 347, 527, 547	Lawler	624
Holmes City	115	Leaf Lake	167
Homestead Law	44, 79, 83, 345	Leaf Lake	167
Hoyt Lake	487	Leiding	569
Hunting	77, 93, 100, 115, 173, 188, 346, 546, 584, 645, 625	Linden Grove	569
Imatra League	225	Literature	127, 149, 240, 317, 319, 362, 471, 504
Immigration	46, 54, 59	Little Marais	600
Industrialisti	237	Little Swan	592
International Falls	202	Longshore work	208, 214
Indians	73-78, 93, 143, 146, 173, 206, 567	Loyalty movement	268-268
Ironton	142	Lumbering	144, 202, 203, 212, 505, 568, 601, 636
Isabella	601	Marble	618
Itasca County	604	Markham	582
Independence period	34	McKinley	480
I. W. W.	141, 231-240, 263, 432, 465, 519, 543	Meadowlands	594
I.W.W., Rise and Fall	238	Menahga	187
Jacobson	623	Merchants	117, 320, 325
Joint Enterprises	159, 400	Merritt	480
Juhannusjuhla (Midsummer festivals)	394, 439, 470-473, 502, 522	Mesaba	535
Jukola	433	Mesaba Park	535
Kaleva, Knights of	272, 385, 467, 499, 517, 608.	Methodists	120, 381, 496, 608
Kalevala	644	Middle River	200
Kaleva, Women of	272, 275, 385, 467, 499, 517, 608	Midway	345
Keewatin	617	Minneapolis	117
Kelsey	594	Minnesota Centennial	288
Kensington Runestone	73	Minnesota Fire	636
Keskilännen Sanomat	313	Mongolian question	
Kettle River	644	Mongolian question	476
Kingston	112	Moose Lake	644
Kinney	489	Mountain Iron	408
Knife River	600	Music	141, 156, 157, 245, 277, 294-297, 388-391, 420- 422, 451, 465, 466, 484, 485, 497, 512-515, 555
Hunting	77, 93, 100, 115, 173, 188, 346, 546, 584, 625 645	Nashwauk	604
Laestadians, see Apostolic Lutheran Church		Naturalization	268, 476
Lake County	598	National Church	105, 120, 379
Lakewood	349	Newspapers	127-129, 149-152, 225, 231-237, 309-317, 374, 378, 380, 398, 435
Land, hunger for	47, 539	Newton township	144
Language difficulties	101, 106, 111, 125, 154, 175, 478, 621, 644	New York Mills	144
		Norman county banks	198
		Nurmijärvi	244, 628
		Orr	567
		Otter Tail county	143
		Paddock	173
		Palisade	624
		Palo	577
		Payla	545

Payne	594	Taconite	618
Pelican Lake	567	Taconite Harbor	603
Pentecostal Church	383	Tamarack	624
Perch Lake	595	Temperance societies	106, 121, 169, 185, 188, 215-217, 359-366, 370, 410, 417, 450, 455, 459, 481, 484, 487, 488, 493, 511-517, 544, 562, 572, 575, 580, 584, 591, 607, 622, 628, 638, 647
Pike	548	Theosophy	221
Poetry	307	Thomson	630
Politics	107, 113, 117, 131, 326-329, 359, 365, 515, 544, 602	Todd County	117
Portage	567	Toimi	603
President Kekkonen	653	Toivola	588
Päivälehti	310	Topelius	163
Radio	220, 319, 497	Tower	357, 369
Rice Lake	624	Town of Duluth	348
Runeberg Orden	142, 461	Townsend movement	294
St. Louis county	206-595	Trout Lake	618
St. Paul	129	Two Harbors	598
St. Peter	85	Unitarians	383
Salo	587, 624	Uusi Kotimaa	128, 149
Sandstone	629	Vermilion Lake	545
Sandy	554	Vermilion and its iron mines..	355
Sauna	102	Virginia	412
Sebeka	180	Waasa	545
Short-lived societies	293	War time hysteria	270
Siirtolainen	312	Wawina	620
Silver Bay	603	White Rose of Finland	657
Sosialisti	236	Willow Valley	569
Socialist party	225	Winton	403
Soudan	366	Wolf Lake	192
Sparta	449	Women's organizations	120, 134
Sports	106, 107, 248-252, 391-397, 430, 431, 439, 485, 494, 498, 536, 599, 606, 648	Workers' Institute	227-231
Squaw Lake	623	Wrestling	248, 396
Stevenson	536	Wright county	98
Suomi College	377	Zim	571
Suomi Synod	375-376		
Suomi	621		
Superior	335		
Strike	261		

